तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

SANTINIKETAN
VISWA BHARATI
LIBRARY

252.51(42)

P.T.S

PSALMS OF THE EARLY BUDDHISTS

PSALMS OF THE EARLY BUDDHISTS

I.—PSALMS OF THE SISTERS

BY

MRS. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A.

FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

AUTHOR OF 'A MANUAL OF BUDDHIST PSYCHOLOGY,' ETC., ETC.

'I laughed. I rose. I was glad the long day was before me.'

OLIVE SCHREINER.

London

PUBLISHED FOR THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY

BY

LUZAC & COMPANY LTD.

46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1

First Published 1909
Reprinted - - 1932
Reprinted - - 1948
Reprinted - - 1964

TO

OLIVE SCHREINER,

SEER OF 'DREAMS,'

THIS TRANSLATION OF VERSES

ASCRIBED TO THE SPIRITUAL DAUGHTERS

OF

GOTAMA BUDDHA, 'THE WAKE,'

IS

IN GRATEFUL AND LOVING HOMAGE

DEDICATED

UNESCO COLLECTION OF REPRESENTATIVE WORKS
This Buddhist text has been accepted in the series of translations from the literature of Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Laos, and Thailand, jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the National Commissions for Unesco in these countries

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
LOWE AND BRYDONE (PRINTERS) LIMITED, LONDON, N.W.10

CONTENTS

(In the Pali names pronounce the vowels as in Italian, but the unaccented *a* like *u* in *nut*. Pronounce consonants as in English, except *c*, which always =*ch* in *church*. In dotted consonants let the tongue strike the palate, not the teeth. Pronounce ṃ as *ng*. In a doubled consonant detach the two as in the Italian *gat'-to*, *don'na*. In aspirated consonants—*kh*, etc.—let the aspirate be heard.)

INTRODUCTION

PAGE

I. The canonical tradition about the Psalms, and its historical significance, p. xiii. Reason for the prior appearance of the Sisters' Psalms, p. xiv. The Commentary and its functions, p. xv. The authorship of the Psalms, p. xvii. The legends of the Commentarial Chronicle, p. xviii. The Sisters in tradition's perspective, p. xviii. The Psalms as compiled aggregates of metrical memoirs, p. xix. The refrains, p. xx. The longer ballad or epic Psalms, p. xxi. II. The Psalms as expressions of the religious mind, p. xxiii; and of its motives for leaving the world, p. xxiv; and of how the Quest, when found, was envisaged, p. xxv. Freedom, p. xxv. Mental development, p. xxvi. Consolation, p. xxvii. Arrest of the eternal round, p. xxix. Relation between teacher and disciple, p. xxxii. The new life, p. xxxiii. Analysis of the Goal, p. xxxvii. Inquiry into matriarchal survivals, p. xxxviii. III. Method pursued in translation and the metres, p. xxxix. Indebtedness acknowledged, p. xli.

THE COMMENTATOR'S INTRODUCTION 3

CANTO I. SINGLE VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

I. A certain Sister of a noble family of Vesālī, known as 'Therīkā' 9
II. Muttā, daughter of a brahmin of Sāvatthī 10
III. Puṇṇā, daughter of a seṭṭhi of Sāvatthī 11
IV. Tissā, daughter of the Sākiyas, Kapilavatthu . . . 12
V.-X. Another Tissā, Dhīrā, another Dhīrā, Mittā, Bhadrā, Upasamā 13

PAGE

XI. Muttā, daughter and wife of Kosalan brahmins . . 15
XII. Dhammadinnā, daughter of a clansman (*kulagehe*), wife of a seṭṭhi (Visākha), both of Rājagaha, foremost of the Sisters who were preachers (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 25) . 16
XIII. Visākhā 18
XIV. Sumanā 18
XV. Uttarā (1) 19
XVI. Sumanā *vuḍḍhapabbajitā*, sister of Pasenadi, King of Kosala 19
XVII. Dhammā, daughter of a clansman of Sāvatthī . . 20
XVIII. Sanghā 21

Canto II. Psalms of Two Verses ascribed to—

XIX. Abhirūpa-Nandā, daughter of the Sākiyas, Kapilavatthu 22
XX. Jentī or Jentā, daughter of the Licchavis, Vesālī . 23
XXI. Sumangala's mother, daughter of poor people, wife of a rush-plaiter, Sāvatthī 24
XXII. Aḍḍhakāsī, daughter of a seṭṭhi of Kāsī, ex-courtezan . 25
XXIII. Cittā, daughter of great burgess of Rājagaha . . 27
XXIV. Mettikā, daughter of a brahmin of Rājagaha . . 28
XXV. Mittā (2), daughter of the Sākiyas, Kapilavatthu . . 29
XXVI. Abhayā's mother, Padumavatī, ex-courtesan of Ujjenī . 30
XXVII. Abhayā, daughter of a clansman of Ujjenī, friend of the foregoing 31
XXVIII. Sāmā, daughter of a great burgess of Kosambī . . 32

Canto III. Psalms of Three Verses ascribed to—

XXIX. Another Sāmā, daughter of a clansman of Kosambī . 34
XXX. Uttamā, daughter of a seṭṭhi of Sāvatthī, disciple of Paṭācārā 35
XXXI. Another Uttamā, daughter of a Kosalan brahmin . 36
XXXII. Dantikā, daughter of a brahmin chaplain to the King of Kosala, Sāvatthī 37
XXXIII. Ubbirī, daughter of a great burgess of Sāvatthī, consort of the King 38
XXXIV. Sukkā, daughter of a great burgess of Rājagaha, pupil of Dhammadinnā, distinguished as preacher . . 40
XXXV. Selā, 'the Āḷavikan,' daughter of the King of Āḷavī . 42
XXXVI. Somā, daughter of a brahmin, chaplain to the King of Magadha (Bimbisāra) 44

CANTO IV. PSALM OF FOUR VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

PAGE

XXXVII. BHADDĀ KĀPILĀNĪ, daughter of a brahmin of the Kosiyas, at Sāgala, wife of Pippali Kassapa (Mahā-Kassapa) of Mahātittha, foremost of those Sisters who could remember past lives (*cf. Ang. Nik.*, i. 25), a distinguished preacher (*Vin.*, iv. 290, 292) . 47

CANTO V. PSALMS OF FIVE VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

XXXVIII. Vaḍḍhesī, of family unknown, nurse to Great Pajāpatī, founder of the Sisters' Order, of Devadaha, pupil of Dhammadinnā 50
XXXIX. Vimalā, daughter of a courtezan of Vesālī, ex-courtezan 52
XL. Sīhā, niece of General Sīha, of Vesālī . . . 53
XLI. Sundarī-Nandā, daughter of Great Pajāpatī of the Sākiyan Gotamas, half-sister to the Buddha, of Kapilavatthu 55
XLII. Nanduttarā, daughter of a brahmin of Kammāssadamma, ex-Jain, pupil of the Great Moggallāna . 57
XLIII. Mittakālī, daughter of a brahmin of Kammāssadamma 58
XLIV. SAKULĀ, or PAKULĀ, a brahmin matron of Sāvatthī, foremost of the Sisters who had the faculty of the 'Eye Celestial' (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 25). . . . 60
XLV. SOṆĀ, 'Bahuputtikā,' daughter of a clansman of Sāvatthī, foremost of the Sisters who were eminent in strenuous will 61
XLVI. BHADDĀ 'KUṆḌALAKESĀ,' ex-Jain, daughter of a seṭṭhi of Rājagaha, wife of a brahmin thief, foremost of the Sisters who had swift intuition (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 25) 63
XLVII. PAṬĀCĀRĀ, daughter of a seṭṭhi of Sāvatthī, wife of her father's servant, foremost of the Sisters who were proficient in the Vinaya (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 25), an eminent teacher and leader 68
XLVIII. Thirty Sisters, disciples of Paṭācārā . . . 73
XLIX. Candā, daughter of a poor brahmin . . . 75

CANTO VI. PSALMS OF SIX VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

L. Paṭācārā's 'Five Hundred' bereaved mothers whom she comforted and ordained 77
LI. Vāsitthī, or Vāseṭṭhī, daughter of a clansman of Vesālī, wife of a (?) brahmin, a teacher . . 79

PAGE

LII. KHEMĀ, daughter of the King's family at Sāgala in Magadha, wife of King Bimbisāra, Rājagaha, foremost of the Sisters who were distinguished for insight (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 25), ranked by the Buddha as a model Sister (*Saṃy. Nik.*, ii. 236) 81
LIII. Sujātā, daughter of a seṭṭhi of Sāketa, wife of a seṭṭhi . 84
LIV. Anopamā, daughter of the seṭṭhi Majjha of Sāketa . 86
LV. GREAT PAJĀPATĪ, THE GOTAMID, Foundress of the Order of Bhikkhunīs, daughter of the Sakiyan Añjana (or Mahā-Suppabuddha) of Devadaha, sister to Great Māyā, mother of the Buddha, and co-wife of Suddhohana of Kapilavatthu, foremost of the Sisters who were of long standing and experience . . . 87
LVI. Guttā, daughter of a brahmin of Sāvatthī . . 90
LVII. Vijayā, daughter of a clansman of Rājagaha . . 91

CANTO VII. PSALMS OF SEVEN VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

LVIII. Uttarā (2), daughter of a clansman of Sāvatthī, disciple of Paṭācārā 94
LIX. Cālā, daughter of the brahminee Surūpasārī, of Nālaka, Magadha, sister of Sāriputta, chief of the Bhikkhus . 96
LX. Upacālā, sister to Cālā 98

CANTO VIII. PSALM OF EIGHT VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

LXI. Sīsupacālā, sister to Upacālā 100

CANTO IX. PSALM OF NINE VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

LXII. Vaḍḍha's mother, daughter of a clansman of Bhārukaccha 103

CANTO X. PSALM OF ELEVEN VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

LXIII. 'KISĀ'-GOTAMĪ, daughter of poor people of Sāvatthī, foremost of the Sisters who wore rough clothing . 106

CANTO XI. PSALM OF TWELVE VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

LXIV. UPPALAVAṆṆĀ, daughter of a seṭṭhi of Sāvatthī, foremost of the Sisters who had *iddhi* (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 25), ranked with Khemā by the Buddha as pre-eminent in the Sisterhood (*Saṃy. Nik.*, ii. 236) . . . 111

CANTO XII. PSALM OF SIXTEEN VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

LXV. Puṇṇikā, or Puṇṇā, daughter of a slave in the household of Anāthapiṇḍika, seṭṭhi of Sāvatthī, and freed by him 116

PAGE

CANTO XIII. PSALMS OF ABOUT TWENTY VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

LXVI. Ambapālī, a foundling, ex-courtezan of Vesālī . . 120
LXVII. Rohiṇī, daughter of a brahmin of Vesālī . . 125
LXVIII. Cāpā, daughter of a head-trapper (*jeṭṭhakamigaluddaka*) of Vankahāra, wife of Upaka, ex-Ājīvaka (ascetic) 129
LXIX. Sundarī, daughter of a brahmin, Sujāta, of Sāvatthī . 134
LXX. Subhā, 'the goldsmith's daughter,' of Rājagaha . 142

CANTO XIV. PSALM OF THIRTY-FOUR VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

LXXI. Subhā, 'of Jīvaka's Mango-grove,' daughter of a brahmin of Rājagaha 148

CANTO XV. PSALM OF OVER FORTY VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

LXXII. Isidāsī, daughter of a seṭṭhi of Ujjenī, ex-wife of a seṭṭhi of Sāketa (Patna) 156

CANTO XVI. THE GREAT CANTO, ASCRIBED TO—

LXXIII. Sumedhā, daughter of Koñca, King of Vāraṇavatī . 164

APPENDIX

VERSES ATTRIBUTED TO SISTERS IN THE BHIKKHUNĪ-SAŊYUTTA OF THE SAŊYUTTA-NIKĀYA:

1. Āḷavikā (in Ps. xxxv. Selā, Princess of Āḷavī) . . 180
2. Somā (see Ps. xxxv.) 181
3. Gotamī (=Kisā-Gotamī, Ps. lxiii.) 182
4. Vijayā (a different Psalm from Vijayā's Ps. lvii. *Cf.* Khemā's opening lines, Ps. lii.) 183
5. Uppalavaṇṇā (*cf.* fourth episode, Ps. lxiv.) . . . 184
6. Cālā (*cf.* Upacālā's Psalm, lx.) 186
7. Upacālā (*cf.* Sīsupacālā's Psalm, lxi.) 187
8. Sīsupacālā (*cf.* Cālā's Psalm, lix.) 188
9. Selā 189
10. Vajirā 190

VERSES CONCERNING SUKKĀ IN THE YAKKHA-SAŊYUTTA OF THE SAŊYUTTA-NIKĀYA 191

NOTES 192

INDEX 193

ERRATA

Page xxvi, line 12 ff., *in first 3 lines of verse read:*

> *What should the woman's nature do to Us—*
> *To one who rightly dharma doth discern,*
> *Mind well intent and knowledge faring on,*

Page xxvi, line 26, *for* successor . . . himself *read* president at the Founder's cremation and the First Council.

Page xxvi, line 33, *after* spoken *read* it is said.

Page 5, line 32, *for* extremes *read* ends.

Page 6, line 6, *for* Mark of, etc., *read* No Marks of the Self.

Page 22, *for* Pajājatī *read* Pajāpatī.

Page 24, *n.* 3, *for* rom sickle *read* from sickle . . .

Page 25, line 8, *for* sits and *read* sitting weaves.

Page 26, *n.* 2, *for* Asavas *read* Āsavas.

Page 30, *for* Abhayā's *read* Abhaya's.

Page 34, line 13 f, *read* When the Master . . . city of Āḷavī, Selā, come to years of discretion but being yet unmarried, went . . .

Page 45, line 21, *for* press it *read* press them.

Page 47, *n.*, *for* Kapilā *read* Kapila.

Page 48, line 21, *for* Sāgala *read* Sāgalā's; *sic in footnote.*

Page 50, *n.*, *for* i, p. 57 *read* i, p. 124.

Page 58, ver. 91, ' the long line of lives ' = *sabbe bhavā:* all becomings. ' Life ' was never used in the plural.

Page 62, ver. 102, *read* Bhikkhunī.

Page 66, *n.*, see *Minor Anthologies* I, Khuddakapāṭha, p. xlix f. (S. Bks. Buddhists VII).

Page 71, *add n.* 2 to the second verse-group: *Dhammapada,* 288 f.

Page 96, line 20, *read* Cālā.

Page 118, line 4, *after* swine *read* fishers.

Page 118, ver. 246 f (5 lines) = *Udāna,* V, 4.

Page 125, line 7, *for* No-soul *read* Not-Self.

Page 126, *n. should refer* to ver. 274 ff.

Page 129, line 20, *for* in heav'n *read* 'mong devas.

Page 137, *for* Vāsiṭṭhī *read* Vāsiṭṭhi; *and in ver.* 318 *delete repetition of* when I.

Page 139, ver. 327, *for* Dost thou *read* Thou dost.

Page 141, *n.* 2, *for* ch. *read* ver.

Page 176, ver. 513. *Cf.* Lowell's:

> *Without long struggle none did yet attain.*

Page 182, Somā's verses line 7, *for* is Māra *read* are you, Sir: *correct* p. xxvi *as above.*

Page 187, No. 7, *The first two lines* Where, Sister, etc., *are in prose.*

INDEX:

Akkhāna, *add* xvi.
Aññā, *for* 140 *n. read* 141.
Pippāli. *See* Kassapa.

INTRODUCTION

I

Book titles are necessarily brief. In their brevity they seem to claim too much and to specify not enough. Here and now let the title of this little volume be modified by the ampler designation: Verses attributed, in the tradition of the Pali Canon, to certain eminent Sisters (Therī-Bhikkhunīs) of the Buddhist Order, and forming the second and smaller portion of the work entitled *Thera-therī-gāthā*—*i.e.*, verses of the Elders, Brethren and Sisters.

No one, not even, I imagine, a pious Buddhist, believes that these verses contain the *ipsissima verba* of those members of the Order to whom they are ascribed, or that these notable adherents conversed in Pali *ślokas*. We shall never get at the quantum of historic fact that there may be in the tradition, nor even know how many of the Elders here named ever really existed. Nor does it very much matter. The historical fact that we here have and hold is the record, that just the sentiments and the aspirations, which are expressed in this work, have been for so many centuries, and by a very considerable communion of believers, attributed to saintly men and women co-operating in the building up of certain ideals; and also that the *logia* should, as such, have been incorporated in a literature so long preserved, cherished, and revered as 'holy writ.' The registration of such views; the reverence accorded to such views: these are for the history of human ideas the really precious truths, however legendary or lost the genuine sources may have become.

The poems or verses so preserved to us are included in

the Fifth Group of the second of the Three Pitakas (the Sutta-Pitaka) in the Pali Canon—the Group entitled Short: *Khuddaka-Nikāya*—and ranged after the Four *Nikāyas* often quoted in the following pages: *Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Anguttara*. The poems were edited with scholarly excellence in 1883 for the Pali Text Society,[1] then in the third year of its existence. Professor H. Oldenberg, now of Göttingen, was responsible for the verses of the Theras, or Elder Brethren. The late Professor R. Pischel, of Berlin, edited those of the Therīs, or Elder Women. The Brethren's Gāthās number 264, those of the Sisters, 73. Those of the Brethren come first. Bhikkhus formed the great majority in the Order, and, in standing and position, ranked senior to the Bhikkhunīs. The prior appearance of a translation of the latter part of the book is due, not to a wish to improve upon the ancient order, but to an accidental circumstance in the supply of materials. I refer to the Commentary on the *Thera-therī-gāthā*, and will turn aside to deal with it.

The gāthās, or stanzas, edited as above described, stand, as for nearly twenty centuries they have stood in the palm-leaf MSS. of the Sutta-Pitaka—that is to say, without any accompanying Commentary. In an Appendix, however, to his edition of the *Therī-gāthā*, Professor Pischel gave numerous extracts from Dhammapāla's Commentary on those verses. Ten years later this Commentary on the *Therī-gāthā*, together with its copious extracts from the *Apadāna*—the *Vitæ Sanctorum* of the Buddhist Canon—was published by the Pali Text Society in Professor Edward Muller's edition.[2] But, for some reason or other, the MSS. of the preceding portion of Dhammapāla's Commentary[3]—

[1] *The Thera- and Therī-Gāthā*: Stanzas ascribed to Elders of the Buddhist Order of Recluses. London, 1883.

[2] *Paramattha-Dīpanī*, Part V. London, 1893. Discussed by me at the Ninth Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892 (*Transactions*, i., p. 393. London, 1893).

[3] This work consists of commentaries on the canonical works, entitled Udāna, Vimāna-vatthu, Peta-vatthu, beside the two under discussion.

that on the *Thera-gāthā*—are not so numerous, or at least not so easily obtained as is the Commentary on the Sisters' verses, or the other parts of the work. At present I have heard of but one copy in Europe, now lent to the India Office on my behalf by the Royal Library of Copenhagen, and that is neither a good nor a complete copy. My wants have now been better supplied by a copy purchased in Burma through the kind exertions of Professor Charles Duroiselle, of Rangoon College—a copy that he was able to procure without arranging for a special copy to be made at a Wihāra library. Had it not been for the lamentable deadlock of the long-promised Siamese printed edition of the Commentaries, a translation of the Brethren's verses might have preceded this volume.

This indeed has been the case in Dr. K. E. Neumann's vivid and vigorous, if at times somewhat free, translation of the *Thera-therī-gāthā*, into German verse.[1] He translated without the aid of any commentary on the Brothers' verses (a task bristling with difficulties), and with a 'thorough scepticism' as to the value of the commentarial chronicle about the Sisters. And in view of the shortness of life and the length of literatures, there is no doubt much to justify immediate translation of what we have, instead of waiting, to enrich and improve our work, for materials that we have not yet. To what extent such materials as I wait for do enrich and improve, the educated reader of past, present, and future translations must judge. If he is not acquainted with the tradition of the Buddhist Commentary, here it is in outline.

Whatever be the story of the Canon's evolution, while it had oral being only, it stands recorded that the Pali Canon was committed to writing in 80 B.C. Down to and after this date, the *Attha-kathā*, or 'talk about the contents, meaning, or purpose' of the work in question, was a matter of traditional convention, which individual expounding Bhikkhus or Bhikkhunīs might tell in more or less their own

[1] *Die Lieder der Mönche und Nonnen Gotamo Buddho's.* Berlin, 1899.

words. And when the Attha-kathā was about a Gāthā, the two together formed an Akkhāna (Sanskrit = *Ākhyāna*), a record or story in mixed prose and verse. The great work of the Jātaka or Birth-stories[1] is a notable instance of this.

About 80 B.C., then, the Psalms[2] were committed to writing. But in the fifth or sixth century A.D., either before or just after Buddhaghosa had flourished, and written his great commentaries on the prose works of the Vinaya and Sutta Pitakas, Dhammapāla of Kāñcipura (now Conjevaram, Madras Presidency), wrote down in Pali[3] the unwritten expository material constituting the then extant three Attha-katha's[4] on the Psalms, and incorporated it into his commentary on three other books of the Canon, naming the whole 'Paramattha-dīpanī,' or Elucidation of the Ultimate Meaning. He not only gives the *ākhyāna* in each Psalm, but adds a paraphrase, in the Pali of his day, of the more archaic idiom in which the *gāthās* were compiled, as well as the Apadāna citations alluded to above.[5]

All this, if read in a properly critical spirit, and with mindfulness of the effect of transmission and the long-time intervals on exegetists not versed in the canons of evidence and historical criticism, is of considerable help, both to the text editor, and to the translator, and to the reader. Professor Pischel has recorded, magnanimously modest, the help he derived from Dhammapāla, help of which his distinguished colleague and co-editor was, for nearly one-half of his editorial work, deprived for the reason already stated. To myself the Commentary has been indispensable. With-

[1] *The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births.* 6 vols. Cambridge, 1895-1907.

[2] Johnson defines 'psalm' as 'a holy song.' There is no indication of 'psaltery' having accompanied the recitation of canonical gāthās.

[3] He rewrote in Pali what had been handed down in Sinhalese, or perhaps in Tamil.

[4] See below, p. 178: *porāṇaṭṭhakathā-tayaṃ.*

[5] I have judged it best not to overload this volume by translating the Apadāna verses. They are adduced to confirm the *attha-kathā* with the words, 'As it is said in the Apadāna.' This work is now being edited by Mrs. Mabel Bode, Ph.D., for the Pali Text Society.

out accepting in blind faith the accuracy of the synonyms or equipollent phrases supplied in its exegesis, I have, in many ambiguous terms, been determined by the ruling of the Commentator, as representing the most ancient orthodox tradition. Again, it will be seen that the gāthās often record different episodes in one and the same career, or the utterances of different persons whose identity has at times to be guessed at.

Now, the Commentator's explanations of episode and speaker are, it is true, legends woven out of legends. In the first place, of the seventy-one Sisters[1] to whom poems are attributed, we only meet with twenty in other works of the Pali Canon. The poems of half as many again are repeated in the Apadāna, but the names of the putative compilers do not always agree. A similar want of agreement between name and poem appears in the Saŋyutta version of certain of the Psalms given here in an Appendix. Hence it is only for a very limited section of the Psalms that we can, with any fraction of confidence, associate a given gāthā with a putative poetess for whom something approaching historical personality may be claimed. This does not, of course, warrant the conclusion that the majority of Sisters named as authors of gāthās, but of whom nothing is elsewhere recorded, never existed. But the fact that, in the *Therī-gāthā* and *Saŋyutta Nikāya* versions of certain gāthās, there is a discrepancy in five out of ten poems between poem and assigned author,[2] shows us that, if the verses were carefully preserved, the identity of the authors had, for the preservers, something of a Shakespearian or Homeric indefiniteness. And the fact, again, that in seventeen of the poems the Therīgāthā assigns one author's name, the Apadāna another, increases our want of confidence.

[1] Omitting the two poems ascribed to the followers of Paṭācārā collectively, and assuming that certain poems attributed to Sisters with the same name are by different persons.

[2] Professor Windisch concludes that these ten Psalms were taken from an old collection of Māra legends (*Māra und Buddha*, 134).

To this legendary status of the Therīs, as historical realities, we have to add the accumulated growth round their names of legend and myth revealed in the commentarial chronicle. For this growth Dhammapāla must not be held responsible. Its rate of progress had been much quicker. The canonical Apadāna, in its metrical tales of thirty-three of the Therīs, reveals their pre-natal legend already full grown. Besides, Dhammapāla drew his materials from three older Commentaries, as he himself admits. Now, even if we so stretch our less copious imagination as to concede to a few highly-gifted persons, just 'then' and 'there,' the supernormal power of visualizing that which they *judged* to be their own antecedent personalities in previous lives, there is no record whatever of Therīs, who claimed so to remember, recounting these reminiscences to their contemporaries. To this rule of reticence in divulging there are two marked exceptions. These are the last two poems, those of Isidāsī and Sumedhā, poems which, more than all the rest, suggest later literary craft, and, like the last few, bear the impress, not of traditional sayings handed down, but of deliberate literary creation.

Even apart from the, to us, mythological traditions attaching to each Sister, the record of her final rebirth does not always show signs that the scenes where she moved were, for the chronicler or for his authorities, *choses vues*. In one story we find the classic Gijjha-kūṭi, or Vulture's Peak, above Rājagaha, moved, apparently, to Sāvatthī. At Sāvatthī, too, is the Buddha found, while he is said to be preaching on the banks of the Nerañjarā in Magadha. And there are more such little 'faults,' geologically speaking.

But when all of that ilk is said and considered, the Western reader may still judge it well that the Psalms have been here presented along with, not in isolation from, their ancient if less venerable chronicle. All who are capable of a *historical* sympathy—of an appreciation, that is, of ideas as evolving in time—will be glad to see somewhat of the

age-long traditions in which these rare and remarkable utterances have been set and fostered in so venerable a literature as that of the Pali manuscripts. Strangers to Christianity would have no conception of how profoundly the traditions grouped about the persons of the Virgin Mother and the Magdalene have permeated its history, who only knew the pale etchings of these women in the Gospels. Enshrined in the casket of legends constructed by the loving piety of centuries, these little poems of the Therīs take life and breath and colour. Whether the verses in search of an owner have perchance missed their way, whether, indeed, in some of the first few stanzas a name may not have been created to fit the words, still may we see, in this dream-pageant of Sisters of the antique world conjured up for us by the chronicler, the reiterated testimony to high quest, to devoted heart, to indomitable resolve.

The last-named feature, that of the Resolve and its persistent efficacy throughout rebirths, is of special interest. It is not characteristic of the earlier doctrine, but in Mahāyānist Buddhism, we find it taken up and elaborated, from the Hīnayānism of the *Nidānakathā*,[1] and of our Commentator into the Praṇidhāna's, or aspirations of persistent effect, formed when, in any human being, the *bodhicitta* (or heart of intelligence) awakes and transforms him into a nascent Bodhisatva.

But leaving the Commentary and reverting to the gāthās, it is very possible—nay, probable—that in all but the poems of a single śloka, and in some of two or three ślokas, later work of compilation may have been wrought on brief runes handed down from the beginning as the utterances of contemporaries of the founders of Buddhism. Another important and ancient canonical work—the *Sutta Nipāta*—would appear to have been thus threaded together.[2] It is

[1] Translated in Rhys Davids's *Buddhist Birth Stories*. See especially pp. 12-14.

[2] Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, p. 222 *ff.*; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 177-186.

not, of course, claimed that the Sisters, or any other notable Buddhists, spoke, however briefly, in blank verse; but it is held that, in early literatures, *spoken utterances* are ever the earliest records to be put in metrical form. And the Pali of practically all the *Therī-gāthā* is of ancient type. Moreover, under social conditions such as prevailed where and when Buddhism took its rise, that is to say, where there was considerable intellectual activity, but where writing was not used to register its products, there would be a tendency to convert with little delay all utterances deemed worth memorializing into metrical form.

Some of these metrical memorial utterances appear as the common property of several Sisters.[1] Once composed, it is quite conceivable that certain Sisters may have made frequent use of them in teaching and preaching. They may thus have become more associated with the memoirs of those Sisters than with the tradition attaching to others, whether the Sisters in question actually composed them or not. And where two or more detached stanzas were handed down, thus linked to the memory and tradition of one name, some member or members of the Sangha—man or woman, or both—of literary gifts may have welded them together, more or less, when the Canon was being arranged and becoming a closed work. An excellent instance of such a collection of detached gāthās, where no organic welding has been attempted, is that of Uppalavaṇṇā (Ps. lxiv.). Here are four episodes grouped about a name that occurs more frequently in Pali romance than any other woman's name.[2] The Therī is held up by the Buddha, according to *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, ii. 236, linked with another Therī, Khemā (Ps. lii.), as the standard and limit of what a woman in holy orders ought to be. But in the *Vinaya*, a Bhikkhunī, Uppalavaṇṇā, is thrice quoted in a connection that reveals her twice as an instance of a woman attractive to the other sex, and once as

[1] *Cf.* verses 16, 18; 14, 20; 38, 41; 59, 62, 188, 195, 203, 235: latter part of 112, 117, 175; 120, 173, 179, 180, etc.

[2] See Professor E. Müller's Introduction, *Paramatthadīpanī*, xiv., xv.

a student of weak memory. Another name, too, that of Ummādantī (enchantress), is mixed up with her legend. Hence the great Therī of supernormal power is as difficult to identify as our own St. George, and it is not strange that her gāthā should be composite.

The gāthā of Kisāgotamī (Ps. lxiii.) is another interesting case of possibly later work of welding. Here the tragedy of Sister Paṭācārā's life, no mention of which is made in the brief poem bearing her name (Ps. xlvii.), is woven into the Psalm called after Kisā-gotamī. And the fine summary of woman's 'woeful lot' is preceded by another brief episode on *kalyāṇamittatā*, or friendship with the good and lovable (*καλοκάγαθοί*). It is very probable from inspection of the poem (and chronicle), that of two poems attributed to Paṭācārā, one recounting her sufferings, given in the Apadāna and *quoted* in the Commentary, has been lost, or merged with that of Kisā-gotamī. It is also probable that the latter, if it introduces a gāthā already existing alluding to Paṭācārā, is of later date than this gāthā.

When we come to the last seven poems we find, not larger congeries of fragmentary sayings, but only homogeneous structure. The type approaches that of the ballad[1] or the incipient drama, or is a consecutive symmetrical monologue (Ambapālī, lxvi.). None of the putative authors, save Ambapālī, is an historical personage. And her poem is a type-lyric, not a personal document. It may have been composed by anyone of poetic gifts, and concerning ageing beauty in the abstract. Here, then, there is no question of sparse verses welded together and collectively ascribed to an age-dimmed, but very possibly genuine, personage. Either the Sisters in question composed these longer effusions, or they did not. According to Pischel,[2] 'we have reason to suppose that' the ballads of Cāpā and Sundarī (Ps. lxviii , lxix.) 'are very old compositions,' because 'they

[1] In *one* of the shorter Psalms (xlviii.) the narrative form emerges: 'The Thirty Sisters heard, and swift obeyed,' etc.

[2] *Therīgāthā*, Preface.

bear the stamp of the oldest Indian ākhyāna as described by Professor Oldenberg.'[1]

But in the case of the last two Psalms, there are features pointing to different and possibly later conditions attending their compilation. Isidāsī's poem, for one who comes to it steeped in the phraseology of the preceding Psalms, strikes a strangely varied, almost a discordant note. The scene is Patna, a city rising on the decline of the Kosalan and Magadhese capitals, let alone that of Kāsī (Benāres). The wretched girl's plea to join the Order of Bhikkhunīs might be that of a Jain, so Jainistic is her aspiration.[2] The name of her sponsor Bhikkhunī—Jinadattā—which does not occur elsewhere in the Canon, is possibly significant. In the opening stanzas the work of editorial hands, as if dealing with less familiar material, is frankly admitted by Dhammapāla. Sumedhā's aspirations, on the other hand, have the older orthodox ring, even though often clad in different phraseology. But her harangues, differing in their copious flow from the severe and reticent terseness of the majority of poems, are sermons preached *from a Bible*: 'Remember,' she cries, 'this parable and remember that!'[3] as if the Nikāyas had already crystallized into shape. And where, in either Psalm, is the all-pervading influence of 'the Master' as a living presence?

How far editors of the earlier and authors of the later poems were identical, we shall never know. The canonical books are all, with one exception,[4] of too early a date to be claimed by any one author. 'They were the result rather of communistic than of individual effort.'[5] There is sufficient variety of style in all the longer poems, even though some of these are more mutually alike than others, for more than one author. As to the authors' sex, the genuine artist in words can give expression, with sympathy

[1] *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, 37, 54 *ff.*, especially pp. 77-82.

[2] See verse 431 *n.*

[3] One brief poem makes a bare allusion of this nature, verse 40 *n.*

[4] The *Kathā Vatthu*, in the Abhidhamma-Pitaka, compiled by Moggaliputta Tissa in the reign of the Emperor Asoka.

[5] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 179.

and verisimilitude, to the heart of man or woman. There seems, for all that, no sufficient warrant for Dr. Neumann's assumption that the poems of the Sisters, let alone those of the Brothers, 'must have been shaped by . . . a man.'[1] Not often since the patriarchal age set in has woman succeeded in so breaking through her barriers as to set on lasting record the expression of herself and of things as they appeared to her. But to assume that, because this happened seldom, therefore, this collection of documents, though ascribed to her,[2] are necessarily not by her, is to carry over far the truth: 'He that hath, to him shall be given, and she that hath not, from her shall be taken even that which she hath!' I make no counter-assumption that gifted Therīs had a hand in the compilation of the Brothers' Psalms. I would only ask English readers to await the appearance of those, and note the interesting differences in idiom, sentiment and tone between them and the Sisters' Psalms. Even the 'common stock' of refrains is different, the only exceptions being that of

> *kataŋ Buddhassa sāsanaŋ,*
> *tisso vijjā anuppattā,*

and

> *n'atthi 'dāni punabbhavo.*[3]

II

However, it lies with future historians of the Pali Canon as a whole to deal with these baffling questions. By whomsoever compiled, the contents of the Psalms are profoundly and perennially interesting as expressions of the religious mind, universal and unconquerable; a mind which is so intensely *alive*, because, to quote R. L. Stevenson, 'it knows what it prefers, instead of humbly saying Amen! to what the world tells it it ought to prefer.'

[1] *Op. cit.*, Introduction.

[2] We may ignore for present purposes the pious humility which ascribed several shorter gāthās to the Buddha himself.

[3] 'The bidding of the Buddha is done'; 'the Threefold Lore is won'; 'rebirth comes now no more.'

Even in the shorter gāthās we may eliminate the common stock of refrains, and yet discern, in each residuum, a distinctly and pathetically individual note, telling its own story of a supreme 'conjuncture' seized, of Nibbana (in its later Sanskrit form, *Nirvāṇa*) or Arahantship won.

More interesting, to the social historian, than the peace they hymned is the account of the various motives that drove women, when Buddhism had arisen, from the world to embrace the *an-agāriyā* or homeless life. These motives are as diverse as those revealed in the records of Christian monasticism. Across time and space a common humanity is manifest. In some cases it is the drawing power of the Dhamma, preached by the Buddha, or by a senior disciple of either sex, which brings about the crisis. The mental upheaval or commotion (*saṃvega*) produced in the hearer is occasioned, not so much by a 'sense of sin,' as by the flash of insight into universal impermanence in all things human and divine, and by the prospect of being reborn, world without end, in the infinite chain of life, ever renewing itself in the resultants of its own acts.

In other cases it is the *vis a tergo* of goading circumstance that impels the woman to break out of the groove. Escape, deliverance, freedom from suffering mental, moral, domestic, social—from some situation that has become intolerable—is hymned in the verses and explained in the Commentary. The bereaved mother, the childless widow, are emancipated from grief and contumely; the Magdalen from remorse, the wife of raja or rich man from the satiety and emptiness of an idle life of luxury, the poor man's wife from care and drudgery, the young girl from the humiliation of being handed over to the suitor who bids highest, the thoughtful woman from the ban imposed upon her intellectual development by convention and tradition. It is a suggestive point that the percentage of Sisters' Psalms, in which the goal achieved is envisaged as Emancipation, Liberty won—about 23 per cent.—is considerably greater than the corresponding proportion in the Psalms by the Brethren (13 per cent.). In most cases, the male singer

had had the disposal of his life in his own hands to a greater extent than was the case with each woman. I do not so misread the poems as to conclude that the liberty they hymned was merely a shaking off the trammels of the 'House-life.' As a novelist of to-day sagaciously puts it: 'Only the selfish and the useless are ever free.'[1] 'CITTAṂ *vimucci me!*'—it was the freed mind, the release from sense, superstition, craving, and the round of rebirth that made them break forth into singing. All other escape was but the *anagārūpanissaya*,[2] the indispensable conditions of the final release. Nevertheless, these little women of old were every whit as human as we, and I am convinced that the glory of saintship was for them, and at first—when they hymned it—no white light, but prismatic through the circumstances and temperament of each. Thus, those who had had most ado in breaking away from the world were most likely to sing:

'O free indeed! O gloriously free am I!'[3]

and to climb alone and sit on rocky peak, where the keener air smote on their brow and the world grew wide beneath, while they mused on this good thing that had come to them:

'So sit I here
Upon the rock. And o'er my spirit sweeps
The breath of LIBERTY!'[4]

To gain this free mobility, *pace* the deeper liberty, they, like their later Christian sisters, had laid down all social position, all domestic success; they had lost their world. But in exchange they had won the status of an individual in place of being adjuncts, however much admired, fostered, and sheltered they might, as such, have been. 'With shaven head, wrapt in their robe'—a dress indistinguishable, it would seem, from the swathing toga and swathed under-garments of the male *religieux*—the Sister was free to

[1] *The Inner Shrine.*
[2] Ps. lxx., verse 349; *cf.* Ps. xi., xl.
[3] Ps. xi., xxi.
[4] Ps. xxiv.

come and go, to dive alone into the depths of the wood, or climb aloft.

Moreover, to free mobility she could wed the other austere joy of being recognized, at least by her brother 'Arahants,' as a rational being, without reference to sex. As such she breathed the spiritual atmosphere, she shared the intellectual communion of that religious aristocracy called in the Pitakas, Ariyas, with whom she claimed that power of 'seeing all things as they really are' (*i.e.*, have come to be, *sabbaŋ yathābhūtaŋ disvā*), which the Buddhist called being Awake (*buddho*).

> '*How should the woman's nature hinder Us—*

us Ariyas?' says Somā:

> '*What can that signify to one in whom*
> *Insight doth truly comprehend the Norm?*
> *To one for whom the question doth arise:*
> *Am I a woman in such matters, or*
> *Am I a man? or what not am I, then?—*
> *To such an one is Māra fit to talk!*'

It is true that the Bhikkhunīs were, technically, appointed juniors in perpetuity to the Bhikkhus. It is equally clear that, by intellectual and moral eminence, a Therī might claim equality with the highest of the fraternity. In the Psalms an instance occurs, in xxxvii., where Bhaddā associates herself in spiritual attainment with the great Kassapa, successor, as head of the Order, to the Founder himself.

Not less touching than the sacrifices made for their dual liberty by rebels of the hearth are the few brief utterances of women who saw the land of freedom, but who repressed their longing to 'go forth,' even for many years, so long as duties to those depending on them kept them at home. To these the late-won liberty comes more as a haven of rest, and the poem a welcome spoken to her by the Master himself:

> '*Happily rest, thou venerable dame,*
> *Rest thee . . . knowing Nibbana's peace.*'[1]

---

[1] Ps. xvi.

It is worthy of passing note that these hindrances are chronicled as having been duties owed to husband, parent, or master, but never to children. If the mother's need is so great that she wrenches herself away from her children, either it is recorded that the child is handed over to grand-parents, or the fact of the sacrifice is merely stated:

> '*Home have I left, for I have left my world!*
> *Child have I left, and all my cherished herds.*'[1]

Whatever the mother's feelings may have been in such cases—and there are but one or two of them occurring in the book—the custom of the sons continuing to live with their parents after marriage seems to have been so prevalent that the children would not have been left unmothered. In nearly every case of a matron leaving the world, either no children are mentioned, or they are provided for, or grown up, or Death is mothering them.

For if Freedom drew, not less did Sorrow drive.

> '*Woeful is woman's lot! hath He declared—*
> *Tamer and Driver of the hearts of men;*'

and there are many erstwhile broken-hearted women who, in these verses, tell of how they had found consolation. One noteworthy point is that, not only is there not the faintest suggestion of *suttee*, there is no case even of the widow so greatly mourning the loss of her husband as one beloved that she seeks comfort at the Master's feet. Where her 'lord'[2] leaves her to enter the religious life, she follows in emulation, and enters it with the Bhikkhunīs; but if she be widowed, she mourns either her impoverished lot, or she is, as it happens, mourning for a child, or for kinsfolk, at the same time. It is 'Rachel weeping for her children because they are not' that constitutes, far more than does the bereaved daughter, sister, wife, or widow, as such, the type of Mulier Dolorosa—

[1] Ps. xviii.

[2] *Sāmī*, *sāmiko*, *pati* mean equally owner, lord, husband.

'Cuius animam gementem
Contristantem et dolentem
Pertransivit gladius'—

to whom life in the Order came chiefly as comfort and support in mortal anguish.

The 'Light of Asia' has familiarized the West with the episode, narrated in our Commentary, of Kisāgotamī—the Frail Gotamid[1]—who, cheating her distracted mind, sought medicine for the little child she bore about, dead, on her hip. The poem ascribed to her is one of the most striking of the series. Released from all her sorrows by insight gained through communion in the Order 'with noble souls,' and chiefly through the object-lesson given her by the noblest of them all, she strikes in her verses a broader note. Into the echoes of her own grief she weaves the chords of the sufferings of her sex, and more especially the terrible experiences of her great colleague the Sister Paṭācārā,[2] as if to illustrate the teaching of him who had comforted her, namely, that 'there hath no trouble overtaken you save such as is common to men.'

The Gotamid's swift acceptance of this stoic consolation may call up in contrast how a Western poet, with insight into human nature, spurns such comfort for the wounded heart while its anguish is yet raw:

'And common was the commonplace,
And vacant chaff well meant for grain.
That loss is common would not make
My own less bitter, rather more:
Too common! Never morning wore
To evening, but some heart did break.'[3]

But it should not be forgotten that Kisāgotamī, distraught though she was, is represented as being, in her spiritual evolution, at the very threshold of the Dawn, far nearer to saintship than the young Tennyson, mourning his friend, claimed to be. It is because he 'saw the promise

[1] Ps. lxiii. *I.e.*, physically frail or lean.
[2] Pronounce c like *ch* in 'church.'
[3] *In Memoriam*, vi.

in her,' that the Master judged her ready for the test he administered.

This method of consolation receives two developments in the poems. The former is essentially the agnostic position, and is the theme of Paṭācārā's own poem of consolation: 'So great a mystery was the little life now gone, both as to its coming and its going, that it never was yours—your property—to have or to mourn over. The great laws of the universe are not worked by you. Be quiet—*und füge dich.*' Thus are many mothers said to have been effectually comforted. Again we may feel sceptical, even scornful; but are we sure we have gauged the workings of all human hearts and every touch to which they will respond? Moreover, again, these were mothers ripe for salvation.

The other development alluded to is peculiarly Indian: 'No trouble hath overtaken you, save such as hath already overtaken you many and many a time in the infinite number of your past spans of life. Why, then, fall ever back on these helpless tears that never have availed aught? Cut at the source whence all these myriad bereavements have come.'[1]

Now, apart from their interest as a contribution to the history of women under Monasticism, the most salient object-lesson given by East to West in these Psalms is just this characteristic perspective taken of what we call 'life.' We have heard it said here that life is a moment between two eternities. But, as a normal attitude of thought, we wipe out the first eternity, and retain the moment and the forward view. In the religious language of the Buddhists—to speak only of this phase of thought—the word life, *jīvita*, hardly occurs. That which we call life is for them but one *anga*, one segment or stage, in *bhava*, or being (becoming). Their religious psychology, in the post-Asokan period, adopted the term *bhavanga* to mean just that moment (one out of an infinite number of moments) between the eternities, considered more especially

[1] *Cf.* Ps. xxxiii., Ubbirī.

as conscious, or potentially conscious, life, much as our psychology has adopted the less indigenous word *continuum*.[1] And accordingly, when these weeping mothers are reminded that times without number have they stood wringing their hands for the lost burden of sweetness unspeakable—ay, even there, at Sāvatthī itself, even here, in that charnel-field, even for a girlie called Jīvā ('living,' 'Viva') too,—even for many Jīvās—why then, for them at least, whose spiritual growth was just about to show the ripened fruit, all the intolerable uniqueness of this *last* bereavement fell away. No more could they say, 'Behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow.' . . . The little moment of their *bhava* and of the child's *bhava* became merged into the past eternity. And the one thing needful rose up: How to merge the future eternity into the moment:

> '. . . *had better live no longer than one Day,*
> *So she behold, within That Day, That Path!*'

Not without reason may the Western mind of to-morrow object that this attitude too much resembles the hopeless outlook of the slum-cottage mother of to-day. She will remark of *her* dozen Jīvās: 'Ah, well, you must have your lot!' and also, 'As I ought to know, having buried nine!' To-morrow, it may be, living under physical conditions less horrible than at present, and with some training of the understanding, she will rise up and regulate both her 'lot' and let the lot live to bury her. Yet will one child here and there be torn by death from her. And the uniqueness will be the more intolerable then—or will she have heard of Ubbirī?

Thus, anyway, did the Buddha and his elect Sisters seek to comfort Rachel, administering no celestial balm, but educing from the tottering, anguished soul its inner resources, its latent self-reliance, its cramped faculty of

[1] The fact that *bhavanga* in this sense occurs frequently in the Commentaries, and, earlier still, in Milinda, and in Netti-Pakaraṇa (where a bodily and a mental *continuum* are distinguished, 91), but not in the Piṭakas, is not wholly without chronological significance.

spiritual vision. The Christian Bhikkhunī exhorted her sisters to

> '*Patere nunc aspera.*
> *Nunc sis Crucis socia,*'

because they could expect to be

> '*Regni consors postea.*'[1]

The Indian sister was bidden: 'Come to thyself!' and confessed herself victor over pain and sorrow:

> '*In that I now can grasp and understand*
> *The base on which my miseries were built.*'[2]

But she is never led to look forward to bliss in terms of *time*, positive or negative. If Death be conquered, it is not through the winning, in Arahantship, of eternal living, but because, when Death comes, his eternally recurring visitation ceases. It may be that in harping in highest exultation how they had won to, and touched, the Path Ambrosial—the *Amatay Paday*[3]—Nibbana, they implied some state inconceivable to thought, inexpressible by language, while the one and the other are limited to concepts and terms of life; and yet a state which, while not in time or space, positively constitutes the sequel of the glorious and blissful days of this life's residuum. Nevertheless, their verses do not seem to betray anything that can be construed as a consciousness that hidden glories, more wonderful than the brief span of 'cool' and calm they now know as Arahants, are awaiting them. There is nothing pointing to an *Avyākata*—an unrevealed mystery—concerning which 'we would, and if we could,' sing something. It may be with them as with one who, after long toil and much peril, reaches home, and is content with that for the day, whatever life may yet give or ask for on the morrow. They have won up out of

[1] L. Eckenstein, *Women under Monasticism*, p. 486.

[2] Ps. li., v. 138.

[3] On the term *Amata*, *cf. Questions of Milinda* (S.B.E.), vol. i., 236. The word 'state' in connection with it does not occur in the Psalms.

the Maelstrom of Saṃsāra, they have 'crossed over,' they have won to something ineffable, that *now is*, but is not to be described in terms of space or after-time; and resting, they sing. We will leave it at that.

In practically every case the breaking out of the groove of habit and convention was proximately caused by a personal influence—magnetic, inspiring, persuasive—that of a ransomed sister or brother, or of the greatest Brother of them all. But herein we note a sharp contrast between these Indian Marys and their Christian sisters. Where He, the Central Figure, intervenes, and gratitude is blent with adoration, the little poem reveals no word of quasi-amorous self-surrender to the person or image of the Beloved, such as characterizes not a little of that Christian literature for which the Song of Solomon—'*I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine*'—was a sacred archetype. The '*rex virgineus, sponsus dulcissimus*,' who, in Abbess Herrad's psalm, 'prepares the bridal' and 'receives in his embrace,' belongs to a tradition naturally evolving around a *youthful* Saviour.[1] The utmost length a Therī presumes to go in relating herself to her Teacher, is to claim spiritual fatherhood in Him, whom she perhaps first saw late in his long life (some of the Theras, the Brethren, use the same language). Thus Sundarī:

> '*Thou art Buddha! thou art Master! and thine,*
> *Thy daughter am I, issue of thy mouth.*'[2]

and, again, Uttamā:

> '*Buddha's daughter I,*
> *Born of his mouth, his blessed word, I stand!*'

And Uppalavaṇṇā:

> '*Thou who presumest to lie in wait for a child of the Buddha.*'[3]

While for Kisāgotamī, her great physician enters her

[1] Eckenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 253, 307 *ff.*, 486.

[2] '*Tuvaṃ Buddho tuvaṃ Satthā, tuyhaṃ dhīt'amhi brahmaṇa Orasā mukhato jātā. . .*' (Ps. lxix., verse 336).

[3] Ps. xxxi.; Ps. lxxi., verse 384.

Psalm regarded, though not directly so addressed, more as a kind and noble friend (*kalyāna-mitta*).

In this connection, it should be noted, that, in Buddhist hagiology, there is no premium placed on the state of virginity as such. The Founder himself was a husband and father, and the most eminent Sisters were, three-fourths of them, matrons, not virgins.[1]

It is also worthy of passing remark, that of the four notorious Magdalens who found peace and purity in the Order of Bhikkhunīs—Aḍḍhakāsī, Vimalā, Abhaya's Mother, and Ambapālī—not one expresses any deep feeling of personal attachment to the Teacher. Had they been of such a temperament, it is probable their past life might have proved impossible for them.[2]

Not a less interesting circumstance is it, when the rescued soul's devotion fastens itself upon a woman saviour, as is shown notably in the loyalty professed for Paṭācārā, the Great Pajāpatī, Dhammadinnā and Uppalavaṇṇā.[3] The last two have individual acknowledgments paid them, but the first-named—a veritable *Mater Consolatrix*—is hailed by a school of Bhikkhunīs as their sovereign Lady

'*Like unto Sakka o'er the Thrice Ten Gods.*'

Hers is the system or *sāsana* that they obey; the Master himself is not for them in the foreground of their cult.

From whatever motive and through whatever agency the Sisters had found their way into the Order, it is clear that with the change a new and varied life opened up for them. We see in the verses the expression of energies and emotions newly awakened or diverted into new channels. Even where the poems breathe rest and peace, their tone is exalted and hedonistic, telling of

[1] *Anguttara Nikāya*, i. 25.

[2] 'The loose woman and the nun . . . have this in common, that they are both the outcome of the refusal among womankind to accept married relations on the basis of the subjection imposed by the father-age' (L. Eckenstein, *op. cit.*, 5).

[3] Ps. xlviii.-l., lviii., xxx. xxxiv., xxxviii., lxx.

'*exceeding store*
Of joy and an impassioned quietude.'[1]

Even in the verses of those women who have sought refuge in the Order from overwhelming misery or disgust, there is little or no expression of the obtained relief in terms of that quiescence and apathy and mortified vitality so readily imputed to the religious ideals of the East. Life under the Vinaya was one of both active and contemplative discipline. The emancipation won implied 'space'—*okāsa*—opportunity, that is, for developing, regulating, and concentrating both thought and deed:

'*La douce liberté cherchant la douce loi.*'[2]

Under its régime the Bhikkhunī became the pupil of some Therī. She led the simple life, and discharged the ministering duties of a novice. And by prescribed exercises and daily lessons she worked out for herself, if the promise was in her, her own salvation, qualifying to become a teacher and leader in her turn. There was to be no forgetting by her of what she had left and escaped from. Not only was she to turn and mark those past struggles, but, as her insight grew, there was to come to her, if she was of the calibre of these Therīs, memories of former lives, revealing the inevitable working of the law of Kamma (karma), or the conservation of the effect of action. The vision might have its terrors, but it was all part of her Peace—for had she not made an end[3]—an end which all her days meant:

[1] William Watson. As I have said elsewhere, Matthew Arnold's lines in *Rugby Chapel* might have been written of the Therī's:

'*Ye like angels appear,*
Radiant with ardour divine;
Beacons of hope ye appear;
Languor is not in your heart,
Weakness is not in your word,
Weariness not on your brow.'

[2] V. Hugo, *L'Âne.*

[3] Ps. lxxii.: '. . . *tassa pi anto kato mayā!*' Isidāsī.

'*Even of that now have I made an end.*'

'. . . *peace on earth.*
Not peace that grows by Lethe, scentless flower,
There in white languors to decline and cease;
But peace whose names are also Rapture, Power,
Clear sight and Love: for these are parts of Peace.'[1]

Such are a few of the salient features in these little cameos of thought, carved by, or for, these notable women of long ago. It would take too long here to analyze, not only the motives that brought them into the Order, but the various aspects, peace and the rest, under which they viewed that adept state called 'Arahatta,' which they all are affirmed to have won, and the assurance of which is termed AÑÑĀ (lit., *ad-sciens*). I will only touch on one avenue opened up for the adept woman, that has ever been sought by her in whatever communion she graduated. For all her inspired musings under the hilly skies or the cool shade, the Therī's life was not wholly one of introspective reverie, free or regulated. The Order, refuge though it proved, was primarily an organization for the propaganda of the Dhamma or 'Norm,'[2] and its members were all, more or less, wholly or at times, saviours and good shepherds of stray sheep. Instances of this one and that 'teaching the

[1] W. Watson, *Wordsworth's Grave.* The English poet and the Buddhist spirit here embrace. *Santi* or *Samatha* (peace, calm) is closely allied by the latter with *Vipassanā* (clear sight, insight); and with all good thought is involved also *Samādhi* or *Jhāna* (contemplative rapture), and often *Pīti* (emotional rapture), the *Indriya's* (or *Bala's*, powers) and *Adosa* (or *Mettā*, love).

[2] This word is in some respects a more adequate translation of Dhamma (Sanskrit, *Dharma*) than Law, Truth, or Gospel.* By Dhamma is meant one of the five cosmic orders or sequences of happenings in the universe. Beside the order of action (*kamma*), of the physical forces (*utu*), of biological forces (*bīja*, or germs), and of mind, there was, if one may so call it, the moral or regenerative cosmos—*dhamma-niyama*—by which the living universe evolved its Buddhas and toiled upward out of the eternal round of *saŋsāra* towards salvation and the ideal. These five are severally declared in the Canon, but were classified later. See Buddhaghosa's Commentary on *Dīgha Nikāya*, Sutta xiv.

* Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, 38.

Dhamma' will be met with in the Psalms and their story, notably those of Paṭācārā, of Puṇṇikā the serf, of Vāsitthi, and of Sukkā, pupil of the greater preacher, Dhammadinnā. Indeed, we find it not hard to picture Sukkā[1] pacing to and fro on the rostrum of her terrace, her audience sitting cross-legged or otherwise, enchanted, spellbound in the dappled shade around her, while from out of the venerable, once sacred tree, near which the group of cells clustered, the elfin face of the Dryad—her ancient votive shrine neglected, yet herself stirred to enthusiasm by this New Woman's eloquence —leans out from the trunk,

> '*fain to quaff*
> *That life's elixir, once gained never lost,*
> *That welleth ever up in her sweet words,*
> *E'en as the wayfarer welcomes the rain.*'

Another Psalmist, Bhaddā Kāpilānī, is also spoken of in the *Vinaya* (*Vin.*, iv. 290, 292) as a learned and honoured preacher of the Dhamma. And in the *Anguttara Nikāya* we meet with another Sister, called 'The Kajangalan'—namely, of that town—who, though no Psalmist, expounds to an inquiring congregation the very theme, the first question concerning which baffled her notable colleague, Bhaddā Curlyhair (*Ang. Nik.*, v. 54 *f.*; Ps. xlvi).

The two instances—possibly versions of one and the same legend—of itinerant women debaters,[2] betray the breaking out of active intellects into less cramped, if unprofitable channels. Organized educational work in the Order must have proved greatly welcome to such temperaments.

It may assist readers to gain a purview of how the Therīs envisaged their *summum bonum*, if I give a summary of my own analysis, together with the number of Psalms in which each aspect is emphasized. The table is not exhaustive, and might be supplemented, and in most cases more than one aspect appears in one and the same poem. The End of Living or of Rebirths, *e.g.*, forms almost a ground-wave to be discerned in the majority of the Psalms, if not always the surface-billow.

[1] Ps. lxv., li., xxxiv., xii.

[2] Ps. xlvi., xlii.

SALVATION, NIBBANA, OR ARAHANTSHIP VIEWED UNDER—

A. A NEGATIVE ASPECT.

(*As a release, a getting rid of.*)[1]

(*a*) Nibbana (the 'going-out' of greed, ill-will, and dulness) 5 (vi., xlvii., lxiii., lxx., lxxiii.).

(*b*) Freedom ... ... 17 (ii., iv., xi., xii., xvii., xxi., xxiv., xl., xliii., xlv.-xlvii., lii., lxiii., lxix., lxx., lxxiii.).

(*c*) Comfort, End to Ill ... 11 (xxxiii., xlix., l., li., lv., lix., lx., lxiii., lxviii., lxii.).

(*d*) End of Becoming or 'Life' 9 (xx., xxii., xxv., xxxi., xlii., xlv., lv., lxix., lxx.).

(*e*) End of Craving ... ... 10 (xxv.-xxviii., xxix., xxxiv., lii., liv., lxii., lxxi.).

(*f*) Rest .. .. 3 (i., xii., xvi.).

B. A POSITIVE ASPECT.

1. *Subjectively considered.*

(*a*) Mental illumination conceived as—

(i.) Light ... ... 12 (iii., xxiii., xxx., xxxv., xxxvi., xlviii., lvii.-lxi., lxiv.).

(ii.) Insight... ... ... 8 (xxxvi., xxxviii., xli., xliv., liii., lx., lxiv., lxxi.).

(*b*) State of Feeling:

(i.) Happiness ... ... 5 (vi., xxi., xxxix., lvii., lxxiii.).

(ii.) Cool, calm, content ('sītibhāva,' 'nibbutā,' 'upasamo') ... ... 12 (xiv.-xvi., xviii., xix., xxvi., xxxvii., xxxix., xli., xliv., lvi., lxx.).

(iii.) Peace, safety ... ... 11 (vi., viii., ix., xxix., xxx., xxxviii., xlii., xliv., lvii., lxii., lxxiii.).

(*c*) State of Will:

Self-mastery ... ... 14 (xv., xxviii.-xxx., xxxii., xxxvi., xl., xlv., xlvii., lvi., lvii., lix., lxi., lxiv.).

[1] This twofold classification must, of course, not be taken absolutely. It is merely a question of relative emphasis—*e.g.*, B 1 (*a*) is equally a getting rid of the 'Darkness' of Ignorance.

2. *Objectively considered.*

(*a*) As Truth	3 (liii., lxiii., lxvi.).
(*b*) As the Highest Good ...	1 (xlix.).
(*c*) As a supreme opportunity...	1 (v.).
(*d*) As a regulated life	2 (iii., xlviii.).
(*e*) As communion with the Best	6 (xxxviii., xlix., lxiii., lxvii., lxix., lxx.).
(*f*) As bringing congenial work	5 (xxxiv., lxii., lxv., lxvii., lxxiii.).[1]

For those who are acquainted with the way in which, in Christianity, the cult of the Madonna and of women saints grafted itself upon, and in part sprang out of, the widely spread cult of tribal goddesses in Europe,[2] the question will arise: 'Can anything of the sort be traced regarding the veneration of these women's names in the Buddhist scriptures?' But we are not here dealing with a cult of a woman or women, hence we may scarcely expect anything of positive value to comparative research in this field. Very faint traits of affinity here and there may suggest themselves to the keen *flair* of the anthropologist. There is, for instance, the association between Therī and tree. Beneath some tree they are wont to sit, to stand, to preach. In the Appendix they are always said to be found beneath, not *a* tree, but a *certain* tree:—*aññatarasmiṃ rukkhamūle.* Again, while there is nothing in their names associating them with hill-shrines, as is the case with 'berg and 'burg names of German women-saints, that the Therīs *are* found, for no very apparent reason, seated on hill-tops, I have shown. Once more, is there perhaps in the three sisters of Nālaka in Magadha—Cālā, Upacālā, Sīsupacālā—some echo of those local triads of goddesses, or saints that are common in German lore, and which loom, dim with antiquity, in the Semnai or Venerable Goddesses of Greek worship,[3] and in the Trinity of the Norns or Fates?

[1] Sumedhā was evidently a born preacher!

[2] I refer readers to the deeply interesting opening chapter in Miss Eckenstein's book, *Women under Monasticism.*

[3] Dr. Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, pp. 239 *ff.*

Almost, finally, am I tempted to see significance in the form of the refrain adopted by or for the ageing ex-courtezan's Psalm—that of Ambapālī—

'*So and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of the Soothsayer,*'

i.e., literally, the Truth-speaker.' There is no mystic association attaching to the word *saccavādī*, where it occurs elsewhere, hence I lay no weight on this choice of a name for the Master. Nevertheless it is interesting to find these two ancient institutions, the hetaira of the community and the Wise Woman, with her monopoly of seeing things as they have been, are, or will be, combined in one and the same poem.

III

In conclusion, let it be said that, while the text of the Commentary containing the life-history of each Sister has been here and there abridged and condensed, the verses have been translated as faithfully as lay in my power consistently with the attempt to convey something of the poetic and religious feeling of the metrical original. To do this for a foreign idiom and an alien and ancient tradition, it was often necessary to expand each bead in some rosary of terms into a phrase. *E.g.*, the end of verse 337:

vītarāgā.
'Who also have themselves from passion freed,
visaŋyuttā
Unyoked from bondage, loosened from the world,
katakiccā
Who have accomplished their appointed task,
anāsavā
And all that drugged their hearts have purged away.'

No attempt has been made to force English into the Pali rhythms. Of these the one that is used in nearly all the gāthās is the *Sloka*. It is as prevalent in Buddhist metrical

Saccavādivacanaŋ anaññathā.

diction as is the iambic five-footed line in ours. The line just quoted may be recited to illustrate it:

Vītarāgā visaŋyuttā || katakiccā anāsavā.

Where the metre varies, I have indicated the variety so far as I was able.

One of the more interesting varieties is the poem of Ambapālī, in which this once famous Thaïs contemplates her wasted charms. The metre is approximately that which came, in later literature, to be known as the Rathoddhatā (or Chariot-borne) variant of the Trishṭubh:

Kāḷakā bhamaravaṇṇasadisā
Jetty black like-the-colour-of-the bee

Vellitaggā mama muddhajā ahuŋ.
The curling tips of the headgrowth of me were.

Te jarāya sānavākasadisā
They thro' age are-like-hemp-and-bark:

Saccavādivacanaŋ anaññathā.
Soothsayer's word not otherwise.

But in two or three cases I have not been able to identify the metre.[1] Studies in Indian prosody so far have been made chiefly in much later literature, when verses were largely made for metres. In these early rhythms, the poet may have been less hampered by precedent and convention.

Where the English limps lamely (I pass over the lack in the translator of poetic gift or training), this is in part due to a desire to put in no religious tropes and figures from Western traditions. Where they have intruded, notice of

[1] *E.g.*, in Ps. lxiii. (see p. 110, *n.* 2); Ps. xxi.:

'*Sumuttike sumuttikā sādhu muttikāmhi musalassa;*'

and the last poem, beginning:

'*Mantāvatiyā nagare rañño Koñcassa aggamahesiyā.*'

Cf. in verse 512 the curious rhythm:

'*Idam ajaraŋ idam amaraŋ idam ajarāmarapadam asokaŋ.*'

the exotic element is given. Some day the Pali gāthās will find their William Morris, their Gilbert Murray. In this makeshift venture, I have striven to make the translation such that the English reader, mindful as he goes of wayside warnings in footnotes, might feel confident that the lines before him do not omit subject-matter that is in the original, nor add subject-matter that is not.[1] At the same time, let it be readily admitted that the renderings are so far free as to disqualify the book from serving as a 'crib' to the student. If my gifted German predecessor in this effort could not adhere literally to the text, the English language, with its abhorrence of compound words, its poverty in prefixes and verbal nouns, starts him who wields it at a yet greater distance from the Pali. To regulate the more careful reader's confidence, or want of it, in the renderings selected, many words in the Index will be found with the Pali originals appended.

One more word in this connection. If I have used 'Sister' in preference to 'nun,' it was not, in sooth, that the latter term, in its *original* connotation of *nonna*, or mother, was not an adequate, and more than adequate, rendering for Bhikkhunī. It was rather to keep my Indian recluses free from such implication of confinement within walls and to lifelong vows as may now attach to the word 'nun.'

It needs no confession of mine to place on record the help I found, at the initial stage of translation, in Dr. Neumann's translation of the gāthās, as well as in Professor Windisch's prose rendering of the verses in the Appendix. That with regard to the former, the differences in German and English metrical idiom, combined with, here and there, difference in judgment, should have often led me to reach the end by a different way, does not by any means obviate the fact of the aid received. Pioneers had been step-cutting before me, and all honour to pioneers.

[1] One instance of unnecessarily 'free,' not to say incorrect, rendering, discovered too late for revision, I have amended on p. 192, slightly revising the Pali text.

'*Ukkādhāro manussānaŋ*
Niccaŋ apacito mayā.'[1]

And as my husband, seventeen years ago, introduced me to these dear and revered ladies—

'*So me dhammaŋ adesesi therīhi suppakāsitaŋ*'

—so now has he furthered and guarded my efforts with advice and criticism.

Gladly and gratefully would I record the kindness of those who have helped me in procuring the illustrations—to wit, Mr. J. H. Marshall, Director-General of the Archæology Survey of India, who sent me many photographs of Rajgir, Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh, and other places; Dr. T. Bloch, of the Indian Museum, Calcutta; Mr. C. H. Hooper, of Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta, who sent me several forest scenes; my brother, C. W. Foley, of Calcutta, who procured for me a selection of views about Gayā; Mrs. Arthur Schuster, who laid her large collection of photographs, taken on her Indian travels, at my disposal; Mr. and Mrs. Ernest B. Havell; and lastly, Mr. F. J. Payne, hon. secretary of the Buddhist Society, G.B. and I., who has given me valuable assistance in carrying out the work of illustration. Through their prompt and generous aid the book might have been interleaved throughout with interesting views of the ancient haunts of the Sisters, had it been practicable.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

ASHTON-ON-MERSEY,
July, 1909.

[1] *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 336.

PSALMS OF THE SISTERS,

WITH THE

CHRONICLE FROM THE COMMENTARY
BY DHAMMAPĀLA ENTITLED 'THE ELUCIDATION
OF THE HIGHEST MEANING'

THE COMMENTATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Honour to that Exalted One, Arahant, Very Buddha!

Now is the occasion come for commenting on the meaning of the psalms of the Sisters. The exposition of their several poems will be made easier and more intelligible, if I first relate the circumstances under which the Bhikkhunīs in the beginning came to leave the world and obtain admission into the Order. Of this, therefore, I will give an account in outline.

When the Lord of the world had combined the Eight Factors—humanity and the rest of Buddhahood—when, having made his great resolve at the feet of the Buddha Dīpankăra,[1] and mastering equally all the Thirty Perfections, according to the prophecy of the Four-and-Twenty Buddha in succession concerning him, he had reached the climax in his progress towards wisdom, knowledge of the world and Buddhahood, then he took rebirth in the Realms of Bliss (*Tusita*). And there, when he had lived the span of life among the ten thousand gods of the Cosmic Circles, he thereupon assented to the request of those gods to be reborn as a man that he might become a Buddha, according to their words:

'The time is now at hand when Thou,
Great Hero, shouldst as man be born.
Bearing both gods and men across,
Do Thou reveal th' Ambrosial Way!'

[1] One of the twenty-four Buddhas of later Buddhism. Early Buddhism reckoned only seven. For this and the following episodes in greater detail, *cf.* Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 12 *f.* 27, 28; 60, 61; 87; 92.

So he made the Five Great Considerations, and then, in the house of King Suddhodana, of the princely clan of the Sākiyas, did he, mindful and self-possessed, enter a mother's womb; then, mindful and self-possessed, did he there ten months abide; then, mindful and self-possessed, did he thence emerge and come to birth in the Lumbinī Grove.

Reared by divers nurses, surrounded ever in luxury by a great retinue, he grew up in due course, dwelling in one of three mansions, amid divers bands of nautch-women, and enjoying honours like a god. Then, anguish being stirred in him at sight of an aged man, a diseased man, and a dead man, he, from the maturity of his insight, saw the danger in the life of the senses and the profit in renouncing it. Mounting his horse Kanthaka, and with Channa as his companion, at midnight, through the gate set open by spirits, he went forth on the Great Renunciation. During the remainder of that night he traversed three kingdoms, and, coming to the bank of the river Anomā, and taking the outward marks of an Arahant, brought to him by the Brahmā-god Ghaṭīkāra, he left the world. Thereupon, as though he were already an Elder with the eight requisites,[1] comely in appearance and of graceful deportment, he came in due course to Rājagaha, and there going round for alms, he ate his meal in the cave of Mount Paṇḍava. There the King of Magadha offered him his kingdom. But he, refusing it, went to Bhaggava's hermitage and learnt his system; thence to Āḷāra and Uddaka and learnt their systems. Finding all that inadequate, he proceeded to Uruvelā, and there for six years practised austerities. Then, discerning that this brought no penetration of the Ariyan Norm, he said, 'This is not the Path to Enlightenment,' and, taking solid food, he in a few days recovered strength. So, on full-moon day in the month of May, he ate the choice food given by Sujātā,[2] and, casting the golden dish upstream into the river, he, full of his resolve, 'To-day will I become a Buddha!' ascended at eventide the Bo-tree seat—his praises sung by Kāla, king of the Nāgas—

[1] *Loc. cit.*, 87. [2] *Ibid.*, 92 *ff.*

and there, in a quakeless spot[1] facing the eastern world, seated him cross-legged and indomitable. There, fixing his will in four respects, he vanquished the power of Māra ere the sun went down. In the first watch of the night he recalled his former lives; in the middle watch he purified the eye celestial; in the last watch he sounded the depth of the knowledge of the Causal Law. And, grasping in direct and reverse order the formula of causal relation, he developed insight, and reached that perfect enlightenment reached by all Buddhas but shared by no one else. There then abiding seven days in the Fruition which has Nibbana as its object, and, in the same manner, abiding yet other seven days on the Bo-tree seat, he partook of sweet food beneath the Rājāyatana tree.[2] Then, again, seated beneath the Goatherds' Banyan, he reflected on the depth of the essence of the Norm.[3] And his mind was disinclined for effort till he was entreated by Great Brahmā; but then he gazed upon the world with the Buddha-Eye, and, seeing all the diverse range of faculties in all beings, he promised Great Brahmā that he would teach the Norm. Meditating, 'Where, now, shall I first teach the Norm?' he discerned that Āḷāra and Uddaka had passed away; but then he thought, 'Very helpful to me were the Five who were attending on me when I broke off from my ascetic struggles. What if I were first to preach to them?' So, in the full moon of July, he went from the Great Bo-tree toward Benāres. And when he had travelled eighteen leagues, he met halfway the recluse Upaka[4] and conversed with him; and so on to Isipatana, where he convinced the Five by means of the Discourse called Turning the Wheel of the Norm,[5] beginning:

'There are two extremes, O bhikkhus, which the man who has given up the world ought not to follow' . . .

thus giving them, beginning with Aññakondañña, together

[1] *Loc. cit.*, 96.
[2] =King's-stead Tree.
[3] See Translator's Preface.
[4] See his story in Ps. lxviii.
[5] Translated by Rhys Davids in *Buddhist Suttas*, S.B.E. xi., pp. 146 *ff*.

with eighteen myriads of Brahma-gods, a draught of Truth-ambrosia. Then on the first day of the next fortnight he established also Elder Bhaddaji in the path of the Stream-winners; on the second day, Elder Vappa; on the third day, Elder Mahānāma; on the fourth, Elder Assaji; and on the fifth day, by preaching the sermon of the Mark of No-Soul, he established them all in Arahantship. Thereafter he brought over many folk into the Ariyan fold[1]—to wit, the fifty-five youths led by Yasa, the thirty Bhaddavaggiyans in the Cotton-tree Grove, and the thousand former ascetics on the ridge of Gayā-Head. And when he had established eleven myriads, with Bimbisāra at their head, in the fruit of Entering the Stream (conversion), and one myriad in the Three Refuges, he accepted the gift of the Bamboo Grove, and there abode. Now, when Sāriputta and Moggallāna, brought into the First Path through Assaji, had taken leave of Sañjaya (their teacher), had joined the Buddha with their respective followings, and had realized the topmost Fruition, he set them, who had attained the perfection of discipleship, over all his disciples. Then, going at the entreaty of Elder Kāḷudāyi to Kapilavatthu, he subdued the proud stubbornness of his kinsmen by the Twin Miracle,[2] and establishing his father in the Path of No-Return, and Great Pajāpatī[3] in the Fruition of Entering the Stream, and causing the princes Nanda and Rāhula[4] to renounce the world, he went back to Rājagaha.

Now it came thereafter to pass, while the Master was staying at the Hall of the Gabled House near Vesālī, that King Suddhodhana attained Arahantship while under the white canopy,[5] and then passed away Then in Great Pajāpatī arose the thought of renouncing the world.

[1] Lit., territory—*i.e.*, the 'true faith.' *Cf. Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 113.

[2] *Cf. Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 123 *f.*

[3] The sister and co-wife of the Buddha's mother. See Ps. lv.

[4] His half-brother (son of Pajāpatī), and his own son.

[5] *I.e.*, as King and layman, without renouncing the world.

Then there came to her the wives of those five hundred young nobles who had renounced the world on hearing, on the bank of the Rohinī river, the 'Discourse concerning Strife and Dissension,' and they told her, saying: 'We will all renounce the world to follow the Master.' And they wished that she should lead them to him. Now Great Pajāpatī had once already asked the Master for admission to his Order, and had not won his consent; wherefore she now bade her hairdresser cut off her hair, and donning the yellow robes, she took all those Sākiya ladies with her to Vesālī, and there entreating Him of the Tenfold Power through Elder Ānanda, she gained his permission to leave the world and enter the Order by accepting the Eight Rules.[1] And the others, also, were all ordained at the same time.

This, in brief, is the story. What is here said has been handed down at greater length here and there in the Pali Canon.

Thus ordained, Great Pajāpatī came before the Master, and, saluting him, stood on one side. Then he taught her the Norm. She, taking up under him the system of exercise, attained to Arahantship. The other five hundred Bhikkhunīs attained it at the end of Nandaka's sermon.[2] Now the Order of Bhikkhunīs being thus well established, and multiplying in divers villages, towns, country districts, and royal residences, dames, daughters-in-law and maidens of the clans, hearing of the great enlightenment of the Buddha, of the very truth of the Norm, of the excellent practices of the Order, were mightily pleased with the system, and, dreading the round of rebirth, they sought permission of husband, parents, and kin, and taking the system to their bosom, renounced the world. So renouncing and living virtuously, they received instruction from the Master and the Elders, and with toil and effort soon realized Arahantship. And the psalms which they

[1] For the oldest account of this, see Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, iii., 320 *f.*

[2] *Majjhima Nikāya*, iii., pp. 270 *ff.*

uttered from time to time, in bursts of enthusiasm and otherwise, were afterwards by the Recensionists included in the Rehearsal, and arranged together in eleven cantos. They are called the Verses of the Elder Women (*Therī-gāthā*), and they are divided into cantos of single verses, two verses, and so on, as follows:

CANTO I

PSALMS OF SINGLE VERSES

I

Verse uttered by a certain Sister, a Bhikkhunī of Name Unknown.

Sleep softly, little Sturdy, take thy rest
At ease, wrapt in the robe thyself hast made.
Stilled are the passions that would rage within,
Withered as potherbs in the oven dried. (1)

How was she reborn?

Long ago, a certain daughter of one of the clans became a fervent believer in the teaching of the Buddha Koṇāgamana,[1] and entertained him hospitably. She had an arbour made with boughs, a draped ceiling, and a sanded floor, and did him honour with flowers and perfumes. And all her life doing meritorious acts, she was reborn among the gods, and then again among men when Kassapa was Buddha, under whom she renounced the world. Reborn again in heaven till this Buddha-dispensation, she was finally born in a great nobleman's family at Vesālī. From the sturdy build of her body they called her Sturdykin. She became the devoted wife of a young noble. When the Master came to Vesālī, she was convinced by his teaching, and became a lay-disciple. Anon, hearing the Great Pajāpatī the Elder preaching the Doctrine, the wish arose in her to leave the

[1] Koṇāgamana and Kassapa successively preceded Gotama as Buddhas.

world, and she told this to her husband. He would not consent; so she went on performing her duties, reflecting on the sweetness of the doctrine, and living devoted to insight. Then one day in the kitchen, while the curry was cooking, a mighty flame of fire shot up, and burnt all the food with much crackling. She, watching it, made it a basis for rapt meditation on the utter impermanence of all things. Thereby she was established in the Fruition of the Path of No-Return. Thenceforth she wore no more jewels and ornaments. When her husband asked her the reason, she told him how incapable she felt of living a domestic life. So he brought her, as Visākha brought Dhammadinnā,[1] with a large following, to Great Pajāpatī the Gotamid, and said: 'Let the reverend Sisters give her ordination.' And Pajāpatī did so, and showed her the Master; and the Master, emphasizing, as was his custom, the visible basis whereby she had attained, spoke the verse above.

Now, when she had attained Arahantship, the Sister repeated that verse in her exultation, wherefore this verse became *her* verse.

II

Verse wherewith the Exalted One frequently exhorted Muttā while a Student.

Get free, Liberta,[2] free e'en as the Moon
From out the Dragon's jaws[3] sails clear on high.
Wipe off the debts that hinder thee,[4] and so,
With heart at liberty, break thou thy fast. (2)

[1] See Ps. xii.
[2] Muttā = freed (woman).
[3] *Cf.* the 'Ford' Jātaka (*Buddhist Birth Stories*, 253):

> 'He has gained freedom—as the moon set free,
> When an eclipse has passed, from Rāhu's jaws.'

[4] *Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 82-84.

This is the verse of a student named Muttā. She, too, being one who had made a resolve under former Buddhas, went on heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that state of becoming. Finally, she was reborn in this Buddha-dispensation as the child of an eminent brahmin at Sāvatthī, and named Muttā. And in her twentieth year, her destiny being fully ripe, she renounced the world under the Great Pajāpatī the Gotamid, and studied the exercises for ecstatic insight. Returning one day from her round for alms, she discharged her duties toward her seniors, and then going apart to rest, and seated out of sight, she began to concentrate herself. Then the Master, sitting in the 'Fragrant Chamber'[1] of the Vihāra, sent forth glory, and revealing himself as if seated before her, uttered the verse above. And she, steadfast in that exhortation, not long after attained Arahantship, and so attaining, exulted in the words of that verse. Completing her studies and promoted to full rank, she yet again uttered it, when about to pass away.

III

Puṇṇā.

The following verse is that of a student named Puṇṇā.[2] She, heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy under former Buddhas in this and that state of becoming, was born—when the world was empty of a Saviour Buddha—as a fairy, by the River Candabhāgā.[3] One day she worshipped a certain Silent[4] Buddha with a wreath of reeds. Thereby gaining

[1] *Gandha-kūṭi*, the traditional term for the Buddha's own room, especially that at the Jetavana Vihāra, Sāvatthi.

[2] *Cf.* Ps. lxv., note.

[3] Ca = Cha. The word is equivalent to 'moonlight.' *Cf.* Ps. xxix., xxxii.

[4] A free rendering of Pacceka-Buddha—one enlightened for himself alone, not a world-Saviour.

heaven, she was, in this Buddha-dispensation, reborn as the child of a leading burgess of Sāvatthi and named Puṇṇā. When she had so dwelt for twenty years, her destiny then being fully ripe, she heard the Great Pajāpatī teach the doctrine, and renounced the world. Becoming a student, she began to practise insight. And the Master from the 'Fragrant Chamber' shed a glory, and spake this verse:

> Fill up, Puṇṇā,[1] the orb of holy life,
> E'en as on fifteenth day the full-orb'd moon.
> Fill full the perfect knowledge of the Path,
> And scatter all the gloom of ignorance.[2] (3)

Hearing this, her insight grew, and she attained Arahantship. This verse is the expression of her exultation and the affirmation of her AÑÑĀ.[3]

IV

Tissā.

The following verse is that of Tissā, a student. Heaping up merit under former Buddhas, Tissā was, in this Buddha-dispensation, reborn at Kapilavatthu in the noble clan of the Sakiyas. Made a lady of the Bodhisat's court, she renounced the world with Great Pajāpatī the Gotamid, and practised herself in insight. To her the Master appeared as to the foregoing Sisters, and said:

> O Tissā! train thyself in the trainings three.
> See that the great conjuncture[4] now at hand

[1] Puṇṇā = 'full.'

[2] The words 'holy life,' 'of the path,' 'of ignorance,' are from the Commentary.

[3] Pronounce Anyā = literally, her having come to know. A subjective synonym of Arahantship.

[4] There is more in this little poem than is at first sight apparent. Tissā—*i.e.*, (a girl) born under the lucky star or constellation of

Pass thee not by! Unloose all other yokes,
And fare thou forth purged of the deadly
Drugs.[1] (4)

And she, when she heard the verse, increased in insight, and attained Arahantship. Thereafter she was wont to repeat the lines.

V-X

Another Sister Tissā.

Tissā! lay well upon thy heart the yoke
Of noblest culture. See the moment come!
Let it not pass thee by! for many they
Who mourn in misery that moment past. (5)

Dhīrā.

Come, O Dhīrā, reach up and touch the goal
Where all distractions cease, where sense is
stilled,
Where dwelleth bliss; win thou Nibbana, win
That sure Salvation[2] which hath no beyond. (6)

Tissa, a celestial archer (partly identical with Cancer)—suggests a word-play on *tisso sikkhāyo*, the *three* branches of religious training (morals, mind, 'insight'). Again, that a word-play on *yoga* is intended is intelligible even without the Commentary. 'Let the lucky *yoga* (conjuncture)—to wit, your rebirth as human, your possession of all your faculties (read *indriya-avekallaŋ*), the advent of a Buddha, your getting conviction—not slip; for by this *yoking* of opportunities you can free yourself from the *Four Yokes*—viz., sense, renewed existence, opinion, ignorance—which bind you to the Wheel of Life.

[1] The Four Āsavas, or Intoxicants (another metaphor for the Four Bonds, or Yokes).

[2] *Yogakkhema*, a term adapted from secular use, therein meaning well-being or security in possession.

Another Sister Dhīrā.

Dhīrā, brave[1] Sister! who hath valiantly
Thy faculties in noblest culture trained,
Bear to this end thy last incarnate frame,
For thou hast conquered Māra and his host. (7)

Mittā.

Mittā, thou Sister friend![2] who camest forth
Convinced in heart, love thou in thought and deed
Friends worthy of thy love.[3] So train thyself
In ways of good to win the safe, sure Peace. (8)

Bhadrā.

Bhadrā, who camest forth convinced in heart,
To sure felicity, O fortunate![4]
That heart devote. Develop[5] all that's good,
Faring to uttermost Security. (9)

Upasamā.

Upasamā! cross thou serene and calm[6]
The raging difficult Flood where death doth reign.
Bear to this end thy last incarnate frame,
For thou hast vanquished Māra and his host. (10)

[1] Her name means 'brave,' 'heroic.'

[2] Mittā = 'friend'; but see note [2] to Ps. xxv.

[3] 'In thought and deed,' 'worthy of thy love,' are from the Commentary. 'Peace' is another rendering of *yogakkhema*, so is 'security' (verse 9).

[4] Bhadrā = Felicia.

[5] The graceful progression—bhadraratā *bhava, bhāvehi* . . . cannot well be reproduced. It is merely suggested by 'devote. Develop.'

[6] Upăsămā = tranquil, calm.

Of all these six Sisters the story is similar to that of Tissā (IV.), with this exception: Dhīrā, called 'another Sister Dhīrā,' had no glory-verse pronounced to her, but was troubled in heart at the Master's teaching. Leaning on his words, she strove for insight, and when she had reached Arahantship, she declaimed her verse in exultation. All the others did the same.

XI

Muttā.[1]

Muttā, heaping up good under former Buddhas, was, in this Buddha-dispensation, born in the land of Kosala as the daughter of a poor brahmin named Oghaṭaka. Come to proper age, she was given to a hunchbacked brahmin; but she told him she could not continue in the life of the house, and induced him to consent to her leaving the world. Exercising herself in insight, her thoughts still ran on external objects of interest. So she practised self-control, and, repeating her verse, strove after insight till she won Arahantship; then exulting, she repeated:

O free, indeed! O gloriously free
Am I in freedom from three crooked things:—
From quern, from mortar, from my crookback'd
    lord![2]
Ay, but I'm free from rebirth and from death,
And all that dragged me back is hurled away. (11)

[1] *Cf.* Ps. ii.

[2] The Thera Sumangala also celebrates his release from three crooked things—the sickle, the plough, and the spade. See Ps. xxi.

XII

Dhammadinnā.

Now, she, in the time when Padumuttara was Buddha, lived at Haṃsavatī in a state of servitude; and because she ministered and did honour to one of the chief apostles when he rose from his cataleptic trance, she was reborn in heaven and so on, among gods and men, till Phussa was Buddha. Then she worked merit by doubling the gift prescribed by her husband to the Master's half-brothers while they were staying in a servant's house. And when Kassapa was Buddha, she came to birth in the house of Kiki, King of Kāsī, as one of the Seven Sisters, his daughters,[1] and for 20,000 years lived a holy life. . . . Finally, in this Buddha-dispensation, she was reborn of a clansman's family at Rājagaha, and became the wife of Visākha, a leading citizen. Now one day her husband went to hear the Master teaching, and became One-who-returns-no-more. When he came home, Dhammadinnā met him as he went up the stairs; but he leant not on her outstretched hand, nor spoke to her at supper. And she asked: 'Dear sir, why did you not take my hand? Why do you not talk to me? Have I done anything amiss?' ''Tis for no fault in you, Dhammadinnā; but from henceforth I am not fit to touch a woman or take pleasure in food, for of such is the doctrine now borne in upon me. Do you according as you wish, either continuing to dwell here, or taking as much wealth as you need and going back to your family.' 'Nay, dear sir, I will make no such goings back. Suffer me to leave the world.' 'It is well, Dhammadinnā,' replied Visākha, and sent her to the Bhikkhunīs in a golden palanquin. Admitted to the Order, she shortly after asked permission of her teachers to

[1] The seven most illustrious women of early Buddhism have been grouped as these Seven Sisters in the Apadāna: Khemā, Uppalavaṇṇā, Paṭācārā, Bhaddā (Ps. xlvi.), Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā, and Visākhā, the wealthy lay-sister. On the last see Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, 451 *f.*

go into retreat, saying: 'Mothers, my heart hath no delight in a place of crowds; I would go into a village abode.' The Bhikkhunīs brought her thither, and while there, because in her past lives she had subjugated the complexities of thought, word, and deed, she soon attained Arahantship, together with thorough mastery of the form and meaning of the Dhamma.[1] Thereupon she thought: 'Now have I reached the summit. What shall I do here any longer? I will even go to Rājagaha and worship the Master, and many of my kinsfolk will, through me, acquire merit.' So she returned with her Bhikkhunīs. Then Visākha, hearing of her return, curious to know why she came, interviewed her with questions on the Khandhas and the like. And Dhammadinnā answered every question as one might cut a lotus-stalk with a knife, and finally referred him to the Master. The Master praised her great wisdom, as it is told in the Lesser Vedalla (Miscellany) Sutta,[2] and ranked her foremost among the Sisters who could preach.

But it was while she was dwelling in the country, and, while yet in the lowest path, was acquiring insight to reach the highest, that she uttered her verse:

In whom desire to reach the final rest
Is born suffusing all the mind of her,
Whose heart by lure of sense-desire no more
Is held—BOUND UPSTREAM:—so shall she be called.[3] (12)

[1] Literally, 'together with the Paṭisambhidā's,' or four aspects of doctrinal knowledge. These four—analytical knowledge in meaning, doctrine, interpretation, and distinctions—are very variously interpreted, both in works of Abhidhamma content (*Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *Vibhanga*) and in commentarial writings of various later dates (see Childers's *Dictionary*, *s.v.*). The phrase is of commentarial date, and recurs frequently in Dhammapāla (see following Psalms).

[2] In the *Majjhima Nikāya*, i., p. 299 *ff.*; discussed by the writer in J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 321. *Cf.* Mrs. Bode in J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 562 *ff.*

[3] In the mythology of Buddhism respecting the after-life, the *Uddhaŋ-soto* was one who, having destroyed here below only the first five of the ten Fetters (to destroy all ten meant Nibbana in this life),

XIII

Visākhā.

Her story is similar to that of the Sister Dhīrā.[1] After winning Arahantship she pondered on the bliss of emancipation, and thus announced AÑÑĀ:

The Buddha's will be done! See that ye do
His will. An ye have done it, never more
Need ye repent the deed. Wash, then, in haste
Your feet and sit ye down aloof, alone.[2] (13)

Thus she admonished others to follow her example.

XIV

Sumanā.

Her story is similar to that of Sister Tissā.[3] Sending forth glory, the Master revealed himself as if seated in front of her, and spake:

Hast thou not seen sorrow and ill in all
The springs of life? Come thou not back to birth!
Cast out the passionate desire again to Be.
So shalt thou go thy ways calm and serene. (14)

was reborn successively in an ever higher heaven, till, reaching the Supreme or Akaniṭṭha Sphere, he there passed away. The expression means rather rising *above the stream* of saṃsāra than going against it; but it is ambiguous, and, anyway, the upward effort is expressed in either metaphor. The Commentary has, as the last word, not *ti vuccati* ('is called'), but *vimuccati* ('is set free'). As it does not comment on the latter term, I incline to hold it a misreading.

[1] Ps. vi. [2] *Cf.* Ps. xlviii. [3] Ps. iv.

XV

Uttarā.

Her story is also similar to that of Sister Tissā.[1] And it was the 'Glory-verse' through which she won Arahantship that she declaimed in exultation .

Well have I[2] disciplined myself in act,
In speech and eke in thought, rapt and intent.
Craving with root of craving[3] is o'ercome ;
Cool am I now ; I know Nibbana's peace.[4] (15)

XVI

Sumanā

(Who left the world when old).

She too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good in this life and in that, was, in this Buddha-dispensation, born at Sāvatthī as the sister of the King of Kosala. Hearing the Master preach the doctrine to the King Pasenadi in the discourse beginning, 'There are four young creatures, sire, who may not be disregarded,'[5]

[1] Ps. iv.

[2] *Āsi.* The aorist tense is applicable to first, second, or third person singular, and 'myself' is not in the Pali. Hence the former half of the verse might have been said equally to or by the Therī.

[3] *I.e.*, ignorance (Commentary).

[4] *Sītibhūt' amhi nibbutā*, lit., 'Become cool am I, content,' or 'at peace.' See Introduction. The phrase is an oft-recurring refrain, implying—whatever other implications of peace, happiness, serenity went with it—the attainment of Nibbana. 'Rapt and intent' (*samādhinā*) is the Commentary's explanation of 'disciplined thought.'

[5] Contained in *Saŋyutta Nikāya*, i. 68-70 ; see also 97, and Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 10, on the affection of brother and sister for their grandparent. The 'young creatures' in the parable are a prince, a serpent, a fire, and a bhikkhu. All four are great potential agencies for good or evil. Pronounce Pase'nādī.

she believed, and was established in the Refuges and the Precepts. Fain to leave the world, she put off doing so that she might take care of her grandmother as long as she lived. After the grandmother's death, Sumanā went, accompanied by the King, to the Vihāra, taking much treasure in carpets and shawls, and presenting them to the Order. And hearing the Master teach, she attained the fruit of the Path of No-return, and asked for ordination. And the Master, discerning the maturity of her knowledge, spake thus:

Happily rest, thou venerable dame!
Rest thee, wrapt in the robe thyself hast made.
Stilled are the passions that have raged within.
Cool art thou now, knowing Nibbana's peace. (16)

And when he had finished, she won Arahantship, together with thorough knowledge of the Norm in form and in meaning.[1] In her exultation she uttered that same verse, so that it became the announcement of her AÑÑĀ. Straightway she left the world for the Order.

XVII

Dhammā.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up merit in this and that state of becoming, was, in this Buddha-dispensation, born in a respectable family at Sāvatthī. Given in marriage to a suitable husband, she became converted, and desired to leave the world, but her husband would not consent. So she waited till after his death, and then entered the Order. One day, returning to the Vihāra from seeking alms, she lost her balance and fell. Making just that her base of insight, she won Arahantship with thorough knowledge of

[1] See p. 15, *n*. 1.

the Norm in form and in meaning.[1] And, triumphing, she uttered this verse:

Far had I wandered for my daily food;
Weary with shaking limbs I reached my rest,
Leaning upon my staff, when even there
I fell to earth.—Lo! all the misery
Besetting this poor mortal frame lay bare
To inward vision.[2] Prone the body lay;
The heart of me rose up in liberty. (17)

XVIII

Sanghā.

Her story is like that of Sister Dhīrā,[3] but her verse is as follows:

Home have I left, for I have left my world!
Child have I left, and all my cherish'd herds!
Lust have I left, and Ill-will, too, is gone,
And Ignorance have I put far from me;
Craving and root of Craving overpowered,
Cool am I now, knowing Nibbana's peace. (18)

[1] See p. 15, *n.* 1.

[2] The text has simply *disvā*, 'seeing.' But the word, when applied to spiritual insight, has the glamour of our 'Seer'; hence the Commentary's comment, 'Seeing with the eye of Insight.' 'Rose up' in the Pali is 'was set at liberty.'

[3] Presumably Ps. vii.

CANTO II

PSALMS OF TWO VERSES

XIX

Abhirūpa-Nandā.

BORN in the time of the Buddha Vipassi, in his native town of Bandhumatī, as the daughter of a wealthy burgess, she became a pious lay-adherent, and at the Master's death she made an offering to the shrine of his ashes of a golden umbrella[1] surrounded with jewels. Reborn for this in various heavens, she was, in this Buddha-dispensation, reborn at Kapilavatthu as the daughter of the chief wife of Khemaka, the Sākiyan, and named Nandā. But because of her excessive beauty, charm, and loveliness, she was known as Nandā the Fair.

Now, on the day when she was to choose among her suitors,[2] Carabhūta, her young Sākiyan kinsman, died. Then her parents made her leave the world against her will. But she, even after she had entered the Order, was infatuated with her own beauty, and, fearing the Master's rebuke, avoided his presence. Now the Exalted One knew that she was ripe for knowledge, and directed the Great Pajājatī to let all the Bhikkhunīs come to him for instruction. Nandā sent another in her place. And the Exalted

[1] Or tee, surmounting the cupola. Vipassi was the first of the seven Buddhas of the Piṭakas.

[2] I read *vāreyyadivase* (*cf.* p. 276, verse 464), which makes sense anyway. It would appear that Carabhūta (pronounced Chără-) would have been the object of her choice.

One said, 'Let no one come by proxy.' So she was compelled to come. And the Exalted One, by his mystic power, conjured up a beautiful woman, and showed her becoming aged and fading, causing anguish to arise in Nandā. And he addressed her in these words:

Behold, Nandā, the foul compound, diseased,
Impure! Compel thy heart to contemplate
What is not fair to view. So steel thyself
And concentrate the well-composèd mind. (19)
That ponder where no Threefold Sign[1] is seen.
Cast out the baneful bias of conceit.
Hath the mind mastered vain imaginings,[2]
Then mayst thou go thy ways, calm and serene. (20)

And when he had finished speaking, she attained Arahantship. Repeating to herself the verses, she made them the announcement of her AÑÑĀ.

XX

Jentī (or Jentā).

The story of her past and present is like that of Nandā the Fair; but it was at Vesālī, in the princely family of the Licchavis, that she was reborn.[3] There is this further difference: she attained Arahantship after hearing the Master preach the Dhamma, and it was when reflecting on the change that had come over her that she, in joy, uttered these verses:

[1] *Animittaŋ*, ideals not depending on what is impermanent, or on what makes for sorrow, or on the presence of a persisting soul-entity (Rhys Davids, *Yogāvacara's Manual*, xxvii., xxviii.).

[2] *Māna*, conceit, pride, vanity, one of the seven forms of bias. *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 109, 110; *Vibh.*, 340. Translator's *Buddh. Psy.*, 298, *n.* 3.

[3] *Cf.* Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 25, 40.

The Seven Factors of the awakened mind[1]—
Seven ways whereby we may Nibbana win—
All, all have I developed and made ripe,
Even according to the Buddha's word. (21)
For I therein have seen as with mine eyes
The Bless'd, the Exalted One.[2] Last of all lives
Is this that makes up Me. The round of births
Is vanquishèd—Ne'er shall I be again! (22)

XXI

Sumangala's Mother.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good in this rebirth and that, was born under this Buddha-dispensation in a poor family at Sāvatthī, and was married to a rush-plaiter. Her first-born was a son, come for the last time to birth, who grew up to become the Elder Sumangala and an Arahant.[3] And her name not becoming known, she was called in the Pali text a certain unknown Therī, and is known as Sumangala's mother. She became a Bhikkhunī, and one day, while reflecting on all she had suffered as a lay-woman, she was much affected, and, her insight quickening,

[1] The Bojjhangas or Sambojjhangas; lit., parts or limbs of Bodhi. They were mindfulness, research in the Dhamma, energy, joy, serenity, concentration, equanimity (*B. Psy.*, 84, *n.* 2. *Cf.* Ps. xxxi.).

[2] 'For inasmuch as the Exalted One is the very Body of the Norm, to discern the Ariyan Dhamma which is His is to see Him. The Buddhas and other Ariyans are said to be seen, not only by the sight of their visible shape, but also by insight into the Ariyan Dhamma, according as He said: "Verily, Vakkhali, he that seeth the Norm, he seeth me"' (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, iii., p. 120). '"The Ariyan disciple who hears, brethren, is one who sees the Ariyans"' (Commentary).

[3] This is the Elder Sumangala, who in his verse (*Theragāthā*, 43) celebrates his release from three 'crooked things' (*supra*, Ps. xi.)—rom sickle, plough, and spade.

she attained Arahantship, with thorough knowledge of the form and meaning of the Dhamma. Thereupon she exclaimed:

O woman well set free! how free am I,[1]
How throughly free from kitchen drudgery!
Me stained and squalid 'mong my cooking-pots
My brutal husband ranked as even less
Than the sunshades he sits and weaves alway.[2] (23)

Purged now of all my former lust and hate,
I dwell, musing at ease beneath the shade
Of spreading boughs—O, but 'tis well with me! (24)

XXII

Aḍḍhakāsī.

Born of a respectable family, in the time of Kassapa Buddha, she won understanding, and became a Bhikkhunī, established in the precepts. But she reviled an Arahant Elder Sister by calling her a prostitute,[3] and for this she went to purgatory. In this Buddha-dispensation she was

[1] Expressed in the text by the representative drudgery of the 'mortar' (*musala*).

[2] In the Pali the first two lines depart from the *śloka* metre, being apparently a curious variety of some metre I cannot identify. See Introduction. The last two lines revert to the *śloka*, *sukhato* being an obvious gloss. Quite literally, the quaint and elliptical passage runs: 'The shameless one me "sunshade" only,' which the Commentary explains as 'My husband calls me not even an umbrella which he makes for his livelihood.' There seems nothing in verses or Commentary to justify Dr. Neumann's inference that her husband lived on her adulterous earnings. Toil has spoilt her looks, and he takes no further pleasure in them.

[3] *Cf.* Ps. lxvi.

reborn in the kingdom of Kāsī as the child of a distinguished and prosperous citizen. But because of the persistent effect of her former evil speech, she became herself a prostitute. How she left the world and was ordained by special messenger is related in the Culla Vagga.[1] For she wished to go to Sāvatthī to be ordained by the Exalted One. But the libertines of Benares barred the ways, so she sent and asked the Exalted One's advice, and he permitted her to be ordained by a messenger. Then she, working at insight, not long after obtained Arahantship, with thorough knowledge of the Dhamma in form and meaning. Thereupon she exclaimed:

No less my fee was than the Kāsī realm
Paid in revènue—this was based on that,
Value for value,—so the sheriff fixed. (25)

But irksome now is all my loveliness;
I weary of it, disillusionized.
Ne'er would I more, again and yet again,
Run on the round of rebirth and of death!
Now real and true for me the Triple Lore.[2]
Accomplished is the bidding of the Lord. (26)

[1] *Vinaya Texts* (*S.B.E.* xx.), iii., p. 360. (Pronounced 'Chul'la.') Benares was the capital of Kāsī. On the name Aḍḍha Kāsī (lit., half-Kāsī), see *op. cit.*, ii. 195, *n.* 2.

[2] *Tisso vijjā.* The Brahmanic phrase, *tevijjo*, often recurring below —*e.g.*, Ps. xxxvii.—and signifying 'versed in the three Vedas,' was, according to *Anguttara-Nikāya*, i. 163-5, adopted by the Buddha and applied to the three attainments of *paññā*, entitled reminiscence of former births, the Heavenly Eye, and the destruction of the Asavas.

XXIII

Cittā.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this rebirth and that, was born in the 94th æon[1] as a fairy. She worshipped with offering of flowers a Silent (Pacceka) Buddha.[2] And after many other births among men and gods, she was, in this Buddha-dispensation, born at Rājagaha in the family of a leading burgess. When she had come to years of discretion she heard the Master teaching at the gate of Rājagaha, and, becoming a believer, she was ordained by the Great Pajāpatī the Gotamid. And at length, in her old age, when she had climbed the Vulture's Peak, and had done the exercises of a recluse, her insight expanded, and she won to Arahantship. Reflecting thereon, she gave utterance as follows:

Though I be suffering and weak, and all
My youthful spring be gone, yet have I climbed,
Leaning upon my staff, the mountain crest. (27)
Thrown from my shoulder hangs my cloak, o'er-
turned
My little bowl. So 'gainst the rock I lean
And prop this self of me, and break away
The wildering gloom that long had closed me
in. (28)

[1] *I.e.*, before this present age. [2] *Cf.* Ps. iii.

XXIV

Mettikā.

Heaping up merit under former Buddhas, she was born during the time of Siddhattha,[1] the Exalted One, in a burgess's family, and worshipped at his shrine by offering there a jewelled girdle. After many births in heaven and on earth, through the merit thereof, she became, in this Buddha dispensation, the child of an eminent brahmin at Rājagaha. In other respects her case is like the preceding one, save that it was another hill corresponding to Vulture's Peak up which she climbed.[2]

She, too, reflecting on what she had won, said in exultation:

Though I be suffering and weak, and all
My youthful spring be gone, yet have I come,
Leaning upon my staff, and clomb aloft
The mountain peak. (29)
My cloak thrown off,
My little bowl o'erturned: so sit I here
Upon the rock. And o'er my spirit sweeps
The breath[3] of Liberty! I win, I win
The Triple Lore! The Buddha's will is done! (30)

[1] One of the (later elaborated) twenty-four Buddhas.

[2] Rājgir (the ancient burg) is surrounded by some seven hills. See Cunningham's *Archæological Survey*, iii., Pl. xli.

[3] Lit., 'Now is my heart (or mind) set free!' For lovers of the mountain, the 'great air' and the sense of spiritual freedom will be tightly bound up. The age of the two climbers throws into relief the arduousness of their spiritual ascent.

XXV

Mittā.[1]

Born in the time of Vipassi Buddha of a noble family, and become a lady of his father's court, she won meritorious karma by bestowing food and precious raiment on an Arahant Elder Sister.[2] Born finally, in this Buddha-dispensation, in the princely family of the Sākiyas, at Kapilavatthu, she left the world together with Great Pajāpatī the Gotamid, and, going through the requisite training for insight, not long after won Arahantship.

Reflecting thereon, joy and gladness stirred her to say:

On full-moon day and on the fifteenth day,
And eke the eighth of either half the month,
I kept the feast; I kept the precepts eight,
The extra fasts,[3] enamoured of the gods,
And fain to dwell in homes celestial. (31)

To-day one meal, head shaved, a yellow robe—
Enough for me. I want no heaven of gods.
Heart's pain, heart's pining, have I trained away. (32)

[1] Mettā in the Commentary. Mittā=amica. *Cf.* Ps. viii. Both Mittā and Mettikā (Ps. xxiv.) may be patronymics, derived ultimately from Mitra (Mithra), the Vedic propitious, friendly Day or Sun god.

[2] In the Apadāna it is '*a religieux*' of no specified Order.

[3] See Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, 139-141.

XXVI

Abhayā's Mother.

Heaping up merit under former Buddhas, she, in the time of Tissa Buddha,[1] saw him going round for alms, and with glad heart took his bowl and placed in it a spoonful of food. Reborn for that among gods and among men, she was born also for that, in this Buddha-dispensation, and became the town belle of Ujjenī, by name Padumavatī.[2] And King Bimbisāra (of Magadha) heard of her, and expressed to his chaplain the wish to see her. By the power of his spells, the chaplain summoned a Yakkha who, by his might, brought the King to Ujjenī. And when she afterwards sent word to the King that she was with child by him, he sent back word, saying: 'If it be a son, let me see him when he is grown.' And she bore a son and called him Abhaya. When he was seven years old she told him who was his father, and sent him to Bimbisāra. The King loved the boy, and let him grow up with the boys of his court. His conversion and ordination is told in the Psalms of the Elders.[3] And, later on, his mother heard her son preach the Dhamma, and she, too, left the world and afterwards attained Arahantship, with thorough grasp of the Dhamma in form and meaning. She thereupon recalled and repeated the verse wherewith her son had admonished her, and added her own thereto:

'Upward from sole of foot, O mother dear,
Downward from crown of hair this body see.
Is't not impure, the evil-smelling thing?' (33)
This have I pondered, meditating still,
Till every throb of lust is rooted out.
Expunged is all the fever of desire.
Cool am I now and calm—Nibbana's peace. (34)

[1] One of the twenty-four. [2] *I.e.*, she of the Lotus.
[3] Abhaya's verses (*Th.*, 26, 98) do not refer to his mother.

XXVII

Abhayā.[1]

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up merit of age-enduring efficacy in this and that state of becoming, was, in the time of Sikhi Buddha,[2] reborn in a great noble's family, and became the chief queen of his father Aruṇa. And one day she worshipped the Exalted One with offering of red lotuses given her by the King, when Sikhi Buddha, at alms-time, entered the palace. Reborn for this among gods and men, she was, in this Buddha-dispensation, born once more at Ujjenī in a respectable family, and became the playmate of Abhaya's mother. And when the latter had left the world, Abhayā, for love of her, also took orders. Dwelling with her at Rājagaha, she went one day to Cool-Grove to contemplate on a basis of some foul thing.[3] The Master, seated in his Fragrant Chamber, caused her to see before her the kind of object she had been directed to choose. Seeing the vision, dread seized her. Then the Master, sending forth glory, appeared as if seated before her, and said :

Brittle, O Abhayā, the body is,
Whereto the worldling's happiness is bound.
For me I shall lay down this mortal frame,
Mindful and self-possessed in all I do. (35)
For all my heart was in the work whereby
I struggled free from all that breedeth Ill.

[1] Fearless. [2] Second of the Seven Buddhas.

[3] *B. Psy.*, p. 69. The 'foul things' were corpses or human bones, such as might be seen in any charnel field, where the dead were exposed and not cremated. I have before me a photograph of a Ceylonese bhikkhu seated in the cleft of a rock contemplating two skulls and other bones lying before him—a modern snapshot of a scene that might be 2,500 years old instead of 250 days.

Craving have I destroyed, and brought to pass
That which the Buddhas have revealed to men.[1] (36)

And when he had finished speaking she attained Arahantship. Exulting herein, she turned the verses round into an address to herself.

XXVIII

Sāmā.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that state of becoming, being reborn in fortunate conditions, took birth, in this Buddha-dispensation, at Kosambī, in the family of an eminent burgess. When her dear friend, the lay-disciple Sāmāvatī, died, she, in her distress, left the world. But being unable to subdue her grief for her friend, she was unable to grasp the Ariyan Way. Now, while she was seated in the sitting-room, listening to Elder Ānanda preaching, she was established in insight, and, on the seventh day after, attained Arahantship, with thorough grasp of the Dhamma in form and meaning.

And reflecting on what she had won, she expressed it in this psalm :

Four times, nay, five, I sallied from my cell,
And roamed afield to find the peace of mind
I sought in vain, and governance of thoughts
I could not bring into captivity.[2] (37)

[1] Lit. (as in many other verses), 'done is the will, or rather the system or teaching (*sāsanaŋ*) of the Buddha.' Verses 36, 38, and 41 (except the last two lines) are in the text identical, though varied in translation.

[2] *Cf.* 2 Cor. x. 5.

To me, even to me, on that eighth day
It came: all craving ousted from my heart.
'Mid many sore afflictions, I had wrought
With passionate endeavour, and had won!
Craving was dead, and the Lord's will was done. (38)

CANTO III

PSALMS OF THREE VERSES

XXIX

Another Sāmā.

She also, heaping up good like the foregoing, was born, in the time of Vipassi Buddha, as a fairy on the banks of the River Candabhāgā.[1] Devoted to fairy pastimes, she saw one day the Master walking on the bank, that he might sow the good seed among creatures. And with great glee she worshipped, offering flowers.[2] For this she gained rebirth among gods and men, till, in this Buddha-dispensation, she took birth in a clansman's family at Kosambī. She too became the friend of Sāmāvatī, and she too, out of grief at the death of the latter, entered the Order. She too could not gain self-mastery for twenty-five years, till in her old age she heard a timely sermon, through which her insight expanded and she won Arahantship, with thorough grasp of the Dhamma in form and meaning. Thereon reflecting, she broke forth:

Full five-and-twenty years since I came forth!
But in my troubled heart in no way yet
Could I discern the calm of victory. (39)
The peace of mind, the governance of thoughts

[1] *Cf.* Ps. iii. and xxiii.

[2] *Salaḷa-pupphāni*, possibly shoots of the Indian pine (*sarala*).

Long sought, I found not; and with anguish
 thrilled
I dwelt in memory on the Conqueror's word.[1] (40)
To free my path from all that breedeth Ill
I strove with passionate ardour, and I won!
Craving is dead, and the Lord's will is done.
To-day is now the seventh day since first
Was withered up within that ancient Thirst. (41)

XXX

Uttamā.

She, too, heaping up good under former Buddhas, was in the time of Vipassi Buddha, born at Bandhumatī, in the house of a certain wealthy landowner, and became a domestic servant. Grown up, she tended her master's household. Now, at that time, King Bandhumā (Vipassi's father), having restored Sabbath-keeping, gave gifts before dining and, after dining, attended a sermon; and the people, following his pious example, and keeping Sabbath, the slave thought: 'Why should not I, too, do as they all are doing?' And for the thoroughness of her observance of the feasts she was reborn among the Three-and-Thirty gods, and in other happy realms, and finally, in this Buddha-era, in the house of the Treasurer of Sāvatthī. Come to years of discretion, she heard Paṭācārā preach, and entered the Order; but she was unable to attain the climax of insight till Paṭācārā,[2] seeing the state of her mind, gave her admonition.

[1] The Commentary holds that, by 'word' or teaching (*sāsana*) here were meant passages of doctrine declaring how rare was the opportunity, and brief, of birth as a human, when Nibbana might be won, illustrated by similes like that of the blind tortoise (*Majjh.*, iii. 169; *infra*, 500).

[2] See below, xlvii., li.

Thereby established, she won Arahantship, with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and in meaning. And reflecting thereon, she exulted thus:

Four times, nay, five, I sallied from my cell,
And roamed afield to find the peace of mind
Long vainly sought, and governance of thoughts
I could not bring into captivity. (42)
To me she came, that noble Bhikkhunī,
Who was my foster-mother in the faith—
She taught to me the Norm, wherein I learnt
The nature of this transitory self.[1] (43)
And well I minded all, e'en as she taught.
For seven days I sat in Jhāna-joy
And ease, cross-legged; on the eighth day at last
I stretched my limbs, and went my way serene,
For I had burst asunder the surrounding gloom. (44)

Now, this was the affirmation of her AÑÑĀ.

XXXI

Another Uttamā.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, was born, in the time of Vipassi Buddha, as a domestic servant, at Bandhumatī. One day, seeing an Arahant of the Master's Order seeking alms, she gladly offered him three sweet cakes. Through this reborn to happiness, she finally came to birth, in this Buddha-era, in

[1] Lit., the Khandhas, the nature of sense-perception and the elements of my being. *Cf.* Ps. xxxviii. for a more literal translation.

the family of an eminent brahmin in the country of Kosala. Come to years of discretion, she heard the Master preach while touring in the country, and leaving the world, she soon won Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and in meaning. And reflecting thereon, she exulted thus:

The Seven Factors of the Awakened mind—[1]
Seven Ways whereby we may Nibbana win—
All, all have I developed and made ripe,
Even according to the Buddha's word. (45)
Fulfilled is heart's desire: I win the Void,
I win the Signless![2] Buddha's daughter I,
Born of his mouth, his blessed word, I stand,
Transported with Nibbana's bliss alway. (46)
And all the sense-desires that fetter gods,
That hinder men, are wholly riven off.
Abolished is the infinite round of births.
Becoming cometh ne'er again for me. (47)

XXXII

Dantikā.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and in this and that rebirth heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy, was born, when the world was empty of a Buddha, as a fairy by the River Candabhāgā.[3] Sporting one day with the fairies, and straying awhile, she saw a silent

[1] See Ps. xx.

[2] 'Void,' *i.e.*, I am empty of greed, ill-will, and dulness, the three springs of all evil. 'Signless,' *i.e.*, I am free from all attachment to anything 'marked' as impermanent, evil, or having a soul. See Ps. xix., ver. 20, *n*. 1.

[3] See Pss. iii., xxiii.

Buddha seated at the foot of a tree, and adored him in faith with flower-offerings. For this she was reborn among gods and men, and, finally, in this Buddha-era, at Sāvatthī, in the house of the King's chaplain-brahmin. Come to years of discretion, she became a lay-believer in the Jeta Grove [College], and, later, entered the Order under Great Pajāpatī the Gotamid. And one day, while staying at Rājagaha, she ascended the Vulture's Peak, after her meal, and while resting, she saw that which she tells of in her verse, whereby she won Arahantship, with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and in meaning. And afterwards, thrilled with happiness at the thought of her attainment, she exulted thus:

Coming from noonday-rest on Vulture's Peak,
I saw an elephant, his bathe performed,
Forth from the river issue. And a man, (48)
Taking his goad, bade the great creature[1] stretch
His foot: 'Give me thy foot!' The elephant
Obeyed, and to his neck the driver sprang. (49)

I saw the untamed tamed,[2] I saw him bent
To master's will; and marking inwardly,
I passed into the forest depths and there
I' faith I trained and ordered all my heart. (50)

XXXIII

Ubbirī.

She too, having made her resolve in the time of former Buddhas, and heaping up, in this and that rebirth, Good valid for an æon of evolution, was born, in the time of

[1] *Nāga*, a more poetic term for elephant.
[2] Dantikā=little tamed (woman).

Padumuttara Buddha, at the town of Haŋsavatī in a clansman's house. Come to years of discretion, she was left alone one day, her parents being engaged with a party in the inner court of the house. And seeing an Arahant approaching the house-door, she bade him 'Come in hither, lord,' and did him homage, showing him to a seat; she then took his bowl and filled it with food. The Elder thanked her, and departed. But she, reborn therefore in the heaven of the Three-and-Thirty gods, enjoying there a heavenly time and many a happy life thereafter, was, in this Buddha-era, reborn at Sāvatthī in the family of a very eminent burgess. And she was beautiful to see, and was brought into the house of the King of Kosala himself.[1] After a few years a daughter was born to her, whom she named Jīvā.[2] The King saw the child, and was so pleased that he had Ubbirī anointed as Queen. But anon the little girl died, and the mother went daily mourning to the charnel-field. And one day she went and worshipped the Master, and sat down; but soon she left, and stood lamenting by the River Achiravatī. Then the Master, seeing her from afar, revealed himself, and asked her: 'Why dost thou weep?' 'I weep because of my daughter, Exalted One.' 'Burnt in this cemetery are some 84,000[3] of thy daughters. For which of them dost thou weep?' And pointing out the place where this one and that one had been laid, he said half the psalm:

O Ubbirī, who wailest in the wood,
Crying 'O Jīvā! O my daughter dear!'
Come to thyself! Lo, in this burying-ground
Are burnt full many a thousand daughters dear,
And all of them were named like unto her.
Now which of all those Jīvās dost thou mourn? (51)

[1] The King contemporary with Gotama Buddha was Pasenădī.

[2] Meaning Psyche, or, more literally, 'alive,' 'Viva.'

[3] A staple figure used when any great number is meant. Of course, the circumstances of infinitely numerous previous lives of Ubbirī are here implied.

And she pondered with intelligence on the Norm thus taught by the Master, and so stirred up insight that, by the charm of his teaching and her own attainment of the requisite conditions, she reached the topmost fruit, even Arahantship.[1] And showing forth the high distinction she had won, she spoke the second half of the psalm :

Lo ! from my heart the hidden shaft is gone !
The shaft that nestled there hath he removed.
And that consuming grief for my dead child
Which poisoned all the life of me is dead. (52)
To-day my heart is healed, my yearning stayed,
And all within is purity and peace.[2]
Lo ! I for refuge to the Buddha go—
The only wise—the Order and the Norm.[3] (53)

XXXIV

Sukkā.

She, too, having fared in the past as the foregoing Sisters, was born in a clansman's house.[4] Come to years of discretion, she went with lay-women disciples to the Vihāra,[5] and heard the Master preach. Becoming a believer, she left the world and became learnèd, proficient in the doctrine, and a ready speaker. Leading for cen-

[1] She not only reaches it as a lay-woman, but her subsequent entry into the Order is not even mentioned.

[2] A free rendering of the one word *parinibbutā*. *Cf.* ver. 132.

[3] The orthodox sequence is Norm, Order, here inverted *metri causâ*. The inversion is actually met with in later Buddhism.

[4] Here it is not stated in which Buddha's ministry this took place.

[5] In earliest times simply the hut or chalet, in a cluster of such, reserved for the Buddha or leading teacher, consisting of open hall and sleeping chamber adjoining.

turies a religious life,[1] she yet died a worldling at heart, and was reborn in the heaven of bliss.[2] Again, when Vipassi was Buddha, and again when Vessabhu was Buddha, she kept the precepts, and was learned and proficient in doctrine. Again, when Kakusandha was Buddha, and yet again when Konāgamana was Buddha, she took Orders, and was pure in conduct, learned, and a preacher. At length, she was, in this Buddha-era, reborn at Rājagaha, in the family of an eminent burgess, and called Sukkā (bright, lustrous, 'Lucy'). Come to years of discretion, she found faith in the Master at her own home, and became a lay-disciple. But later, when she heard Dhammadinnā preach,[3] she was thrilled with emotion, and renounced the world under her. And performing the exercises for insight, she not long after attained Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and in meaning.

Thereupon, attended by 500 Bhikkhunīs, she became a great preacher. And one day, when they had been into Rājagaha for alms, and had returned and dined, they entered the Bhikkhunīs' settlement, and Sukkā, with a great company seated around her, taught the doctrine in such wise that she seemed to be giving them sweet mead to drink and sprinkling them with ambrosia. And they all listened to her rapt, motionless, intent. Thereupon the spirit[4] of the tree that stood at the end of the Sisters' terrace was inspired by her teaching, and went out to Rājagaha, walking about the ways and the squares proclaiming her excellence, and saying:

What would ye men of Rājagaha have?
What have ye done? that mute and idle here

[1] The term of human life was believed to have been much longer in earlier ages. See *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii., p. 3. *Cf.* Gen. v.

[2] See p. 1. [3] See Ps. xii.

[4] The word for spirit, *-devatā*, lit. deity, is feminine, as are all abstract nouns in *-tā*; but whether tree-spirits were more usually conceived of a male or female, or as sexless, is not clear. *Cf.* the plates in Cunningham's *Bharhut*, and, on tree-spirits generally, chaps. ii. and iii. in Mrs. Philpot's *The Sacred Tree*. See also Appendix.

Ye lie about, as if bemused with wine,
Nor wait upon Sukkā, while she reveals
The precious gospel by the Buddha taught. (54)
The wise in heart, methinks, were fain to quaff
That life's elixir, once won never lost,
That welleth ever up in her sweet words,
E'en as the wayfarer welcomes the rain. (55)

And hearing what the tree-spirit said, the people were excited, and came to the Sister and listened attentively.

At a later period, when the Sister, at the end of her life, was completing her Nibbana, and wished to show how the system she had taught led to salvation, she declared her AÑÑĀ thus:

O Child of light![1] by light of truth set free
From cravings dire, firm, self-possessed, serene,
Bear to this end thy last incarnate frame,
For thou hast conquered Mara and his host. (56)

XXXV

Selā.

She, too, having fared in the past as the foregoing Sisters, was born in a clansman's house at Haŋsavatī,[2] and was given in marriage by her parents to a clansman's son of equal birth. With him she lived happily till his death. Then, being herself advanced in years, and growing anxious as she sought to find Good,[3] she went about from park to park,[4] from vihāra to vihāra, with the intention of teaching

[1] Sukkā.

[2] Under which Buddha is not stated.

[3] *Kiŋ-kusalaŋ-gavesinī.* *Cf.* D., ii. 151: *Kiŋ-kusalānvesī.*

[4] Members of religious orders frequented 'parks' (*ārāmā*) or 'pleasaunces' when dwelling near towns.

religion (*dhamma*) to votaries of religion. Then one day she came up to the Bo-tree of the Master[1] and sat down, thinking: 'If a Buddha, an Exalted One, be unequalled and peerless among men, may this one show me the miracle of Buddhahood.' Scarce had the thought arisen when the Tree blazed forth, the branches appeared as if made of gold, the horizon shone all around. And she, inspired at that sight, fell down and worshipped, and for seven days sat there. On the seventh day she performed a grand feast of offering and worship to the Buddha.[2] By this meritorious karma she was reborn in this Buddha-era, in the kingdom of Āḷavī, as the King's daughter, and named Selā.[3] But she was also known as 'The Āḷavikan.'[4] Come to years of discretion, the Master converted her father, ordained him, and went with him to the city of Āḷavī. Selā, being yet unmarried, went with the King and heard the Master preach. She became a believer and a lay-disciple. Afterwards, growing anxious, she took Orders, worked her way to insight, and because of the promise in her and the maturity of her knowledge, she, crushing the formations of thought, word and deed,[5] soon won Arahantship.

Thereafter, as an Elder, she lived at Sāvatthī. And one day she went forth from Sāvatthī to take siesta in the Dark Grove, and sat down beneath a tree. Then Māra, alone and wishing to interrupt her privacy, approached in the guise of a stranger, saying:

[1] Every Buddha had his specific kind of Bo-tree under which he attained Buddhahood (Dīgha N., ii., p. 4).

[2] Let it be noted that the heroine is an Indian widow!

[3] Meaning 'Alpina' (*selo* = rock, or crag).

[4] In the Bhikkhunī-Saṃyutta (translated in the Appendix) she is so called. Āḷavi is stated to have been thirty yojanas (*c.* 260 miles) from Sāvatthī and twelve from Benares (Spence Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*, 262; Legge's *Fa Hien*, chap. xxxiv.; *Yuan Chwang* (Watters), ii. 61). The conversion of King Āḷavaka is described in *Sutta Nipāta*, pp. 31 *ff.* (*S.B.E.*, x. 29-31), and *Saṃ. Nik.*, i. 213-215.

[5] *Sankhārā*, *i.e.*, their potency to lead to rebirth.

Ne'er shalt thou find escape while in the world!
What profiteth thee then thy loneliness?
Take the good things of life while yet thou mayst.
Repentance else too late awaiteth thee. (57)

Then the Sister—thinking: 'Verily, 'tis that foolish Māra who would deny me the Nibbāna that is revealed to me, and bids me choose the sensuous life. He knows not that I am an Arahant. Now will I tell him and confound him'—recited the following:[1]

Like spears and javelins are the joys of sense
That pierce and rend the mortal frames of us.
These that thou callest 'the good things of life'—
Good of that ilk to me is nothing worth. (58)

On every hand the love of pleasure yields,
And the thick gloom of ignorance is rent
In twain. Know this, O Evil One, avaunt!
Here, O Destroyer, shalt thou not prevail. (59)

XXXVI

Somā.[2]

She, too, having fared in the past as the foregoing Sisters, was, in the time of Sikhi Buddha,[3] reborn in the family of an eminent noble, and, when grown up, was made the chief

[1] *Cf.* the reply of Āḷavikā in Appendix, commencing with a direct contradiction omitted in this psalm.

[2] *Cf.* her verses in Appendix.

[3] Second of the Seven (Piṭaka) Buddhas, son of King Aruṇa (*sic* in Dīgha N., ii. 7) and Pabhāvatī.

consort of the King Aruṇavā. The story of her past is similar to that of Sister Abhayā.[1] The story of her present is that, in this Buddha-era, she was reborn as the daughter of the chaplain of King Bimbisāra[2] at Rājagaha, and named Somā. Come to years of discretion, she came to believe in the Master in her own home, and became a lay-disciple. And later on, growing anxious, she entered the Order of Bhikkhunīs, and, working her way to insight, she not long after won Arahantship, with thorough grasp of the Norm in letter and in spirit.

Then, dwelling at Sāvatthī in the bliss of emancipation, she went forth one day to take siesta in the Dark Grove, and sat down beneath a tree. And Māra, alone, and wishing to interrupt her privacy, approached her, invisible and in the air, saying:

That vantage-ground the sages may attain is hard
To reach. With her two-finger consciousness
That is no woman competent to gain! (60)

For women, from the age of seven or eight, boiling rice at all times, know not the moment when the rice is cooked, but must take some grains in a spoon and press it with two fingers; hence the expression 'two-finger' sense.[3] Then the Elder rebuked Māra:

How should the woman's nature hinder us?
Whose hearts are firmly set, who ever move
With growing knowledge onward in the Path?
What can that signify to one in whom
Insight doth truly comprehend the Norm?[4] (61)

[1] Ps. xxvii. [2] *Cf.* Ps. lii.

[3] The daughter of a Neapolitan told me that the identical idiom exists in Italian: *Una mente lunga di due dita.*

[4] It is regrettable that, in this work, Somā's dignified retort lacks

On every hand the love of pleasure yields,
And the thick gloom of ignorance is rent
In twain. Know this, O Evil One, avaunt!
Here, O Destroyer! shalt thou not prevail. (62)

the noteworthy extension given to it in the Saŋyutta version (see Appendix):

'To one for whom the question doth arise:
Am I a woman in these matters, or
Am I a man? or what not am I, then?—
To such an one is Māra fit to talk!'

CANTO IV

PSALMS OF FOUR VERSES

XXXVII

Bhaddā of the Kapilas.[1]

Now she was born in the time of Padumuttara Buddha, in a clansman's house at Haṃsavatī. Come to years of discretion, she heard the Master preach, and saw him assign a Bhikkhunī the first rank among those who could recall previous lives. Thereat she made her resolve, wishing that she, too, might acquire such a rank. Working merit all her life, she was reborn, when no Buddha had arisen, in a clansman's house at Benares, and in due course married.

Then one day a quarrel arose between her and her sister-in-law. And the latter having given food to a Silent Buddha, Bhaddā thought, 'She will win glory for this,' and taking the bowl from his hand, she filled it with mud instead of food. The people said, 'Foolish woman! what has the Silent Buddha done to offend you?' And she, ashamed of herself, took back the bowl, emptied and scrubbed it

[1] Dr. Neumann translates Kapilāni by 'the Blonde' (*kapilo* is auburn, reddish), as if in keeping with the soubriquet of the other Bhaddā (Ps. xlvi.). I have not done so because elsewhere a soubriquet is always explicitly accounted for in the Commentary, and here nothing is said. Moreover, and this is fairly conclusive, the Apadāna chronicle, quoted in the Commentary, makes Bhaddā 'daughter of Kapila the twice-born (brahmin).' Kapilānī, therefore, refers to her family, and should be Kāpilānī The Phayre and Paris MSS. of the Therigāthā both read Kāpilāni, so does *Vin.*, iv., 290, 292.

with scented powder, filled it with the four sweet foods, and sprinkled it on the top with ghee of the colour of a lotus-calyx. Handing it back, shining, to the Silent Buddha, she registered a prayer: 'May I have a shining body like this bowl!'

After many fortunate rebirths, she was reborn, in the time of Kassapa Buddha, at Benares, as the daughter of the wealthy treasurer. But by the fruition of her previous karma her body was of evil odour, and she was repulsive to others. Much troubled thereby, she had her ornaments made into an ingot of gold, and placed it in the Buddha's shrine, doing reverence with her hands full of lotuses. Thereby her body, even in that birth, became fragrant and sweet. As a beloved wife she did good all her life, was reborn in heaven to celestial joys, and at length took birth as the daughter of the King of Benares. There she lived gloriously, ministering to Silent Buddhas. When they passed away she was greatly troubled, and left the world for ascetic practices. Dwelling in groves, she practised Jhana, and was reborn in the Brahma heavens, and thence into the family of a brahmin of the Kosiya clan at Sāgala.[1] Reared in great state, she was wedded to the young noble Pippali at the village of Mahā-tittha. When he renounced the world she handed over her great wealth to her kinsfolk that she too might go forth; and she dwelt five years in the Sophists' Grove,[2] after which she was ordained by Great Pajāpatī the Gotamid. Establishing insight, she soon won Arahantship.

And she became an expert in knowledge of her past lives, through the surplus force of her resolve (made in past ages), and was herein ranked first by the Master when, seated in the Jeta Grove among the company of Ariyans,[3] he classi-

[1] On the three Sāgalas, see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 38. According to the Apadāna this was the capital of the Maddas (*cf.* Ps. lii.). Mahātittha, the 'great ford,' was a brahmin village in Magadha.

[2] Titthiyārāma, near the Jeta Grove at Sāvatthi.

[3] Defined in the Pitakas as meaning Buddhas, Silent Buddhas, and their disciples. This judgment is the subject of *Ang. Nik.*, i. 23-26.

fied the Bhikkhunīs. One day she broke forth in a Psalm, recounting all that she had wrought, accompanied by a eulogy of the virtues of the great Elder Kassapa,[1] thus:

Son of the Buddha and his heir is he,
Great Kassapa, master of self, serene!
The vision of far, bygone days is his,
Ay, heaven and hell no secrets hold for him. (63)
Death too of rebirth hath he won, and eke
A seer is he of mystic lore profound.
By these three arms[2] of learning doth he stand
Thrice-wise, 'mong gods and men elect, sublime. (64)

She too, Bhaddā the Kapilan—thrice-wise
And victor over death and birth is she—
Bears to this end her last incarnate frame,
For she hath conquered Mara and his host. (65)

We both have seen, both he and I, the woe
And pity of the world, and have gone forth.
We both are Arahants with selves well tamed.
Cool are we both, ours is Nibbana now! (66)

[1] Mahā-Kassapa became the leader of the Buddhist Order when the Buddha had passed away. According to the Apadāna, Kassapa was identical with Pippali, her husband, and had been her husband in three former lives. Kassapa was either the family name or the personal name; Pippali either the personal or the local name. See *Dialogues*, i. 193. His story is fully told in the Commentary on the Psalms of the Brothers, and in that on *Ang. Nik.*, i. 23.

[2] The metaphor is not Buddhist. The Pali reads 'by these three wisdoms' (*etāhi tīhi vijjāhi*). See Ps. xxii. 26. The case of Bhaddā is noteworthy as being the only one where wife and husband—united for so many ages—act in harmony up to the day when, having aided each other in donning the religious dress, they leave the world together, then part on their several ways to the Buddha, enjoying thereafter still good comradeship in the Order. So she in the Apadāna:

'Thereafter soon I won the rank of Arahant.
Ah! well for me who held the friendship wise and good
Of glorious Kassapa.'

CANTO V

PSALMS OF FIVE VERSES

XXXVIII

An Anonymous Sister.

She, too, having fared in the past as the foregoing Sisters, was, in this Buddha-era, reborn in the town of Devadaha, and became the nurse of Great Pajāpatī the Gotamid. Her name was Vaḍḍhesī, but the name of her family has not been handed down. When her mistress renounced the world she did the same. But for five-and-twenty years she was harassed by the lusts of the senses, winning no concentration of mind even for a moment, and bewailing her state with outstretched arms, till at length she heard Dhammadinnā preaching the Norm. Then, with her mind diverted from the senses, she fell to practising meditative exercises, and in no long time acquired the Six Powers of Intuition.[1] And, reflecting on her attainment, she exulted thus:

For five-and-twenty years since I came forth,
Not for one moment could my heart attain

[1] *Chaḷabhiññā*. *Abhiññā* in the previous Psalm is rendered 'mystic lore profound.' The Six, otherwise defined as *paññā* (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, i., p. 57) and as *vijjā* (*ibid.*, p. 124), are Iddhi, the Purified Hearing, knowledge of the thoughts of others, memory of former lives, the evolution of the lives of other beings, the extinction of the Āsavas (see *Vibhanga*, 334). The last was virtually identical with Arahantship.

The blessedness of calm serenity. (67)
No peace of mind I found. My every thought
Was soaked in the fell drug of sense-desire.[1]
With outstretched arms and shedding futile tears
I gat me, wretched woman, to my cell. (68)

Then She to this poor Bhikkhunī drew near,
Who was my foster-mother in the faith.
She taught to me the Norm, wherein I learnt
The factors, organs, bases of this self,
Impermanent compound.[2] Hearing her words, (69)
Beside her I sat down to meditate.

And now I know the days of the long past,
And clearly shines the Eye Celestial, (70)
I know the thoughts of other minds, and hear
With sublimated sense the sound of things
Ineffable.[3] The mystic potencies
I exercise ; and all the deadly Drugs
That poisoned every thought are purged away.
A living truth for me this Sixfold Lore,
And the commandment of the Lord is done. (71)

[1] Lit. only, 'soaked with the passion of sense desires,' and explained as one whose mind was wetted by an exceedingly strong inclination, by an abundance of passionate desire for all the pleasures attainable through the senses. The metaphor of 'soaking' (*avassutā*) is nearly akin to that in the cardinal defects called Āsavas, one of which is precisely the predilection described above, and the extinction of which are named as the sixth *abhiññā* in the following verses.

[2] The last five words are only implicit in the Pali. *Cf.* Ps. xxx. 43. Compare Dhammadinnā's help with that given by Paṭācārā, Ps. xxx.

[3] See *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i., p. 89.

XXXIX

Vimalā.

(Formerly a Courtesan.)

She too, having fared in the past as the foregoing Sisters, was born, in this Buddha-era, at Vesālī as the daughter of a certain woman who earned her living by her beauty. Her name was Vimalā. When she was grown up, and was imagining vicious things, she saw one day the venerable Mahā-Moggallāna[1] going about Vesālī for alms, and feeling enamoured of him, she went to his dwelling and sought to entice him. Some say she was instigated to do so by sectarians. The Elder rebuked her unseemly behaviour and admonished her, as may be read in the Psalms of the Brethren.[2] And she was filled with shame and self-reproach, and became a believer and lay-sister. Later she entered the Order, and wrestling and striving—for the root of attainment was in her—not long after won Arahantship. Thereafter, reflecting on her gain, she exulted thus:

How was I once puff'd up, incens'd with the bloom
of my beauty,[3]
Vain of my perfect form, my fame and success
'midst the people,
Fill'd with the pride of my youth, unknowing the
Truth and unheeding! (72)
Lo! I made my body, bravely arrayed, deftly
painted,

[1] With Sāriputta and Mahā-Kassapa he belonged to the greatest of the Buddha's apostles.

[2] *Theragāthā*, verses 1150-57.

[3] There is no change in the Pali metre of this Psalm, but seventeen years ago the subject tripped off of itself into the metre as above, and I have so left it.

Speak for me to the lads, whilst I at the door of
the harlot
Stood, like a crafty hunter, weaving his snares, ever
watchful. (73)
Yea, I bared without shame my body and wealth
of adorning;
Manifold wiles I wrought, devouring the virtue of
many. (74)

To-day with shaven head, wrapt in my robe,
I go forth on my daily round for food;
And 'neath the spreading boughs of forest tree
I sit, and Second-Jhana's rapture win,
Where reas'nings cease, and joy and ease re-
main.[1] (75)
Now all the evil bonds that fetter gods
And men are wholly rent and cut away.
Purg'd are the Āsavas that drugg'd my heart,
Calm and content I know Nibbana's Peace. (76)

XL

Sīhā.

She too, faring in the past as the foregoing Sisters, was in this Buddha-era born at Vesālī as the daughter of General Siha's[2] sister. And, being named after her maternal uncle, she was called Sīhā. Come to years of discretion, she heard the Master one day teaching the Norm to the General, and, becoming a believer, gained her parents' consent to enter the Order. When she strove for

[1] On 'Second Jhana,' see *B. Psy.*, pp. 43-46.

[2] On Sīha, General of the Licchavis, see Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts* (*S.B.E.*), ii. 108 *ff.* 'Sīha' = lion.

insight, she was unable to prevent her mind from running on objects of external charm. Harassed thus for seven years, she concluded, 'How shall I extricate myself from this evil living? I will die.' And, taking a noose, she hung it round the bough of a tree, and, fastening it round her neck, with all the cumulative effect of former efforts, she impelled her mind to insight. Then to her, who was really come to her last birth, at that very moment, through her knowledge attaining maturity, insight grew within, and she won Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and in meaning. So, loosening the rope from her neck, she turned back again. Established as an Arahant, she exulted thus:

Distracted, harassed by desires of sense,
Unmindful of the 'what' and 'why' of things,[1]
Stung and inflated by the memories
Of former days, o'er which I lacked control— (77)
Corrupting canker spreading o'er my heart—
I followed heedless dreams of happiness,
And got no even tenour to my mind,
All given o'er to dalliance with sense. (78)
So did I fare for seven weary years,
In lean and sallow mis'ry of unrest.
I, wretched, found no ease by day or night, (79)
So took a rope and plunged into the wood:
'Better for me a friendly gallows-tree!
I'll live again the low life of the world.'[2] (80)
Strong was the noose I made; and on a bough
I bound the rope and flung it round my neck,
When see! . . . my heart was set at liberty! (81)

[1] *Ayoniso-manasikārā*, lit., 'from not attending to cause or source.'

[2] *I.e.*, by continuing my round of rebirths. *Cf.* the Western idea of suicide—to 'put an end to it all'—with this of 'starting it all again.'

XLI

Sundarī-Nandā.

She, verily, was born, in the time of Padumuttara Buddha, in the town of Haṃsavatī. And when she was come to years of discretion, she heard the Master preaching, and assigning a certain Bhikkhunī the foremost place in meditative power. Vowing that she would gain that rank, she went on doing good. After æons upon æons of rebirth among gods and men, she took birth in this Buddha-epoch in the reigning family of the Sākiyas. Named Nandā, she became known as Beautiful Nandā,[1] the Belle of the country. And when our Exalted One had acquired all knowledge, had gone to Kapilavatthu, and caused the princes Nanda and Rāhula to join the Order; when too King Suddhodana died, and the Great Pajāpatī entered the Order, then Nandā thought: 'My elder brother[2] has renounced the heritage of empire, has left the world, and is become a Buddha, a Superman.[3] His son too, Rāhula, has left the world, so has my brother, King Nanda, my mother, Mahā-Pajāpatī, and my sister, Rāhula's mother. But I now, what shall I do at home? I will leave the world.' Thus she went forth, not from faith, but from love of her kin. And thus, even after her renunciation, she was intoxicated with her beauty, and would not go into the Master's presence, lest he should rebuke her. But it fared with her even as with Sister Abhirūpa-Nandā,[4] with this difference: When she saw the female shape conjured up by the Master growing gradually aged, her mind, intent on the impermanence and suffering of life, turned to meditative discipline. And the Master, seeing that, taught her suitable doctrine, thus:

[1] Sundarī-Nandā = 'beautiful delight.'
[2] *I.e.*, half-brother. *Cf.* p. 6.
[3] *Aggapuggalo.*
[4] See Ps. xiv.

Behold, Nandā, the foul compound, diseased,
Impure! Compel thy heart to contemplate
What is not fair to view. So steel thyself
And concentrate the well-composèd mind.[1] (82)
As with this body, so with thine; as with
Thy beauty, so with this—thus shall it be
With this malodorous, offensive shape.
Wherein the foolish only take delight. (83)
So look thou on it day and night with mind
Unfalteringly steadfast, till alone,
By thine own wit, delivered from the thrall
Of beauty, thou dost gain vision serene.[2] (84)

Then she, heeding the teaching, summoned up wisdom and stood firm in the fruition of the First Path. And, to give her an exercise for higher progress, he taught her, saying: 'Nandā, there is in this body not even the smallest essence. 'Tis but a heap of bones smeared with flesh and blood under the form of decay and death.' As it is said in the Dhammapada:[3]

[1] An elaboration of two Pali words difficult to render adequately with brevity—*ekaggaŋ susamāhitaŋ*.

[2] The curious inflexion *dakkhisaŋ*, the reading adopted by the editors of both text and Commentary, is an aorist (first person singular) termination on the future stem of 'to see.' Dr. Neumann, disregarding the Commentary, takes it as aorist, making Nandā speak all the lines to and of herself. The Commentary divides the speech as above, paraphrasing by *passissaŋ* an artificially regular future of *passati*, to see, and a verbal noun, 'one who will see,' like *passaŋ*, 'one who sees.' In the corresponding Apadāna lines the Mandalay MSS. read the regular future (second person singular), *dakkhasi*, 'thou wilt see.' Either we must, with the Commentary, read some future form of the verb, or make Nandā repeat herself in verses 84 and 85, instead of responding in 85 to the Master's exordium in 84. Professor R. Otto Franke, in a learned note, most kindly responding to my question, 'does not venture to decide' whether to keep *dakkhisaŋ*, or adopt one of the other readings. The severe absence of redundancy in these short poems decides me to follow the tradition, and reserve 'I have seen' for 85: *yathābhūtaŋ ayaŋ kāyo diṭṭho*.

[3] Verse 150.

'Have made a citadel of bones besmeared
With flesh and blood, where ever reign decay
And death, and where conceit and fraud is stored.

Then she, as he finished, attained Arahantship. And when she pondered on her victory, she exulted in the Master's words, and added:

I, even I, have seen, inside and out,
This body as in truth it really is,
Who sought to know the 'what' and 'why' of it,
With zeal unfaltering and ardour fired. (85)
Now for the body care I never more,
And all my consciousness is passion-free.
Keen with unfettered zeal, detached,
Calm and serene I taste Nibbana's peace. (86)

XLII

Nanduttarā.

She, too, faring in the past as the aforementioned Sisters, was, in this Buddha-age, born in the kingdom of the Kurus at the town of Kammāsadamma,[1] in a brahmin family. And when she had learnt from some of them their arts and sciences, she entered the Order of the Niganṭhas,[2] and, as a renowned speaker, took her rose-apple bough, like Bhaddā Curlyhair,[3] and toured about the plain of India. Thus she met Mahā-Moggallāna the Elder, and in debate suffered defeat. She thereupon listened to his advice, entered the Order, and not long after attained Arahantship, together

[1] On this interesting place, see *J.P.T.S.*, 1909, art. by Dr. Watanabe.

[2] Lit., the Unbound or Free Brethren—*i.e.*, the Jains.

[3] See Ps. xlvi. The autobiographical evolution hinted at in verse 89 of the Psalm fits ill with the career sketched in the Commentarial tradition.

with thorough grasp of the letter and meaning of the Norm. And meditating on her victory, she exulted thus:

Fire and the moon, the sun and eke the gods
I once was wont to worship and adore,
Foregathering on the river-banks to go
Down in the waters for the bathing rites. (87)
Ay, manifold observances I laid
Upon me, for I shaved one-half my head,
Nor laid me down to rest save on the earth,
Nor ever broke my fast at close of day. (88)

I sought delight in decking out myself
With gems and ornaments and tricks of art.
By baths, unguents, massage, I ministered
Unto this body, spurred by lusts of sense. (89)

Then found I faith, and forth from home
I went into the homeless life, for I
Had seen the body as it really is,
And nevermore could lusts of sense return. (90)

All the long line of lives was snapt in twain,
Ay, every wish and yearning for it gone.
All that had tied me hand and foot was loosed,
Peace had I won, peace thronèd in my heart. (91)

XLIII

Mittakālī.[1]

She, too, faring in the past as the aforementioned Sisters, was, in this Buddha-era, born at the town of Kammāsadamma[2] in the kingdom of the Kurus, in a brahmin's family.

[1] In the Commentary she is called Mittākālikā (a diminutive form).
[2] See Ps. xlii., *n*. 1.

Come to years of discretion, she gained faith by hearing the teaching of the great Discourse on the Applications of Mindfulness,[1] and entered the Order of Sisters. For seven years she was liable to a fondness for gifts and honours, and, while doing the duties of a recluse, she was quarrelsome now and again. Later on she was reborn intellectually,[2] and becoming anxious she established insight, and thereupon soon won Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and in meaning. Reflecting on her victory, she exulted thus:

Leaving my home through call of faith, I sought
The homeless life, and dwelt with eye intent
On offerings from the faithful and the praise
Of this one and the gratitude of that. (92)
The path of insight[3] I neglected, turned
From highest good to follow baser ends.
I lay enthralled to worldly vice, and naught
To win the goal of my high calling wrought. (93)

But anguish crept upon me, even me,
Whenas I pondered in my little cell:
Ah me! how have I come into this evil road!
Into the power of Craving have I strayed! (94)
Brief is the span of life yet left to me;
Old age, disease, hang imminent to crush.
Now, ere this body perish and dissolve,
Swift let me be; no time have I for sloth. (95)
And contemplating, as they really are,
The Aggregates of life that come and go,
I rose and stood with mind emancipate!
For me the Buddha's word had come to pass. (96)

[1] *Dīgha Nik.*, ii., pp. 290 *ff*.

[2] *Yoniso uppajjanti*, a most unusual phrase for mental growth.

[3] A phrase from the Commentary.

XLIV

Sakulā.[1]

Now she, at the time when Padumuttara was Buddha, came to birth at Haŋsavatī as the daughter of King Ānanda and half-sister of the Master, and was named Nandā. One day she sat listening to the Master, and hearing him place a Bhikkhunī at the top of those who had the faculty of the 'Heavenly Eye,' she vowed that this rank should one day be hers. And after many good works and subsequent happy rebirths, she came to being on earth when Kassapa was Buddha, as a brahminee, and renounced the world as a Wanderer,[2] vowed to a solitary life. One day she offered her alms at the Master's shrine, making a lamp-offering all night long. Reborn in the heaven of the Three-and-Thirty Gods, she became possessed of the Heavenly Eye; and, when this Buddha was living, she was born a brahminee at Sāvatthī, and called Pakulā. Assisting at the Master's acceptance of the gift of the Jeta Grove, she became a believer; and, later on, convinced by the preaching of an Arahant brother, she grew anxious in mind, entered the Order, strove and struggled for insight, and soon won Arahantship.

Thereafter, in consequence of her vow, she accumulated skill in the heavenly sight, and was assigned foremost place therein by the Master. And reflecting thereon, thrilled with gladness, she exulted thus:

While yet I dwelt as matron in the house,
I heard a Brother setting forth the Norm.
I SAW that Norm, the Pure, the Passionless,
Track to Nibbana, past decease and birth. (97)

[1] Called Sakulā in the Anguttara (i. 25), but Pakulā in Comentary and Appendix.

[2] *Paribbājakā*. *Cf.* Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 141.

Thereat I left my daughter, left my son,
I left my treasures and my stores of grain;
I called for robes and razors, cut my hair,
And gat me forth into the homeless life. (98)

And first as novice, virtuous and keen
To cultivate the upward mounting Way,
I cast out lust and with it all ill-will,
And therewith, one by one, the deadly Drugs.[1] (99)
Then to the Bhikkhunī of ripening power
Rose in a vision mem'ries of the past.[2]
Limpid and clear the mystic vistas grew,
Expanding by persistent exercise. (100)
Act, speech and thought I saw as not myself,[3]
Children of cause, fleeting, impermanent.
And now, with every poisonous Drug cast out,
Cool and serene I see Nibbana's peace. (101)

XLV

Soṇā.[4]

She, too, was born at the time when Padumuttara was Buddha, at Haṃsavatī, in a clansman's family. One day she sat listening to the Master, and hearing him place a

[1] In Pali, simply 'Āsave.'

[2] The powers here briefly indicated are the culminating stages of *Vijjā* or *Paññā*. See *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i., p. 124 (§§ 14-16), and *passim*, and *cf.* Ps. xxxviii.

[3] *Parato disvā*, lit., having seen as Other—*i.e.*, says the Commentary, following the Piṭakas (*e.g.*, *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 500), as without Soul or Ego. The oldest books specify compounds of act, word, and thought as *sankhāra's*.

[4] For an uncondensed account from the *Manoratanapūraṇī*, see Mrs. Bode, *op. cit.*, pp. 768 *f.*

Bhikkhunī at the top of those distinguished for capacity of effort, she vowed that this rank should one day be hers. And after many happy rebirths, she came to being, when this Buddha lived, in a clansman's family at Sāvatthī. She became, when married, the mother of ten sons and daughters, and was known as 'the Many-offspringed.' When her husband renounced the world, she set her sons and daughters over the household, handing over all her fortune to her sons, and keeping nothing for herself. Her sons and daughters-in-law had not long supported her before they ceased to show her respect. And saying, 'What have I to do with living in a house where no regard is shown me?' she entered the Order of Bhikkhunīs. Then she thought: 'I have left the world in my old age; I must work strenuously.' So, while she waited on the Bhikkhunīs, she resolved also to give herself religious studies all night. And she studied thus, steadfast and unfaltering, as one might cling doggedly to a pillar on the veranda, or to a tree in the dark, for fear of hitting one's head against obstacles, never letting go. Thereupon her strenuous energy became known, and the Master, seeing her knowledge maturing, sent forth glory, and appearing as if seated before her, said thus:

> 'The man who, living for an hundred years,
> Beholdeth never the Ambrosial Path,
> Had better live no longer than one day,
> So he behold within that day, that Path!'[1]

And when he had thus spoken, she attained Arahantship.

Now, the Exalted One, in assigning rank of merit to the Bhikkhunīs, placed her first for capacity of effort. One day, pondering hereon, she exulted thus:

Ten sons and daughters did I bear within
This heap of visible decay. Then weak
And old I drew near to a Bhhikkunī. (102)
She taught to me the Norm,[2] wherein I learnt

[1] See Ps. lxiii. [2] See Pss. xxx., xxxviii.

The factors, organs, bases of this self,
Impermanent compound. Hearing her words,
And cutting off my hair, I left the world. (103)
Then as I grappled with the threefold course,[1]
Clear shone for me the Eye Celestial.
I know the 'how' and 'when' I came to birth
Down the long past, and where it was I lived. (104)
I cultivate the Signless,[2] and my mind
In uttermost composure concentrate.
Mine is the ecstasy of freedom won
As Path merges in Fruit, and Fruit in Path.[3]
Holding to nought, I in Nibbana live. (105)
This five-grouped being have I understood.
Cut from its root, all onward growth is stayed.
I too am stayed, victor on basis sure,
Immovable.[4] Rebirth comes never more. (106)

XLVI

Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā, the ex-Jain.[5]

She, too, was reborn, when Padumuttara was Buddha, at Haŋsavatī, in a clansman's family. One day she sat listening to the Master, and hearing him place a Bhikkhunī at top of those whose intuition was swift, she vowed that this rank should one day be hers. After working much

[1] See Ps. iv. [2] See Ps. xxxi. 46.

[3] *Anantarā-vimokhā* 'sim.

[4] Lit., 'I am without longing, born of a stable base.' Possibly the passage, of which there are many corrupt variants, may have been *āṇejj' amhi*, 'I am immovable.'

[5] Spelt -kesī at the allusion to her in Ps. xlii. For an uncondensed version of the chronicle, see Mrs. Bode, *op. cit.*, pp. 777 *f.*

merit, and experiencing æons of rebirth among gods and men, she became, when Kassapa was Buddha, one of the seven daughters[1] of Kiki, King of Kāsī. And for twenty thousand years[2] she kept the precepts, and built a cell for the Order. Finally, in this Buddha-era, she was born at Rājagaha, in the family of the king's treasurer, and called Bhaddā.[3] Growing up surrounded by attendants, she saw, looking through her lattice, Satthuka, the chaplain's son, a highwayman, being led to execution by the city guard by order of the king. Falling in love with him, she fell prone on her couch, saying: 'If I get him, I shall live; if not, I shall die.' Then her father, hearing of her state, out of his great love for her, bribed the guard heavily to release the thief, let him be bathed with perfumed water, adorned him, and let him come where Bhaddā, decked in jewels, waited upon him. Then Satthuka very soon coveted her jewels, and said: 'Bhaddā, when the city guards were taking me to the Robbers' Cliff, I vowed to the Cliff deity that if my life were spared I would bring an offering. Do you make one ready.' Wishing to please him, she did so, and adorning herself with all her jewels, mounted a chariot with him, and drove to the Cliff. And Satthuka, to have her in his power, stopped the attendants; and taking the offering, went up alone with her, but spoke no word of affection to her. And by his behaviour she discerned his plot. Then he bade her take off her outer robe and wrap in it the jewels she was wearing. She asked him what had she done amiss, and he answered: 'You fool, do you fancy I have come here to make offering? I have come to get your ornaments.' 'But whose, then, dear one, are the ornaments, and whose am I?' 'I know nothing of that division.' 'So be it, dear; but grant me this one wish: let me, while wearing my jewels, embrace you.' He consented, saying: 'Very well.' She thereupon embraced him in front, and then, as if embracing him from the back, pushed him over

[1] See Ps. xii.; Commentary, *n.* 1.

[2] The average span of life in Kassapa Buddha's era (*Dīgha N.*, ii.).

[3] See Ps. xxxvii.

the precipice. And the deity dwelling on the mountain saw her do this feat and praised her cleverness, saying:

> 'Not in every case is Man the wiser ever;
> Woman, too, when swift to see, may prove as clever.
> Not in every case is Man the wiser reckoned;
> Woman, too, is clever, an she think but a second.'

Thereafter Bhaddā thought: 'I cannot, in this course of events, go home; I will go hence, and leave the world.' So she entered the Order of the Nigaṇṭhas.[1] And they asked her: 'In what grade do you make renunciation?' 'In whatever is your extreme grade,' she replied, 'perform that on me.' So they tore out her hair with a palmyra comb. (When the hair grew again in close curls they called her Curlyhair.) During her probation she learnt their course of doctrine and concluded that: 'So far as they go they know, but beyond that there is nothing distinctive in their teaching.' So she left them, and going wherever there were learned persons, she learnt their methods of knowledge till, when she found none equal to debate with her, she made a heap of sand at the gate of some village or town, and in it set up the branch of a rose-apple, and told children to watch near it, saying: 'Whoever is able to join issue with me in debate, let him trample on this bough.' Then she went to her dwelling, and if after a week the bough still stood, she took it and departed.

Now at that time our Exalted One, rolling the wheel of the excellent doctrine, came and dwelt in the Jeta Wood near Sāvatthī, just when Curlyhair had set up her bough at the gate of that city.

Then the venerable Captain of the Norm[2] entered the city alone, and, seeing her bough, felt the wish to tame her. And he asked the children: 'Why is this bough stuck up here?' They told him. The Elder said: 'If that is so, trample on the bough.' And the children did so. Then Curlyhair, after seeking her meal in the town, came out

[1] See Ps. xlii.

[2] The title reserved for the Apostle Sāriputta.

and saw the trampled bough, and asked who had done it. When she heard it was the Elder, she thought, 'An unsupported debate is not effective,' and going back into Sāvatthī, she walked from street to street, saying: 'Would ye see a debate between the Sākyan recluses and myself?' Thus, with a great following, she went up to the Captain of the Norm, who was seated beneath a tree, and, after friendly greeting, asked: 'Was it by your orders that my rose-apple bough was trampled on?' 'Yes, by my orders.' 'That being so, let us have a debate together.' 'Let us, Bhaddā.' 'Which shall put questions, which shall answer?' 'Questions put to me; do you ask anything you yourself think of.' They proceeded thus, the Elder answering everything, till she, unable to think of further questions, became silent. Then the Elder said: 'You have asked much; I, too, will ask, but only this question.' 'Ask it, lord.' 'One—what is that?'[1] Curlyhair, seeing neither end nor point to this, was as one gone into the dark, and said: 'I know not, lord.' Then he, saying, 'You know not even thus much. How should you know aught else?' taught her the Norm. She fell at his feet, saying: 'Lord, I take refuge with you.'

[1] '*Ekaŋ nāma kiŋ?* or more fully, 'What is that which is called (named) "one"?' The Jains do not appear to have been any more monistically or pantheistically inclined than the Buddhists, hence possibly her lack of ready reply. The systems she is said to have acquired cannot well have included the more esoteric and more jealously reserved Brahmanic lore. It is difficult otherwise to imagine her at such a loss, unless it was because of the extreme vagueness of the question. 'In the beginning there was One only.' . . . 'He is one, he becomes three . . . five,' etc. 'All things become one in prājñā,' and so on:—the oldest Upanishads give plenty of such answers Conceivably she may have known this monism, but have seen no end or point in it, because, as a sincere Jain, she rejected it. Neither would the Apostle have wished for a Brahmanic reply, except as an occasion to be improved upon. He would be more interested in the analysis and classification of phenomena bearing on the ethical life. Thus, in the ancient catechism, the Khuddakapātha, the question actually occurs: *Eka nāma kiŋ?* But the answer is, 'All beings are sustained by food.' Hence 'the point' really was, State any *one fact* true for the whole of any one class of things. (*Cf. Ang. Nik.*, v. 50, 55.)

'Come not to me, Bhaddā, for refuge; go for refuge to the Exalted One, supreme among men and gods.' 'I will do so, lord,' she said; and that evening, going to the Master at the hour of his teaching the Norm, and worshipping him she stood on one side. The Master, discerning the maturity of her knowledge, said:

> 'Better than a thousand verses, where no profit wings the word,
> Is a solitary stanza bringing calm and peace when heard.'[1]

And when he had spoken, she attained Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the letter and the spirit. Now she entered the Order as an Arahant, the Master himself admitting her. And going to the Sisters' quarters, she abode in the bliss of fruition and Nibbana, and exulted in her attainment thus:

Hairless, dirt-laden and half-clad[2]—so fared
I formerly, deeming that harmless things
Held harm, nor was I 'ware of harm
In many things wherein, in sooth, harm lay. (107)
Then forth I went from siesta in the shade
Up to the Vulture's Peak,[3] and there I saw
The Buddha, the Immaculate, begirt
And followed by the Bhikkhu-company. (108)
Low on my knees I worshipped, with both hands
Adoring. 'Come, Bhaddā!' the Master said!
Thereby to me was ordination given.[4] (109)

[1] *Dhammapada*, ver. 101.

[2] Lit., having one garment or cloak. The Niganṭhas were ascetics (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 220, 221).

[3] It is not impossible that Sāvatthi had its Vulture's Peak (Gijjhakūṭa) as well as Rājagaha in Magadha; but the latter peak is the one usually mentioned, and it seems more probable that Curlyhair's legend has been (badly) fitted on to another Bhaddā's Psalm. *Cf.* Ps. xlii., also Ps. xlvii., lxiii. The commentator is silent on the point.

[4] Great importance came to be attached to a case of ordination—in the case, at least, of a woman—by the Master direct, as was this. Dhammapāla ends his Commentary with a note upon it.

Lo! fifty years have I a pilgrim been,
In Anga, Magadha and in Vajji,
In Kāsī and the land of Kosala,
Nought owing, living on the people's alms.[1] (110)
And great the merit by that layman gained,
Sagacious man, who gave Bhaddā a robe—
Bhaddā who now (captive once more to gear)
Is wholly free from bondage of the mind. (111)

XLVII

Paṭācārā.

She, too, was reborn, when Padumuttara was Buddha, at Haŋsavatī, in a clansman's family. One day she sat listening to the Master, and hearing him place a Bhikkhunī at top of those who were versed in the rules of the Order, she vowed that this rank should one day be hers. After doing good all her life, and being reborn in heaven and on earth, she gained rebirth, in the time when Kassapa was Buddha, as one of the seven Sisters, daughters of Kiki, King of Kāsī.[2] And for 20,000 years she lived a life of righteousness, and built a cell for the Order. While no Buddha lived on earth she dwelt in glory among the gods, and finally, in this Buddha-era, was reborn in the Treasurer's house at Savatthī. Grown up, she formed an intimacy with one of the serving-men of her house. When the parents fixed a day on which to give her hand to a

[1] That, from an Eastern standpoint, she incurred no debt as the people's pensioner, but more than repaid their charity by giving them opportunities for storing merit, is well shown in the following lines.

[2] Thus, as sister of Bhaddā Curlylocks, or, rather, of the immediate personal antecedent of Bhaddā, and of five other eminent women. See Ps. xii., *n.*; and *cf.* Mrs. Bode, *op. cit.*, pp. 556 *f.*; and Jātaka 4, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 158 *f.*

youth of her own rank, she took a handful of baggage, and with her lover left the town by the chief gate and dwelt in a hamlet. When the time for her confinement was near, she said: 'Here there's none to take care of me; let us go home, husband.' And he procrastinated, saying: 'We'll go to-day; we'll go to-morrow' till she said: 'The foolish fellow will never take me there'; and setting her affairs in order while he was out, she told her neighbours to say she had gone home, and set forth alone. When he came back and was told this, he exclaimed: 'Through my doing a lady of rank is without protection,' and hurrying after her, overtook her. Midway the pains of birth came upon her, and after she was recovered, they turned back again to the hamlet. At the advent of a second child things happened just as before, with this difference: when midway the winds born of Karma blew upon her,[1] a great storm broke over them, and she said, 'Husband, find me a place out of the rain!' While he was cutting grass and sticks in the jungle, he cut a stake from a tree standing in an ant-hill. And a snake came from the ant-hill and bit him, so that he fell there and died. She, in great misery, and looking for his coming, while the two babies cried at the wind and the rain, placed them in her bosom, and, prone over them on the ground, spent the night thus. At dawn, bearing one babe at her breast, and saying to the other, 'Come, dear, father has left thee,' she went and found him seated, dead, near the ant-heap. 'Oh!' she cried, 'through me my husband is dead,' and wept and lamented all the night. Now, from the rain, the river that lay across her path was swollen knee-deep, and she, being distraught and weak, could not cross the water with both babies. So she left the elder on the hither side, and crossed over with the other. Then she spread out a branch she had broken off, and laid the babe on her rolled head-cloth. But she was loth to leave the little creature, and turned round again and again to see him as she went down to the river. Now, when she was half-way over, a hawk in

[1] When the pains of childbirth set in.

the air took the babe for a piece of flesh, and though the mother, seeing him, clapped her hands, shouting, 'Soo! soo!' the hawk minded her not, because she was far from him, and caught the child up into the air. Then the elder, thinking the mother was shouting because of him, got flustered, and fell into the river; so she lost both, and came weeping to Sāvatthī. And, meeting a man, she asked him: 'Where do you dwell?' And he said: 'At Sāvatthī, dame.' 'There is at Sāvatthī such and such a family in such and such a street. Know you them, friend?' 'I know them, dame; but ask not of them; ask somewhat else.' 'I am not concerned with aught else. 'Tis about them I ask, friend.' 'Dame, can you not take on yourself to tell? You saw how the god rained all last night?' 'I saw that, friend. On me he rained all night long. Why, I will tell you presently. But first, do you tell me of how it goes with that Treasurer's family.' 'Dame, last night the house broke down and fell upon them, and they burn the Treasurer, his wife, and his son on one pyre. Dame, the smoke of it can be seen.' Thereat grief maddened her, so that she was not aware even of her clothing slipping off. Wailing in her woe—

> 'My children both are gone, and in the bush
> Dead lies my husband; on one funeral bier
> My mother, father, and my brother burn,'

she wandered around from that day forth in circles, and because her skirt-cloth fell from her she was given the name 'Cloak-walker.'[1] And people, seeing her, said: 'Go, little mad-woman!' And some threw refuse at her head, some sprinkled dust, some pelted her with clods. The Master, seated in the Jeta Grove, in the midst of a great company, teaching the Dhamma, saw her wandering thus round and round, and contemplated the maturity of her knowledge. When she came towards the Vihāra he also walked that way. The congregation, seeing her, said: 'Suffer not that little lunatic to come hither.' The Exalted

[1] *Paṭa*, cloak; *ācarā*, walker (fem.).

One said: 'Forbid her not,' and standing near as she came round again, he said to her: 'Sister, recover thou presence of mind.'[1] She, by the sheer potency of the Buddha regaining presence of mind, discerned her undressed plight, and shame and conscience arising, she fell crouching to earth. A man threw her his outer robe, and she put it round her, and drawing near to the Master worshipped at his feet, saying: 'Lord, help me. One of my children a hawk hath taken, one is borne away by water; in the jungle my husband lies dead; my parents and my brother, killed by the overthrown house, burn on one pyre.' So she told him why she grieved. The Master made her see, thus: 'Paṭācārā, think not thou art come to one able to become a help to thee. Just as now thou art shedding tears because of the death of children and the rest, so hast thou, in the unending round of life, been shedding tears, because of the death of children and the rest, more abundant than the waters of the four oceans:

> 'Less are the waters of the oceans four
> Than all the waste of waters shed in tears
> By heart of man who mourneth touched by Ill.
> Why waste thy life brooding in bitter woe?'

Thus, through the Master's words touching the way where no salvation lies, the grief in her became lighter to bear. Knowing this, he went on: 'O Paṭācārā, to one passing to another world no child nor other kin is able to be a shelter or a hiding-place or a refuge. Not here, even, can they be such. Therefore, let whoso is wise purify his own conduct, and accomplish the Path leading even to Nibbana.' Thus he taught her, and said:

> 'Sons are no shelter, nor father, nor any kinsfolk.
> O'ertaken by death, for thee blood-bond is no refuge.
> Discerning this truth, the wise man, well ordered by virtue,
> Swiftly makes clear the road leading on to Nibbana.

[1] *Sati* is memory *plus* consciousness, in a reasonable being, of what one is now doing. 'Thy reason' would be more idiomatic English. 'Sister' here (*bhagini*, not *Bhikkhuni* or *Theri*) is the term for the blood-tie, or a term of respect.

When he had finished speaking, she was established in the fruit of a Stream-winner,[1] and asked for ordination. The Master led her to the Bhikkhunīs, and let her be admitted.

She, exercising herself to reach the higher paths, took water one day in a bowl, and washing her feet, poured away some of the water, which trickled but a little way and disappeared. She poured more, and it went farther. And the third time the water went yet farther before it disappeared. Taking this as her basis of thought, she pondered: 'Even so do mortals die, either in childhood, or in middle age, or when old.' And the Master, seated in the 'Fragrant Chamber,' shed glory around, and appeared as if speaking before her, saying: 'Even so, O Paṭācārā, are all mortals liable to die; therefore is it better to have so lived as to see how the five khandhas come and go, even were it but for one day—ay, but for one moment—than to live for a hundred years and not see that.

'The man who, living for an hundred years,
Beholdeth never how things rise and fall,
Had better live no longer than one day,
So, in that day, he see the flux of things.'[2]

And when he had finished, Paṭācārā won Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in letter and in spirit. Thereafter, reflecting on how she had attained while yet a student, and magnifying the advent of this upward change, she exulted thus:

With ploughshares ploughing up the fields, with seed
Sown in the breast of earth, men win their crops,
Enjoy their gains and nourish wife and child. (112)
Why cannot I, whose life is pure, who seek

[1] The first of the four paths of salvation, Arahantship being the fourth.

[2] *Udayabbayo*, rise-fall or coming-going. I have merely varied the phrase from line 2.

To do the Master's will, no sluggard am,
Nor puffèd up, win to Nibbana's bliss? (113)

One day, bathing my feet, I sit and watch
The water as it trickles down the slope.
Thereby I set my heart in steadfastness,
As one doth train a horse of noble breed. (114)
Then going to my cell, I take my lamp,
And seated on my couch I watch the flame. (115)
Grasping the pin, I pull the wick right down
Into the oil. . . .
Lo! the Nibbana of the little lamp!
Emancipation dawns! My heart is free![1] (116)

XLVIII

Thirty Sisters under Paṭācārā declare their AÑÑĀ.

They, too, having made vows under former Buddhas, and accumulating good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, consolidated the conditions for emancipation. They came to birth, in this Buddha-dispensation, in clansmen's families in different places, heard Paṭācārā preach, and were by her converted, and entered the Order. To them, perfecting virtue and fulfilling their duties, she one day gave this exhortation:[2]

Men in their prime with pestle and with quern
Are busied pounding rice and grinding corn.
Men in their prime gather and heap up wealth,

[1] Lit., 'There was emancipation of the heart' (or mind). It is not easy to avoid jejuneness in rendering faithfully the austere simplicity of this little poem, wherein the terms and metaphors are not rich in import to us as they would be to an early Buddhist.

[2] *Cf.* with the following, Ps. lviii.

To have and nourish wife and children dear. (117)
But ye, my sisters, see ye carry out
The Buddha's will, which bringeth no remorse.
Swiftly bathe ye your feet, then sit ye down
Apart; your souls surrender utterly
To spiritual calm—so do his will. (118)

Then those Bhikkhunīs, abiding in the Sister's admonition, established themselves in insight, performed exercises therein, and brought knowledge to such maturity—the promise, too, being in them—that they attained Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in letter and in spirit. And reflecting thereon, they exulted thus, adding the Therī's verses to their own:

The will of her who spake—Paṭācārā—[1]
The thirty Sisters heard and swift obeyed.
Bathing their feet, they sat them down apart,
And gave their souls to spiritual calm,
Fulfilling thus the bidding of the Lord. (119)
While passed the first watch of the night, there rose
Long memories of the bygone line of lives;
While passed the second watch, the Heavenly Eye,
Purview celestial, they clarified;
While passed the last watch of the night, they burst
And rent aside the gloom of ignorance. (120)
Then rising to their feet they hailed her blest:
'Fulfillèd is thy will! and thee we take,
And like to Sakka o'er the thrice ten gods,

[1] One note in the individual chord sounded in this Psalm and the next is certainly the emphasis laid on the loyalty of the Sisters to their present Mistress rather than to the absent and less directly guiding Master.

Chieftain unconquered in celestial wars,
We place thee as our Chief, and so shall live.
The threefold Wisdom have we gotten now.
From deadly drugs our souls are purified.' (121)

XLIX

Candā.

She, too, faring in former ages like the foregoing, was, in this Buddha-era, born in a brahmin village as the daughter of a brahmin of whom nothing is known. From her childhood her family lost its possessions, and she grew up in wretched circumstances.

Now, in her home the snake-blast disease[1] broke out, and all her kinsfolk caught it, and died. She, being unable to support herself otherwise, went from house to house with a potsherd, maintaining herself by alms. One day she came to where Paṭācārā had just finished her meal. The Bhikkhunīs, seeing her wretched and overcome with hunger, received her with affectionate kindness in the pity they felt for her, and satisfied her with such food as they had. Gladdened by their virtuous conduct, she drew near to the Therī, saluted her, and sat down on one side while the Therī discoursed. She listened in delight, and, growing anxious concerning the round of life, renounced the world. Abiding in the Therī's admonition, she established insight, devoted to practice. Then, because of her resolve and of the maturity of her knowledge, she not long after won Arahantship, with thorough grasp of the Norm in the letter and the spirit. And, reflecting on her attainment, she exulted thus:

Fallen on evil days was I of yore.
No husband had I, nor no child, no friends

[1] On this mythical illness, see Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, 85 *n*.

Or kin — whence could I food or raiment
find ? (122)
As beggars go, I took my bowl and staff,
And sought me alms, begging from house to house,
Sunburnt, frost-bitten, seven weary years. (123)
Then came I where a woman Mendicant[1]
Shared with me food, and drink, and welcomed me,
And said : 'Come forth into our homeless life !' (124)
In gracious pity did she let me come—
PAṬĀCĀRĀ—and heard me take the vows.
And thenceforth words of wisdom and of power
She spake, and set before my face
The way of going to the Crown of Life.[2] (125)
I heard her and I marked, and did her will.
O wise and clear Our Lady's homily !
The Threefold Wisdom have I gotten now.
From deadly drugs my heart is purified. (126)

[1] Bhikkhunī. The charm of the poem lies in the poor woman, an involuntary beggar 'in the world,' 'coming forth,' a voluntary beggar, into the higher Mendicancy, and from the dregs of living, reckoned by worldly standards, setting herself to win the cream of the life of Mind.

[2] Lit., the thing of supreme import or advantage—*paramatthe.*

CANTO VI

PSALMS OF SIX VERSES

L

Paṭācārā's Five Hundred.[1]

THESE too, having fared under former Buddhas as the foregoing Sisters, were, in this Buddha-era, reborn in some clansman's house in divers places, were married, and bore children, living domestic lives. And having wrought karma such as would bring to pass such a result, they suffered bereavement in the death of a child. Then they found their way, overwhelmed with grief, to Paṭācārā, and saluting her, and seated by her, told her the manner of their sorrow. The Sister, restraining their sorrow, spake thus:

The way by which men come we cannot know;
Nor can we see the path by which they go.

[1] *Pañcasatā Paṭācārā.* Dr. Neumann, who disregards the Commentary throughout as a mere exegesis and of less than no historical value, renders *pañcasatā* by 'of fivefold subtlety'—*die fünfmal Feine*—*satā* being taken as 'one who has *sati*' (memory, mindfulness, discernment), Sanskrit *smṛtā*. I believe the expression *pañcasatā* occurs nowhere else; nor is there anything in the gāthā's to justify the soubriquet. Nor am I concerned to euhemerize the, to us, mythical absurdity of 500 bereaved mothers all finding their way to one woman, illustrious teacher and herself bereaved mother though she might be. Five hundred, and one or two more such 'round numbers,' are, in Pali, tantamount simply to our 'dozens of them,' 'an hundredfold,' and the like. But, besides this, the phenomena of huge cities and swarming population are not, in countries of ancient civilization, matters of yesterday's growth, as in our case.

Why mournest then for him who came to thee,
Lamenting through thy tears: 'My son! my son!' (127)
Seeing thou knowest not the way he came,
Nor yet the manner of his leaving thee?
Weep not, for such is here the life of man. (128)
Unask'd he came, unbidden went he hence.
Lo! ask thyself again whence came thy son
To bide on earth this little breathing space? (129)
By one way come and by another gone,
As man to die, and pass to other births—
So hither and so hence—why would ye weep?[1] (130)

They, hearing her doctrine, were filled with agitation, and, under the Therī, renounced the world. Exercising themselves henceforth in insight, their faculties growing ripe for emancipation, they soon became established in Arahantship, with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and in meaning. Thereafter, pondering on their attainment, they exulted in those words, 'The way by which men come,' adding thereto other verses, and repeating them in turn, as follows:

Lo! from my heart the hidden shaft is gone,
The shaft that nestled there she hath removed,
And that consuming grief for my dead child
Which poisoned all the life of me is dead. (131)

[1] The sharp contrast between this chant of consolation and that which any other religious anthology affords is sufficiently interesting. But if the burden of the chant, in its varied iteration, be imagined, not tripped off on the tongue of a cheerful critic or a disapproving other-believer, but uttered in grave, tender accents, coming from a heart that felt intensely because it had so ached, and from a mind that understood and was therefore serene . . . Even so might Bouguereau's 'Vierge Consolatrice' speak, her great wise eyes looking forth over the anguished bereaved sister flung on her lap, while the dead child lies below at her feet.

To-day my heart is healed, my yearning stayed,
Perfected the deliverance wrought in me.[1]
Lo! I for refuge to the Buddha go—
The only wise—the Order and the Norm.[2] (132)

Now, because those 500 Bhikkhunīs were versed in the teaching of Paṭācārā, therefore they got the name of The Paṭācārā's.

LI

Vāsiṭṭhī.[3]

She, too, faring under former Buddhas like the foregoing, was, in this Buddha-era, reborn in a clansman's family at Vesālī. Her parents gave her in marriage to a clansman's son of equal rank, and she, bearing one son, lived happily with her husband. But when the child was able to run about, he died; and she was worn and maddened with grief. And while the relatives were administering healing to the husband, she, unknown to them, ran away raving, and wandered round and round till she came to Mithilā. There she saw the Exalted One going down the next street, self-controlled, self-contained, master of his faculties. And at the sight of the wondrous Chief,[4] and through the potency of the Buddha, she regained her normal mind from the frenzy that had befallen her. Then the Master taught her the Norm in outline, and in agitation she asked him that she might enter the Order, and by his command she was admitted. Performing all requisite duties and preliminaries, she established insight, and, striving with might and main, and with ripening knowledge, she soon attained Arahantship, together with thorough

[1] *Parinibbutā. Cf.* ver. 53. [2] *Cf.* p. 40, *n* 3. [3] See Ps. lxix.

[4] *Nāga*, a term not seldom applied to a great and mysterious personality. I can find no English equivalent.

grasp of the Norm in form and in spirit. Reflecting on her attainment, she exulted thus:

Now here, now there, lightheaded, crazed with grief,
Mourning my child, I wandered up and down,
Naked, unheeding, streaming hair unkempt, (133)
Lodging in scourings of the streets, and where
The dead lay still, and by the chariot-roads—
So three years long I fared, starving, athirst. (134)

And then at last I saw Him, as He went
Within that blessed city Mithilā:
Great Tamer of untamèd hearts, yea, Him,
The Very Buddha, Banisher of fear. (135)
Came back my heart to me, my errant mind;
Forthwith to Him I went low worshipping,
And there, e'en at His feet I heard the Norm.
For of His great compassion on us all,
'Twas He who taught me, even GOTAMA.[1] (136)

I heeded all He said and left the world
And all its cares behind, and gave myself
To follow where He taught, and realize
Life in the Path to great good fortune bound. (137)
Now all my sorrows are hewn down, cast out,
Uprooted, brought to utter end,
In that I now can grasp and understand
The base on which my miseries were built. (138)

[1] More than once in these verses—never, I believe, in prose— the family name of the Buddha is used by the faithful—*e.g.*, Ps. liv.

LII

Khemā.

Now she, when Padumuttara was Buddha, became a slave to others, dependent for her livelihood on others, at Haŋsavatī. And one day, seeing the Elder, Sujāta, seeking alms, she gave him three sweet cakes, and at the same time took down her hair[1] and gave it to the Elder, saying: 'May I in the future become a disciple, great in wisdom, of a Buddha!' After many fortunate rebirths as Queen among both gods and men, for that she had wrought good karma to the uttermost, she became a human, when Vipassi[2] was Buddha. Renouncing the world, she became a learned preacher of the Norm. Reborn, when Kakusandha was Buddha, in a wealthy family, she made a great park for the Order, and delivered it over to the Order with the Buddha at their head. She did this again when Koṇāgamana was Buddha. When Kassapa was Buddha she became the eldest daughter of King Kiki,[3] named Samaṇī, lived a pious life, and gave a cell to the Order. Finally, in this Buddha-era, she was born in Magadha, at Sāgala,[4] as one of the King's family, and named Khemā. Beautiful, and with skin like gold, she became the consort of King Bimbisāra. While the Master was at the Bamboo Grove[5] she, being infatuated with her own beauty, would not go to see him, fearing he would look on this as a fault in her. The King bade persons praise the Grove to her to induce her to visit it. And accordingly she asked him to let her see it. The King went to the Vihāra, and seeing no Master, but determined that she should not get away, he instructed his men to let the

[1] The usual word 'cut off' is not used.

[2] First of the seven Buddhas of the Piṭakas. See *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii. 3. [3] See Ps. xii. [4] *Cf.* Ps. xxxvii.

[5] Presented by Bimbisāra to the Order, six miles from Rājagaha. For a more detailed version of this story (I have slightly condensed a slightly less detailed original), see Mrs. Bode, *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 529 *ff.*

Queen see Him of the Ten Powers, even by constraining her. And this they did when the Queen was about to leave without meeting the Master. As they brought her reluctant, the Master, by mystic potency, conjured up a woman like a celestial nymph, who stood fanning him with a palmyra leaf. And Khemā, seeing her, thought: 'Verily the Exalted One has around him women as lovely as goddesses. I am not fit even to wait upon such. I am undone by my base and mistaken notions!' Then, as she looked, that woman, through the steadfast will of the Master, passed from youth to middle age and old age, till, with broken teeth, grey hair, and wrinkled skin, she fell to earth with her palm-leaf. Then Khemā, because of her ancient resolve, thought: 'Has such a body come to be a wreck like that? Then so will my body also!' And the Master, knowing her thoughts, said:

> 'They who are slaves to lust drift down the stream,
> Like to a spider gliding down the web
> He of himself has wrought. But the released,
> Who all their bonds have snapt in twain,
> With thoughts elsewhere intent, forsake the world,
> And all delight in sense put far away.'[1]

The Commentaries say that when he had finished, she attained Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and meaning. But according to the Apadāna, she was established only in the Fruit of one who has entered the Stream, and, the King consenting, entered the Order ere she became an Arahant.[2]

Thereafter she became known for her great insight, and was ranked foremost herein by the Exalted One, seated in the conclave of Ariyans at the Jeta Grove Vihāra.

And as she sat one day in siesta under a tree, Māra the Evil One, in youthful shape, drew near, tempting her with sensuous ideas:

[1] Dhammapada, ver. 347.

[2] The Apadāna version in ninety-two verse-couplets is then quoted. Arahantship outside the Order was very rare, though not unknown.

Thou art fair, and life is young, beauteous Khemā ![1]
I am young, even I, too—Come, O fairest lady !
While in our ear fivefold harmonies murmur melodious.
Seek we our pleasure.' (139)

'Through this body vile, foul seat of disease and corruption,
Loathing I feel, and oppression. Cravings of lust are uprooted. (140)
Lusts of the body and sense-mind[2] cut like daggers and javelins.
Speak not to me of delighting in aught of sensuous pleasure !
Verily all such vanities now no more may delight me. (141)
Slain on all sides is the love of the world, the flesh, and the devil.[3]
Rent asunder the gloom of ignorance once that beset me.
Know this, O Evil One ! Destroyer, know thyself worsted ! (142)

Lo ! ye who blindly worship constellations of heaven,
Ye who fostering fire in cool grove, wait upon Agni,
Ignorant are ye all, ye foolish and young, of the Real,
Deeming ye thus might find purification from evil.[4] (143)

[1] In the text the usual *śloka* metre is employed.

[2] *I.e.*, the Khandhas, or five constituents making up a person under conditions of sense experience.

[3] *Nandi*, sensuous delight, implying more or less love of all three.

[4] These two lines, which are somewhat turgidly amplified, run in

Lo! as for me I worship th' Enlightened, the
 Uttermost Human,[1]
Utterly free from all sorrow, doer of Buddha's
 commandments.' (144)

LIII

Sujātā.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and accumulating good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, and consolidating the essential conditions for emancipation, was, in this Buddha-era, reborn at Sāketa, in the Treasurer's family. Given by her parents in marriage to a Treasurer's son of equal rank, she lived happily with him. Going one day to take part in an Astral Festival[2] in the pleasure-grounds, she was returning with her attendants to the town, when, in the Añjana Grove, she saw the Master, and her heart being drawn to him, she drew near, did obeisance, and seated herself. The Master, finishing his discourse in order, and knowing the sound state of her mind, expounded the Norm to her in an inspiring lesson. Thereat, because her intelligence was fully ripe, she, even as she sat, attained Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and meaning. Saluting the Master, and going home, she obtained her husband's and her parents' consent, and by command of the Master was admitted to the Order of Bhikkhunīs. Reflecting on her attainment, she exulted thus:

---

literal terseness thus: 'Ye foolish young ones, who know not things as they really have come to be, [those rites] ye have fancied to be purification' (*suddhi*).

[1] *Purisuttamo*, 'supreme among men.'

[2] *Nakkhattakīlaŋ*, constellation-sports. *Cf.* verse 143 in the preceding Psalm.

Adorned in finery, in raiment fair,
In garlands wreathed, powdered with sandalwood,
Bedecked with all my jewelry, begirt (145)
With troop of handmaidens, and well-supplied
With food solid and soft, and drink enow,
From home I drove me to the fair pleasaunce. (146)
There did we sport and make a merry time,
Then gat us once more on the homeward way.
So entered we the grove called Añjana,
Hard by Sāketa, where amidst the trees
Stands the Vihāra [of the holy men]. (147)

Him saw I sitting there, Light of the World,
And went into his presence worshipping.
And of his great compassion for us all,
He taught to me the Norm—the One who
Sees! (148)
Forthwith I, too, could pierce and penetrate,
Hearing the truth taught by the mighty Seer,
For there, e'en as I sat, my spirit touched[1]
The Norm Immaculate, th' Ambrosial Path. (149)

Then first it was I left the life of home,
When the blest Gospel[2] I had come to know,
And now the Threefold Wisdom have I won.
O wise and sure the bidding of the Lord! (150)

[1] This is another subtle stroke of artistry, to let the *visual* emphasis in the poem culminate in the intenser metaphor of *touch*. 'Seeing is believing, but touch is the real thing.' The word is frequently so used in the Pitakas, but without the theosophical mysticism of the Neo-platonic ἁφή.

[2] *Saddhamma* means *good* teaching (εὐαγγέλιον), not, of course, *God's* 'spell.'

LIV

Anopamā.

She, too, having made resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, perfecting the conditions tending to bring about emancipation, was, in this Buddha-era, reborn at Sāketa as the daughter of the Treasurer, Majjha. Because of her beauty she got the name 'Peerless' (An-opamā). When she grew up, many rich men's sons, Kings' ministers, and Princes, sent messengers to the father, saying: 'Give us your daughter Anopamā, and we will give this, or that.' Hearing of this, she—for that the promise of the highest was in her—thought: 'Profit to me in the life of the House there is none'; and sought the Master's presence. She heard him teach, and her intelligence maturing, the memory of that teaching, and the strenuous effort for insight she made, established her in the Third Path—that of No-return. Asking the Master for admission, she was by his order admitted among the Bhikkhunīs. And on the seventh day thereafter, she realized Arahantship. Reflecting thereon, she exulted:

Daughter of Treas'rer Majjha's famous house,
Rich, beautiful and prosperous, I was born
To vast possessions and to lofty rank. (151)
Nor lacked I suitors—many came and wooed;
The sons of Kings and merchant princes came
With costly gifts, all eager for my hand.
And messengers were sent from many a land
With promise to my father: 'Give to me (152)
Anopamā, and look! whate'er she weighs,
Anopamā thy daughter, I will give
Eightfold that weight in gold and gems of
price.' (153)

But I had seen th' Enlightened, Chief o' the World,
The One Supreme. In lowliness I sat
And worshipped at his feet. He, Gotama, (154)
Out of his pity taught to me the Norm.
And seated even there I touched in heart
The Anāgāmi-Fruit, Third of the Paths,
And knew this world should see me ne'er return. (155)
Then cutting off the glory of my hair,
I entered on the homeless ways of life.
'Tis now the seventh night since first all sense
Of craving driéd up within my heart. (156)

LV

Mahā-Pajāpatī the Gotamid.

Now she was born, when Padumuttara was Buddha, in the city of Haṃsavatī, in a clansman's family. Hearing the Master preaching, and assigning the foremost place for experience to a certain Bhikkhunī, she vowed such a place should one day be hers. Then, after many births, once more was she reborn in the Buddha-empty era, between Kassapa and our Buddha, at Benares, as the forewoman among 500 slave-girls.[1] Now, when the rains drew near, five Silent Buddhas came down from the Nandamūlaka mountain-cave to Isipatana, seeking alms; and those women got their husbands to erect five huts for the Buddhas during the three rainy months, and they provided them with all they required during that time. Reborn once more in a

[1] See this episode in fuller detail in Mrs. Bode, *op. cit.*, p. 523 *ff.* The two Commentaries agree in all salient points, ours being less detailed. The above is considerably condensed. The Apadāna devotes 190 verse-couplets to the chronicle of this 'Great' Mother of the Sisters' Order.

weaver's village near Benares, in the headman's family, she again ministered to Silent Buddhas. Finally, she was reborn, shortly before our Master came to us, at Devadaha, in the family of Mahā-Suppabuddha.[1] Her family name was Gotama, and she was the younger sister of the Great Māyā. And the interpreters of birthmarks declared that the children of both sisters would be Wheel-rolling Rulers.[2] Now, King Suddhodana, when he came of age, held a festival, and wedded both the sisters. After this, when our Master had arisen, and, in turning the excellent wheel of the Norm, came in course of fostering souls to Vesāli, his father, who had reached Arahantship, died.

Then the great Pajāpatī, wishing to leave the world, asked the Master for admission, but obtained it not. Then she cut off her hair, put on the robes, and at the end of the sermon now forming the Suttanta on strife and contention, she sallied forth, and together with 500 Sākya ladies whose husbands had renounced the world, went to Vesālī, and asked the Master, through Ānanda the Thera, for ordination. This she then obtained, with the eight maxims for Bhikkhunīs.

Thus ordained, the Great Pajāpatī came and saluted the Master, and stood on one side. Then he taught her the Norm; and she, exercising herself and practising, soon after obtained Arahantship, accompanied by intuitive and analytical knowledge. The remaining 500 Bhikkhunīs, after Nandaka's homily, became endowed with the six branches of intuitive knowledge.

Now, one day, when the Master was seated in the conclave of Ariyans at the great Jeta Grove Vihāra, he assigned the foremost place in experience to Great Pajāpatī, the Gotamid. She, dwelling in the bliss of fruition and of Nibbana, testified her gratitude one day by declaring her AÑÑĀ before the Master, in praising his virtue, who had brought help where before there had been none:

[1] In the Apadāna he is called Añjana the Sākiyan.

[2] *I.e.*, should be Emperors, either of worldly dominions or else of the hearts of men.

Buddha the Wake,[1] the Hero, hail! all hail!
Supreme o'er every being that hath life,
Who from all ill and sorrow hast released
Me and so many, many stricken folk.[2] (157)
Now have I understood how Ill doth come.
Craving, the Cause, in me is dried up.
Have I not trod, have I not touched the End
Of Ill—the Ariyan, the Eightfold Path? (158)

Oh! but 'tis long I've wandered down all time.
Living as mother, father, brother, son,
And as grandparent in the ages past—
Not knowing how and what things really are,
And never finding what I needed sore. (159)
But now mine eyes have seen th' Exalted One;
And now I know this living frame's the last,
And shattered is th' unending round of births.
No more Pajāpatī shall come to be! (160)

Behold the company who learn of him—
In happy concord of fraternity,
Of strenuous energy and resolute,
From strength to strength advancing toward the
Goal—
The noblest homage this to Buddhas paid.[3] (161)

Oh! surely for the good of countless lives
Did sister Māyā bring forth Gotama,
Dispeller of the burden of our ill,
Who lay o'erweighted with disease and death! (162)

[1] Buddho = awake.

[2] So K. E. Neumann: Erlöser vielem vielem Volk.

[3] *Esā Buddhāna-vandanā.* *Cf.* Savonarola's words: '. . . righteousness of living, which is the grandest homage and truest worship that the creature can render to his Creator' (*The Triumph of the Cross*).

LVI

Guttā.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and accumulating good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, and consolidating the essential conditions for emancipation, was, in this Buddha-era, reborn at Sāvatthī, in a brahmin's family, and named Guttā. When adolescent, life in the house became repugnant to her, and she obtained her parents' consent to enter the Order under the Great Pajāpatī. Thereafter, though she practised with devotion, her heart long persisted in running after external interests, and this destroyed concentration. Then the Master, to encourage her, sent forth glory, and appeared near her, as if seated in the air, saying these words:

Bethink thee, Guttā, of that high reward[1]
For which thou wast content to lose thy world,
Renouncing hope of children, lure of wealth.
To *that* direct and consecrate the mind,
Nor give thyself to sway of truant thoughts. (163)
Deceivers ever are the thoughts of men,
Fain for the haunts where Māra finds his prey;
And running ever on from birth to birth,
To the dread circle bound—a witless world. (164)
But thou, O Sister, bound to other goals,
Thine is't to break those Fetters five: the lust
Of sense, ill-will, delusion of the Self,
The taint of rites and ritual, and doubt, (165)
That drag thee backward to the hither shore.
'Tis not for thee to come again to this! (166)

[1] *Attho*, good, advantage, profit.

Get thee away from life-lust,[1] from conceit,
From ignorance, and from distraction's craze;
Sunder the bonds; so only shalt thou come
To utter end of Ill. Throw off the Chain (167)
Of birth and death—thou knowest what they mean.
So, free from craving, in this life on earth,
Thou shalt go on thy way calm and serene. (168)

And when the Master had made an end of that utterance, the Sister attained Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and meaning. And exulting thereon, she uttered those lines in their order as spoken by the Exalted One, whence they came to be called the Therī's psalm.

LVII

Vijayā.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy, was, in this Buddha-era, reborn at Rājagaha, in a certain clansman's family. When grown up she became the companion of Khemā, afterwards Therī, but then of the laity. Hearing that Khemā had renounced the world, she said: 'If she, as a King's consort, can leave the world, surely I can.' So to Khemā Therī she went, and the latter, discerning whereon her heart was set, taught her the Norm so as to agitate her mind concerning rebirth, and to make her seek comfort in the system. And so it came to pass; and the Therī ordained her. She, serving as was due, and studying as was due,

[1] Longing to live again, embodied or disembodied. This and the following three terms are the last five Fetters, 'the sundering of which leads immediately to Arahantship.' See Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, 141-152.

grew in insight, and, the promise being in her, soon attained to Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and meaning. And she, reflecting thereon, exulted thus:

Four[1] times, nay five, I sallied from my cell,
And roamed afield to find the peace of mind
I lacked, and governance of thoughts
I could not bring into captivity. (169)
Then to a Bhikkhunī[2] I came and asked
Full many a question of my doubts.
To me she taught the Norm: the elements, (170)
Organ and object in the life of sense,[3]
[And then the factors of the Nobler life:]
The Ariyan Truths, the Faculties, the Powers,
The Seven Features of Awakening,
The Eightfold Way, leading to utmost good. (171)
I heard her words, her bidding I obeyed.
While[4] passed the first watch of the night there rose
Long memories of the bygone line of lives. (172)
While passed the second watch, the Heavenly Eye,
Purview celestial, I clarified.
While passed the last watch of the night, I burst
And rent aside the gloom of ignorance. (173)

[1] = Ps. xxviii. and xxx.

[2] Here is a case where Atthakathā and Gāthā are badly welded, as he who runs may read. The commentator, nothing doubting, identifies the Bhikkhunī as Khemā.

[3] *Cf.* Ps. xxx., xxxviii. The following 'factors' give twenty-five of the thirty-seven known as the Bodhipakkhiyā Dhammā, omitting the four applications of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhānā*), the four stages of potency (*iddhipādā*), and the four right efforts (*sammappadhānāni*), but introducing the *doctrinal* four truths.

[4] = Ps. xlviii.

Then, letting joy and blissful ease of mind
Suffuse my body, seven days I sat,
Ere stretching out cramped limbs I rose again.
Was it not rent indeed, that muffling mist?[1] (174)

[1] This question sign is a translator's liberty. The Pali reiterates only the final stage of relief and attainment.

CANTO VII

PSALMS OF SEVEN VERSES

LVIII

Uttarā.

SHE, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, so that in her the root of good (karma) was well planted, and the requisites for emancipation were well stored up, was, in this Buddha-era, reborn at Sāvatthī, in a certain clansman's family, and called Uttarā. Come to years of discretion, she heard Paṭācārā preach the Norm, became thereby a believer, entered the Order, and became an Arahant. And, reflecting on her attainment, she exulted thus:

'Men in their prime, with pestle and with quern
Are busied pounding rice and grinding corn.
Men in their prime gather and heap up wealth,
To have and nourish wife and children dear.[1] (175)
Yours is the task to spend yourselves upon
The Buddha's will which bringeth no remorse.
Swiftly bathe ye your feet, then sit ye down (176)
Apart. Planting your minds in Steadfastness,
With concentrated effort well composed,
Ponder how what ye do, and say, and think,
Proceeds not from a Self, is not your Self.'[2] (177)

[1] See Ps. xlvii., xlviii.

[2] Lit., consider the sankhāras as other, not as self.

The will of her who spake—Paṭācārā—
I heard and marked and forthwith carried out.
Bathing my feet, I sat me down apart. (178)
While passed the first watch of the night there rose
Long memories of the bygone line of lives.
While passed the second watch, the Heavenly Eye,
Purview celestial, I clarified. (179)
While passed the third watch of the night, I burst
And rent aside the gloom of ignorance.

Now rich in Threefold Wisdom I arose:
'O Lady! verily thy will is done. (180)
And like to Sakka o'er the thrice ten gods,
Chieftain unconquered in celestial wars,
I place thee as my chief, and so shall live.
The Threefold Wisdom have I gotten now.
From deadly drugs my soul is purified.' (181)

Now this Sister, one day, when under Paṭācārā she had established herself in an exercise, went into her own dwelling, and seating herself cross-legged, thought: 'I will not break up this sitting until I have emancipated my heart from all dependence on the Āsavas.' Thus resolving, she incited her intellectual grasp, and gradually clarifying insight as she progressed along the Paths, she attained Arahantship, together with the power of intuition and thorough grasp of the Norm. Thus contemplating nineteen subjects[1] in succession, with the consciousness that 'Now have I done what herein I had to do,' she uttered in her happiness the verses given above, and stretched her limbs. And when the dawn arose, and night brightened into day, she sought the Therī's presence, and repeated her verses.

[1] Why 'nineteen' I am unable to explain. They may be *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā—e.g.*, the *satipaṭṭhānas*, the *bojjhangas*, and the Path = nineteen factors.

LIX

Cālā.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in subsequent rebirths, was, in this Buddha-era, reborn in Magadha, at the village of Nālaka,[1] the child of Surūpasārī, the Brahminee. And on her name-giving day they called her Cālā.[2] Her younger sister was Upacālā, and the youngest Sīsūpacālā, and all three were junior to their brother Sāriputta, Captain of the Norm. Now, when the three heard that their brother had left the world for the Order, they said: 'This can be no ordinary system, nor ordinary renunciation, if one like our brother have followed it!' And full of desire and longing, they too renounced the world, putting aside their weeping kinsfolk and attendants. Thereupon, with striving and endeavour, they attained Arahantship, and abode in the bliss of Nibbana.

Now, Cālā Bhikkhunī, after her round and her meal, entered one day the Dark Grove to take siesta. Then Māra came to stir up sensual desires in her. Is it not told in the Sutta?

Again, Cāla Bhikkhunī, after her round in Sāvatthi and her meal, entered one day the Pleasant Grove for siesta. And, going on down into the Dark Grove, she sat down under a tree. Then Māra came, and, wishing to upset the consistency of her religious life, asked her the questions in her Psalm. When she had expounded to him the virtues of the Master, and the guiding power of the Norm, she

[1] Called also Nāla-village. Sāriputta seems to have continued, at times, to reside there (*Saŋy. N.*, iv. 251), and it was there that he died (*ibid.*, v. 161).

[2] These three Sisters are all included in the Bhikkhunī-Saŋyutta as having been tempted by Māra; but there Cāla's reply is put into Sīsupacālā's mouth, Upacālā's is given to Cālā, and Sīsupacālā's is given to Upacālā. See Appendix.

showed him how, by her own attained proficiency, he was exceeding his tether. Thereat Māra, dejected and melancholy, vanished. But she discoursed in exultation on what both of them had said, as follows:

Lo here! a Sister who the fivefold sense[1]
Of higher life hath trained and, self-possessed,
Herself well held in hand, hath made her way
Where lies the Holy Path, where dwells the Bliss
Of mastery over action, speech and thought. (182)

Māra.

Why now and whereto art thou seen thus garbed
And shaven like a nun, yet dost not join
Ascetics of some sect, and share their rites?
What, futile and infatuate, is thy quest? (183)

Cālā.

'Tis they that are without, caught in the net[2]
Of the vain shibboleths on which they lean—
'Tis they that have no knowledge of the Truth,
'Tis they that lack all competence therein. (184)

Lo! in the princely Sākiya clan is born
A Buddha, peerless 'mong the sons of men:
'Tis he hath shown the saving Truth to me
Which vain opiniöns doth overpass. (185)
Even the What and Why of Ill, and how
Ill comes, and how Ill may be overpassed,

[1] The five *indriyas*, replacing, in the higher life, the importance, in worldly things, of the five senses—viz., faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration, and insight.

[2] 'Sectaries' are termed *pāsaṇḍā*. The Commentary connects the word with *pāso*, snare, net, but by a false etymology. The origin of the term is obscure. 'Without' (*ito bahiddhā*)—*i.e.*, not of us.

E'en by the Ariyan, the Eightfold Path,
That leadeth to th' abating of all Ill. (186)
And I who heard his blessed words abide
Fain only and alway to do his will.
The Threefold Wisdom have I gotten now,[1]
And done the bidding of the Buddha blest. (187)
On every hand the love of sense is slain.[2]
And the thick gloom of ignorance is rent
In twain. Know this, thou Evil One, avaunt!
Here, O Destroyer! shalt thou not prevail. (188)

LX

Upacālā.

Her story has been told in the foregoing number. Like Cālā, she, too, as Arahant, exulted, after Māra had tempted her in vain, as follows:

Lo! here a Sister who the fivefold sense
Of higher life hath trained, with memory
And power of inward vision perfected,
And thus hath made her way into the Path
Of Holiness, by noble spirits trod. (189)

Māra

Why lovest thou not birth[3]? since, being born,
Thou canst enjoy what life of sense doth bring.
Enjoy the sport of sense and take thy fill,
Lest thou too late with bitter pangs regret.[4] (190)

[1] *Cf.* Ps. xxiv.
[2] *Cf.* Pss. xxxv., xxxvi.
[3] *Cf.* Appendix, where this is spoken to Cālā.
[4] = Ps. xxxv.

Upacālā.

To one that's born death cometh soon or late,
And many perils at the hands of men:
Scathe, torture, loss of limb,[1] of liberty,
Nay, life. So Ill-ward bound is the born child. (191)
Lo! in the princely Sākiya clan is born
He who is Wholly Wake, Invincible.
'Tis he hath shown the saving Truth to me
By which the round of birth is overpassed, (192)
Even the What and Why of ILL, and how
Ill comes, and how Ill may be overpassed,
E'en by the Ariyan, the Eightfold Path,
That leadeth to th' abating of all Ill. (193)

And I who heard his blessed words, abide
Fain only and alway to do his will.
The Threefold Wisdom have I gotten now,
And done the bidding of the Buddha blest. (194)
On every hand the love of sense is slain.
And the thick gloom of ignorance is rent
In twain. Know this, thou Evil One, avaunt!
Here, O Destroyer! may'st thou not prevail. (195)

[1] Lit., 'cutting (loss) of hand or foot,' referring generally, says the Commentary, to the thirty-two constituents of the body (read *kāyā-kārā* for *kammakarā*).

CANTO VIII

PSALM OF EIGHT VERSES

LXI

Sīsupacālā

Her story has been told in that of Cālā her sister—how she followed in her great brother's steps, entered the Order, and became an Arahant. Dwelling in the bliss of fruition, she reflected one day on her attainment, and having done all that was to be done, exulted in her happiness thus:

Lo! here a Sister, in the Precepts sure,
Well-guarded in the sixfold way of sense,[1]
Who hath attainèd to that Holy Path,
That ever-welling elixir of life.[2] (196)

Māra

Now think upon the Three-and-Thirty Gods,
And on the gods who rule in realm of Shades,
On those who reign in heaven of Bliss, and on
Those higher deities who live where life
Yet flows by way of sense and of desire:[3]

[1] Here *indriya*, as something to be *re*strained, not trained—*i.e.*, developed—refers to the senses of external perception (*plus* sense-memory). See Ps. lix., 182 *n.*

[2] *Cf.* Ps. xxxiv. 55.

[3] The 'higher deities' are the two last in these five Deva worlds which, by the Buddhists, were included with hell, the Peta's or ghosts, animals, men, Asuras, and firmamental spirits, in the 'Kāmaloka of

Think and thither aspire with longing heart,
Where in past ages thou hast lived before. (197)

When the Therī heard, she said: 'Stop, Māra! the Kāmaloka of which you talk is, even as is the whole of the world, burning and blazing with the fires of lust, hate, and ignorance. 'Tis not there the discerning mind can find any charm.' And showing Māra how her mind was turned away from the world and from desires of sense, she upbraided him thus:

Ay, think upon[1] the Three-and-Thirty gods,
And on the gods who rule in realm of Shades;
On those who reign in heaven of Bliss, and on
Those higher deities who live where life
Yet flows by way of sense and of desire. (198)
Consider how time after time they go
From birth to death, and death to birth again,
Becoming this and then becoming that,
Ever beset by the recurring doom
Of hapless individuality,
Whence comes no merciful enfranchisement. (199)

On fire is all the world, is all in flames!
Ablaze is all the world, the heav'ns do quake![2] (200)
But that which quaketh not, that ever sure,
That priceless thing, unheeded by the world,
Even the Norm—*that* hath the Buddha taught
To me, therein my mind delighted dwells (201)
And I who heard his blessed word abide

---

sense-desire,' inferior in space to the Heavens of 'Form' and the 'Formless.' They were the Nimmānarati and Paranimmita-vāsavatti gods. In Ps. lxxiii. (Commentary) I attempt a translation of the last two titles of gods, but they are more translatable in prose than in verse.

[1] 'Think upon' is the translator's interpolation.

[2] Quoted from the *Samyutta-Nikāya*, i. 31, 133.

Fain only and alway to do his will.
The Threefold Wisdom have I gotten now,
And done the bidding of the Buddha blest. (202)
On every hand the love of sense is slain
And the thick gloom of ignorance is rent
In twain. Know this, O Evil One, avaunt!
Here, O Destroyer, shalt thou not prevail! (203)

CANTO IX

PSALM OF NINE VERSES

LXII

Vaddha's Mother.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, till the preparation for achieving emancipation was gradually become perfect, was, in this Buddha-era, reborn at the town of Bhārukaccha,[1] in a clansman's family. When married, she bore one son, and he was given the name Vaḍḍha. From that time she was known as Vaḍḍha's mother. Hearing a Bhikkhu preach, she became a believer, and, handing her child over to her kin, she went to the Bhikkhunīs, and entered the Order. The rest, not told here, may be filled in from Brother Vaḍḍha' story told in the Psalms of the Elder Brethren (Ps. ccii.). Vaḍḍha, to see his mother, went alone into and through the Bhikkhunīs' quarters; and she, saying, 'Why have you come in here alone?' admonished him as follows:

O nevermore, my Vaḍḍha, do thou stray
Into the jungle of this world's desires.
Child of my heart! come thou not back and forth
To share, reborn, in all the ills of life. (204)
True happiness, O Vaḍḍha mine, is theirs
Who, wise and freed from longing and from doubt,

[1] A seaport on the north-west seaboard, the Bharoch of to-day. See *Jātaka*, iii. 188.

Cool and serene, have tamed the craving will,
And dwell immune from all the deadly drugs. (205)
The Way that Sages such as these have trod—
Leading to that pure vision how they may
Make a sure end of Ill—do thou, dear lad,
Study and cause to grow[1] to thine own weal. (206)

And Vaḍḍha, thinking, 'My mother is surely established in Arahantship,' expressed himself thus:

Now in good hope and faith thou speakest thus,
O little mother! well I trow, for thee.
Dear mother mine, no jungle bars the way. (207)

Then the Therī replied, showing her work was done:

Ah, no! my Vaḍḍha, whatsoe'er I do,
Or say, or think, in things or great or small,
Not e'en the smallest growth of jungly vice[2]
Yet standeth in the onward way for me. (208)
For all the deadly poison-plants are killed
In me who meditate with strenuous zeal.
The Threefold Wisdom have I gotten now,
And all the Buddha's word have I fulfilled. (209)

The Brother, using her exhortation as a goad, and stimulated thereby, went to his Vihāra, and, seated in his wonted resting-place, so made insight to grow that he attained Arahantship. And reflecting in happiness on his attainment, he went to his mother, and declared his AÑÑĀ:

O splendid was the spur my mother used,
And no less merciful the chastisement

[1] *Anubrūhaya*=*vaḍḍheyyāsi* (Commentary). The name Vaḍḍha means grow, increase, develop; often applied to religious culture.

[2] *Vanatho.* Jungle and vice are equally implied in this word. 'Poison-plants'=simply *Āsavā*.

She gave to me, even the rune she spoke,
Fraught with its burden of sublimest good.[1] (210)
I heard her words, I marked her counsel wise,
And thrilled with righteous awe as she called up
The vision of salvation to be won. (211)
And night and day I strove unweariedly
Until her admonitions bore their fruit,
And I could touch Nibbana's utter peace. (212)

1 Vaḍḍha's *gāthā* commences with a *śloka* to the same effect, using the same metaphor. *Theragāthā*, ver. 335-9.

CANTO X

PSALM OF ELEVEN VERSES

LXIII

Kisā-gotamī.

Now she was born, when Padumuttara was Buddha, in the city of Haṃsavatī, in a clansman's family. And one day she heard the Master preach the Dhamma, and assign foremost rank to a Bhikkhunī with respect to the wearing of rough garments. She vowed that this rank should one day be hers. In this Buddha-era she was reborn at Sāvatthī, in a poor family. Gotamī was her name, and from the leanness of her body she was called Lean Gotamī. And she was disdainfully treated when married, and was called a nobody's daughter. But when she bore a son, they paid her honour. Then, when he was old enough to run about and play, he died, and she was distraught with grief. And, mindful of the change in folk's treatment of her since his birth, she thought: 'They will even try to take my child and expose him.' So, taking the corpse upon her hip, she went, crazy with sorrow, from door to door, saying: 'Give me medicine for my child!' And people said with contempt: 'Medicine! What's the use?' She understood them not. But one sagacious person thought: 'Her mind is upset with grief for her child. He of the Tenfold Power will know of some medicine for her.' And he said: 'Dear woman, go to the Very Buddha, and ask him for medicine to give your child.' She went to the Vihāra at the time when the Master taught the Doctrine, and said:

'Exalted One, give me medicine for my child!' The Master, seeing the promise in her, said: 'Go, enter the town, and at any house where yet no man hath died, thence bring a little mustard-seed.' ''Tis well, lord!' she said, with mind relieved; and, going to the first house in the town, said: 'Let me take a little mustard, that I may give medicine to my child. If in this house no man hath yet died, give me a little mustard.' 'Who may say how many have not died here?' 'With such mustard, then, I have nought to do.' So she went on to a second and a third house, until, by the might of the Buddha, her frenzy left her, her natural mind was restored, and she thought: 'Even this will be the order of things in the whole town. The Exalted One foresaw this out of his pity for my good.' And, thrilled at the thought, she left the town and laid her child in the charnel-field, saying:

'No village law[1] is this, no city law,
No law for this clan, or for that alone;
For the whole world—ay, and the gods in heav'n—
This is the Law: ALL IS IMPERMANENT!'

So saying, she went to the Master. And he said: 'Gotamī, hast thou gotten the little mustard?' And she said: 'Wrought is the work, lord, of the little mustard. Give thou me confirmation.' Then the Master spoke thus:

'To him whose heart on children and on goods[2]
Is centred, cleaving to them in his thoughts,
Death cometh like a great flood in the night,
Bearing away the village in its sleep.'[3]

When he had spoken, she was confirmed in the fruition of the First (the Stream-entry) Path, and asked for ordination. He consented, and she, thrice saluting by the

[1] *Dhamma.*
[2] 'Goods'—lit., cattle or herds—is pertinent, since she had counted on her child for her improved status, which the absence of 'goods' in her own family had made of no account.
[3] *Dhammapada*, ver. 47, 287.

right,[1] went to the Bhikkhunīs, and was ordained. And not long afterwards, studying the causes of things, she caused her insight to grow. Then the Master said a Glory-verse:[2]

'The man who, living for an hundred years,
Beholdeth never the Ambrosial Path,
Had better live no longer than one day,
So he behold within that day the Path.'[3]

When he had finished, she attained Arahantship. And becoming pre-eminent in ascetic habits, she was wont to wear raiment of triple roughness. Then the Master, seated in the Jeta Grove in conclave, and assigning rank of merit to the Bhikkhunīs, proclaimed her first among the wearers of rough raiment. And she, reflecting on what great things she had won, uttered this Psalm before the Master, in praise of friendship with the elect:

Friendship with noble souls throughout the world
The Sage hath praised.[4] A fool, in sooth, grows wise
If he but entertain a noble friend. (213)
Cleave to the men of worth! In them who cleave
Wisdom doth grow; and in that pious love
From all your sorrows shall ye be released. (214)

Mark Sorrow well; mark ye how it doth come,
And how it passes; mark the Eightfold Path
That endeth woe, the Four great Ariyan Truths. (215)
Woeful is woman's lot! hath he declared,
Tamer and Driver of the hearts of men:
Woeful when sharing home with hostile wives,
Woeful when giving birth in bitter pain,

[1] *Cf.* Ps. lxviii., ver. 807.
[2] *Cf.* Ps. ii. and *ff.*
[3] *Cf.* Ps. xlvii.
[4] *Sanyutta-Nikāya*, i. 87, v. 2, etc.

Some seeking death, or e'er they suffer twice, (216)
Piercing the throat; the delicate poison take.
Woe too when mother-murdering embryo
Comes not to birth, and both alike find death. (217)

'Returning[1] home to give birth to my child,
I saw my husband in the jungle die.
Nor could I reach my kin ere travail came. (218)
My baby boys I lost, my husband too.
And when in misery I reached my home,
Lo! where together on a scanty pyre,
My mother, father, and my brother burn!' (219)

O wretched, ruined woman! all this weight
Of sorrows hast thou suffered, shed these tears
Through weary round of many thousand lives. (220)
I too have seen where, in the charnel-field,
Devourèd was my baby's tender flesh.[2]

Yet she, her people slain, herself outcast,
Her husband dead, hath thither come
Where death is not! (221)
Lo! I have gone
Up on the Ariyan, on the Eightfold Path

[1] She here incorporates the story of Paṭācārā (Ps. xlvii.) in her own Psalm, as if more fully to utter, as 'Woman,' the pageant and tragedy of the woeful possibilities inherent in 'woman's lot,' whereof her own case was but a phase. Criticism may discern herein another 'fault'—geologically speaking—in the historical concordance between verses and commentary. Yet here, anyway, is a feature that no poem of purely literary construction would ever have borne. And in æsthetic intensity the poem gains wondrously through this groundwave of deeper tragedy underlying Kisā-gotamī's own sorrow, and through the blended victory in the fine pæan at the end.

[2] The Commentary names dogs, jackals, tigers, panthers, cats, etc., as the scavengers of corpses thus exposed.

That goeth to the state ambrosial.[1]
Nibbana have I realized, and gazed
Into the Mirror of the holy Norm. (222)
I, even I, am healèd of my hurt,
Low is my burden laid, my task is done,
My heart is wholly set at liberty.
I, sister Kisā-gotamī, have uttered this! (223)

[1] This line in Pali is simply *amatagāmī*, going to the ambrosial, or the not-dead. 'State' is a concession to metrical and grammatical exigencies. 'Gone up on'; lit., practised myself in. Note how verses 216-223 carry out the fourfold 'mark' of verse 215.

The metre in the Pali throughout is not the *śloka*, and is too irregular to be easily classifiable. *Cf.* that in lines 2-6 above—

> *Nibbānaŋ sacchīkataŋ Dhammādāsaŋ avekkhitaŋ.*
> *Ahaŋ amhi kantasallā ohitabhārā kataŋ me karaṇīyaŋ*

with the *śloka*-metre, beginning of next Psalm:

> *Ubho mātā ca dhītā ca* ‖ *mayaŋ āsuŋ sapattiyo.*

CANTO XI

PSALM OF TWELVE VERSES

LXIV

Uppalavaṇṇā.

SHE, too, was born, when Padumuttara was Buddha, at the city Haṃsavatī, in a clansman's family. And, when grown up, she heard, with a great multitude, the Master teach, and assign a certain Bhikkhunī the chief place among those who had mystic potency.[1] And she gave great gifts for seven days to the Buddha and the Order, and aspired to that same rank. . . .

In this Buddha-age, she was reborn at Sāvatthī as the daughter of the Treasurer. And because her skin was of the colour of the heart[2] of the blue lotus, they called her Uppalavaṇṇā.[3] Now, when she was come of age, kings and commoners from the whole of India sent messengers to her father, saying: 'Give us your daughter.' Thereupon the Treasurer thought: 'I cannot possibly meet the wishes of all. I will devise a plan.' And, sending for his daughter, he said: 'Dear one, are you able to leave the world?' To her, because she was in her final stage of life,

[1] *Iddhi.*

[2] *Gabbha*, or matrix. So also *Ang. Nik.* Commentary. But *cf.* Dr. Neumann's note. And below, verse 257.

[3] Lotus-hued. The lengthy legend, or chain of legends, associating the past lives of this famous Therī with the lotus-flower is fully translated from the Anguttara Commentary in Mrs. Bode's *Women Leaders*, etc., *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, 540-551. It is only interesting as folk-lore, and not as illustrating any point in her Psalm, hence is here omitted

his words were as if oil a hundred times refined had anointed her head. Therefore she said: 'Dear father, I will renounce the world!' He, honouring her, brought her to the Bhikkhunīs' quarters, and let her be ordained.

A little while afterwards it became her turn for office in the house of the Sabbath.[1] And, lighting the lamp, she swept the room. Then taking the flame of the lamp as a visible sign, and contemplating it continually, she brought about Jhana by way of the Lambent Artifice,[2] and making that her stepping-stone, she attained Arahantship. With its fruition, intuition and grasp of the Norm were achieved, and she became especially versed in the mystic potency of transformation.[3]

And the Master, seated in conclave in the Jeta Grove, assigned her the foremost rank in the mystic powers. She, pondering the bliss of Jhana and of fruition, repeated one day certain verses. They had been uttered in anguish by a mother who had been living as her daughter's rival with him who later, when a Bhikkhu, became known as the Ganges-bank Elder,[4] and were a reflection on the harm, the vileness and corruption of sensual desires:

I

'In enmity we lived, bound to one man,
Mother and daughter, both as rival wives!
O what a woeful plight, I found, was ours,
Unnatural offence! My hair stood up. (224)
Horror fell on me. Fie upon this life
Of sensual desire, impure and foul,
A junglė thick with thorny brake, wherein
We hapless pair, my girl and I, had strayed!' (225)

[1] *Uposathāgāre kālavāro pāpuṇi*, a phrase I have not yet met with elsewhere.

[2] See *Buddhist Psy.*, 43, *n.* 4; 57, *n.* 2; 58.

[3] The standard description of the modes of *Iddhi* are given in English in Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 277.

[4] See *Theragāthā*, verses 127, 128. See note below, p. 114.

The evils in the life of sense, the strong
Sure refuge in renouncing all, she saw.
At Rājagaha went she forth[1] and left
The home to live the life where no home is. (226)

II.

Joyful and happy, she meditates on the distinction she has won:

How erst I lived I know; the Heavenly Eye,
Furview celestial, have I clarified:
Clear too the inward life that others lead;
Clear too I hear the sounds ineffable; (227)
Powers supernormal have I made mine own;
And won immunity from deadly Drugs.
These, the six higher knowledges are mine.
Accomplished is the bidding of the Lord. (228)

III.

She works a marvel before the Buddha with his consent, and records the same:

With chariot and horses four I came,
Made visible by supernormal power,
And worshipped, wonder working, at his feet,
The wondrous Buddha, Sovran of the world. (229)

IV.

She is disturbed by Māra in the Sāl-tree Grove, and rebukes him:

[1] I have read *pabbaji*, not *pabbajiŋ*, following the majority of the MSS. consulted by Pischel, as well as the Commentary. It is less forced to read, in *sā*, 'she,' and not 'I,' where no other pronoun follows (*sā'haŋ*). Verse (226) thus becomes the comment of Uppălāvaṇṇā on the mother's distressful utterance.

Māra

Thou[1] that art come where fragrant the trees stand
crownèd with blossoms,
Standest alone in the shade, maiden so [fair and]
foolhardy,
None to companion thee—fearest thou not the
wiles of seducers? (230)

She

Were there an hundred thousand seducers e'en such
as thou art,
Ne'er would a hair of me stiffen or tremble—alone
what canst *thou* do? (231)
Here though I stand, I can vanish and enter into
thy body.[2]
See! I stand 'twixt thine eyebrows, stand where
thou canst not see me. (232)

For all my mind is wholly self-controlled,
And the four Paths to Potency are throughly
learnt,
Yea, the six Higher Knowledges are mine.
Accomplished is the bidding of the Lord. (233)

Like[3] spears and jav'lins are the joys of sense,

[1] The Pali metre changes here from the usual *śloka* to a mixed *jagatī* and *trishṭubh* metre, but changes back again after verse 231. *Cf.* the other version of this Psalm in the Appendix. *E.g.*:

Supupphitaggaŋ upagamma pādapaŋ || (*jagatī*).
ekā tuvaŋ tiṭṭhasi rukkhamūle || (*trishṭubh*).

[2] Māra was himself an adept at this kind of magic (see *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 332). I follow the Commentary and Dr. Windisch (*Māra und Buddha*, 139 *ff.*) in making the Sister speak the verse, her special gift being 'mystic potency,' or *Iddhi*.

[3] *Cf.* Ps. xxxv.

That pierce and rend the mortal frames of us.
These that thou speak'st of as the joys of life—
Joys of that ilk to me are nothing worth. (234)
On every hand the love of pleasure yields,
And the thick gloom of ignorance is rent
In twain. Know this, O Evil One, avaunt!
Here, O Destroyer! shalt thou not prevail. (235)

NOTE.—Four *gāthā*'s ascribed to this famous Sister are, in the *Therīgāthā*, recorded without break. The Commentary breaks them up into four episodes. In the first, a merchant's wife at Sāvatthī, about to bear her first child in her husband's prolonged absence on business at Rājagaha, is turned out by his mother, who disbelieves the wife's fidelity. She seeking her husband, and delivered of a son at a wayside bungalow, another merchant carries off the babe in her absence, and adopts it. A robber-chief finds the distracted mother, and she bears him a daughter. This child she accidentally injures, and flees from the chief's wrath. Years after her son, yet a youth, weds both mother and daughter, ignorant of the kinship. The mother discovers the scar on her daughter's head, and identifies her rival as her own child.

CANTO XII

PSALM OF SIXTEEN VERSES

LXV

Puṇṇā or Puṇṇikā.[1]

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, was, when Vipassi was Buddha, reborn in a clansman's family. Come to years of discretion, because of the promise that was in her, she waxed anxious at the prospect of rebirth, and, going to the Bhikkhunīs, heard the Norm, believed, and entered the Order. Perfect in virtue, and learning the Three Piṭakas, she became very learned in the Norm, and a teacher of it. The same destiny befell her under the five succeeding Buddhas—Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, and Kassapa. But because of her tendency to pride, she was unable to root out the defilements.[2] So it came to pass, through the karma of her pride, that, in this Buddha-era, she was

[1] The Commentary gives her the latter name, of which the former is the diminutive. Possibly Puṇṇikā may have been used to distinguish her from the Therī Puṇṇā of Ps. iii. It is curious that in the Subha-Sutta of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, where young brahmins come to the Jeta Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's gift, to interview the Buddha, a slave-girl Puṇṇikā is alluded to in the conversation. Subha says: 'They [certain brahmin teachers] are not able to read the thoughts of slave-girl Puṇṇikā. How should they be able to know the minds of all recluses?' If this is our Puṇṇikā, she would not yet be a Therī, or she would be referred to as such.

[2] *Kilesā*. For the ten, see *Buddh. Psy.*, pp. 327 *ff.*

reborn at Sāvatthī, in the household of Anāthapiṇḍika, the Treasurer, of a domestic slave. She became a Stream-entrant after hearing the discourse of the Lion's Roar.[1] Afterwards, when she had converted (lit. tamed) the baptist[2] brahmin, and so won her master's esteem that he made her a freed woman, she obtained his consent, as her guardian and head of her home, to enter the Order. And, practising insight, she in no long time won Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and in meaning. Reflecting on her attainment, she uttered these verses in exultation:

Drawer of water, I down to the stream,[3]
Even in winter, went in fear of blows,
Harassed by fear of blame from mistresses. (236)

'What, brahmin, fearest thou that ever thus
Thou goest down into the river? Why
With shiv'ring limbs dost suffer bitter cold?' (237)

'Well know'st thou, damsel Puṇṇikā, why ask
One who by righteous karma thus annuls
Effect of evil karma? Who in youth, (238)
Or age ill deeds hath wrought, by baptism
Of water from that karma is released.' (239)

'Nay now, who, ignorant to the ignorant,
Hath told thee this: that water-baptism
From evil karma can avail to free? (240)
Why then the fishes[4] and the tortoises,

[1] *Majjhima Nikāya*, i., Sutta xi. or xii.

[2] *Udakasuddhika*. Believer in purification through water (as a mystic rite), and not through sacrifice by fire.

[3] The Ac(h)iravatī (now Rapti), a tributary (with the Gogra) of the Ganges, flowing past Sāvatthī.

[4] Not specified in the text.

The frogs, the watersnakes, the crocodiles
And all that haunt the water straight to heaven (241)
Will go. Yea, all who evil karma work—
Butchers of sheep and swine, hunters of game,
Thieves, murderers—so they but splash themselves
With water, are from evil karma free! (242)
And if these streams could bear away what erst
Of evil thou hast wrought, they'd bear away
Thy merit too, leaving thee stripped and bare. (243)
That, dreading which, thou, brahmin, comest e'er
To bathe and shiver here, that, even that
Leave thou undone, and save thy skin from frost.' (244)

'Men who in error's ways had gone aside
Thou leadest now into the Ariyan Path.
Damsel, my bathing raiment give I thee.' (245)

'Keep thou thy raiment! Raiment seek I none.
If ill thou fearest, if thou like it not, (246)
Do thou no open, nor no hidden wrong.
But if thou shalt do evil, or hast done, (247)
Then is there no escape for thee from ill,
E'en tho' thou see it come, and flee away.
If thou fear ill, if ill delight thee not, (248)
Go thou and seek the Buddha and the Norm
And Order for thy refuge; learn of them
To keep the Precepts. Thus shalt thou find good.' (249)

'Lo! to the Buddha I for refuge go,
And to the Norm and Order. I will learn

Of them to take upon myself and keep
The Precepts; so shall I indeed find good. (250)

Once but a son of brahmins born was I,
To-day I stand brahmin in very deed.
The nobler Threefold Wisdom have I won,
Won the true Veda-lore, and graduate
Am I, from better Sacrament returned,
Cleansed by the inward spiritual bath.'[1] (251)

For the brahmin, established in the Refuges and the Precepts, when later he had heard the Master preach the Norm, became a believer and entered the Order. Using every effort, he not long after became Thrice-Wise,[2] and, reflecting on his state, exulted in those verses. And the Sister, repeating them of herself, they all became her Psalm.

[1] These four last lines are expansions of four brahminical technical terms, each connoting more than we could express with equal terseness:

Tevijjo vedasampanno sotthiyo c'amhi nhātako.

The brahmin student performed, like a new knight, a bath-rite before returning home from his teacher's house.

[2] See Ps. xxii. 26 *n.*

CANTO XIII

PSALMS OF ABOUT TWENTY VERSES

LXVI

Ambapālī.

SHE, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this or that rebirth, entered the Order when Sikhi was Buddha. And one day, while yet a novice, she was walking in procession with Bhikkhunīs, doing homage at a shrine, when an Arahant Therī in front of her hastily spat in the court of the shrine. Coming after her, but not having noticed the Therī's action, she said in reproof: 'What prostitute has been spitting in this place?'

As a Bhikkhunī, observing the Precepts, she felt repugnance for rebirth by parentage, and set her mind intently on spontaneous re-generation. So in her last birth she came into being spontaneously at Vesālī, in the King's gardens, at the foot of a mango-tree. The gardener found her, and brought her to the city. She was known as the Mango-guardian's girl. And such was her beauty, grace, and charm that many young Princes strove with each other to possess her, till, in order to end their strife, and because the power of karma impelled them, they agreed to appoint her courtezan. Later on, out of faith in the Master, she built a Vihāra[1] in her own gardens, and handed it over to him and the Order. And when she had heard her own son, the Elder Vimala-Kondañña, preach the Norm, she worked

[1] See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas* (*S.B.E.*, xi.), pp. 30-33.

for insight, and studying the law of impermanence as illustrated in her own ageing body, she uttered the following verses:

Glossy and black as the down of the bee my curls
once clustered.
They with the waste of the years are liker to
hempen or bark cloth.
Such and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word
of the Soothsayer.[1] (252)

Fragrant as casket of perfumes, as full of sweet
blossoms the hair of me.
All with the waste of the years now rank as the
odour of hare's fur.
Such and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word
of the Soothsayer. (253)

Dense as a grove well planted, and comely with
comb, pin, and parting.
All with the waste of the years dishevelled the fair
plaits and fallen.
Such and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word
of the Soothsayer. (254)

Glittered the swarthy plaits in head-dresses jewelled
and golden.
All with the waste of the years broken, and shorn
are the tresses.
Such and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word
of the Soothsayer. (255)

Wrought as by sculptor's craft the brows of me
shone, finely pencilled.

[1] Used in its first intention, Truth-speaker. On this, and on the metre, see Introduction. The 'rune' is the Impermanence of everything. *Cf.* Ps. lxiii.

They with the waste of the years are seamèd with
 wrinkles, o'erhanging.
Such and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word
 of the Soothsayer. (256)

Flashing and brilliant as jewels, dark-blue and long-
 lidded the eyes of me.
They with the waste of the years spoilt utterly,
 radiant no longer.
Such and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word
 of the Soothsayer. (257)

Dainty and smooth the curve of the nostrils e'en as
 in children.
Now with the waste of the years searèd[1] the nose
 is and shrivelled.
Such and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word
 of the Soothsayer. (258)

Lovely the lines of my ears as the delicate work of
 the goldsmith.[2]
They with the waste of the years are seamèd with
 wrinkles and pendent.
Such and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word
 of the Soothsayer. (259)

Gleamed as I smiled my teeth like the opening buds
 of the plantain.
They with the waste of the years are broken and
 yellow as barley.
So and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of
 the Soothsayer. (260)

[1] *Upakūlitā*, not yet found elsewhere, may be from the root *kūl*, to burn.

[2] It is interesting that the Commentary speaks of the goldsmith's work of past ages, as if conscious of living (himself) in a decadent period of such arts.

Sweet was my voice as the bell of the cuckoo[1] through woodlands flitting.
Now with the waste of the years broken the music and halting.
So and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of the Soothsayer. (261)

Softly glistened of yore as mother-of-pearl the throat of me.
Now with the waste of the years all wilted its beauty and twisted.
So and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of the Soothsayer. (262)

Beauteous the arms of me once shone like twin pillars cylindrical.
They with the waste of the years hang feeble as withering branches.[2]
So and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of the Soothsayer. (263)

Beauteous of yore were my soft hands with rings and gewgaws resplendent.
They with the waste of the years like roots are knotted and scabrous.[3]
So and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of the Soothsayer. (264)

Full and lovely in contour rose of yore the small breasts of me.

[1] *Kokilā*, rendered by lexicons 'Indian cuckoo.' The name seems to point to somewhat similar bird-notes.

[2] Lit., as the weak trumpet-flower (plant), the Commentary adding *phalita*, broken, or fruit-laden, and so heavily drooping.

[3] Lit., more simply, 'like one little root after another.'

They with the waste of the years droop shrunken
as skins without water.
So and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of
the Soothsayer. (265)

Shone of yore this body as shield of gold well-
polishèd.
Now with the waste of the years all covered with
network of wrinkles.
So and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of
the Soothsayer. (266)

Like to the coils of a snake[1] the full beauty of yore
of the thighs of me.
They with the waste of the years are even as stems
of the bamboo.
So and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of
the Soothsayer. (267)

Beauteous to see were my ankles of yore, bedecked
with gold bangles.
They with the waste of the years are shrunken as
faggots of sesamum.
So and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of
the Soothsayer. (268)

Soft and lovely of yore as though filled out with
down were the feet of me.
They with the waste of the years are cracked open
and wizened with wrinkles.
So and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of
the Soothsayer. (269)

[1] I here follow Dr. Neumann, and not the Commentator. The latter calls *nāgabhoga* an elephant's trunk; the Pitakas apply the term, it would seem, only as in the text. *Cf. Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 134.

Such hath this body been. Now age-weary and
weak and unsightly,
Home of manifold ills; old house whence the
mortar is dropping.
So and not otherwise runneth the rune, the word of
the Soothsayer. (270)

And inasmuch as the Therī, by the visible signs of impermanence in her own person, discerned impermanence in all phenomena of the three planes, and bearing that in mind, brought into relief the signs of Ill and of No-soul, she, making clear her insight in her Path-progress, attained Arahantship.

LXVII

Rohiṇī.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, was born, ninety-one æons ago, in the time of Vipassi Buddha, in a clansman's family. One day she saw the Exalted One seeking alms in the city of Bandhumatī, and filling his bowl with sweet cakes, she worshipped low at his feet in joy and gladness. And when, after many rebirths in heaven and on earth in consequence thereof, she had accumulated the conditions requisite for emancipation, she was, in this Buddha-era, reborn at Vesālī, in the house of a very prosperous brahmin, and named Rohiṇī.[1] Come to years of discretion, she went, while the Master was staying at Vesālī, to the Vihāra, and heard the doctrine. She became a 'Stream-entrant,' and teaching her parents the doctrine, and they accepting it, she gained their leave to enter the Order. Studying for insight, she not

[1] *I.e.*, Latinized, Flavia. Childers instances a red cow so called, and a constellation.

long after attained Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and meaning.

And reflecting on a discussion she had had with her father while she had yet only entered the Stream, she uttered the substance of it as verses of exultation:

'"See the recluses!" dost thou ever say.
"See the recluses!" waking me from sleep.
Praise of recluses ever on thy tongue.
Say, damsel, hast a mind recluse to be? (271)
Thou givest these recluses as they come,
Abundant food and drink. Come, Rohiṇī.[1]
I ask, why are recluses dear to thee? (272)
Not fain to work are they, the lazy crew.
They make their living off what others give.
Cadging are they, and greedy of tit-bits—
I ask, why are recluses dear to thee?' (273)

Full many a day, dear father, hast thou asked
Touching recluses. Now will I proclaim
Their virtues and their wisdom and their work. (274)

Full fain of work are they, no sluggard crew.
The noblest work they do; they drive out lust
And hate. Hence are recluses dear to me. (275)

The three fell roots of evil they eject,
Making all pure within, leaving no smirch,
No stain. Hence are recluses dear to me. (276)

Their work[1] in action's pure, pure is their work
In speech, and pure no less than these their work
In thought. Hence are recluses dear to me. (277)

[1] Note her emphasis on work or action (*kamma* or *karma*) to meet her father's—the typically worldly man's—failure to discern the fact and value of any 'work' that had no worldly object.

Immaculate as seashell or as pearl,
Of lustrous characters compact, without,
Within.[1] Hence are recluses dear to me. (278)

Learn'd and proficient in the Norm; elect,
And living by the Norm that they expound
And teach. Hence are recluses dear to me. (279)

Learn'd and proficient in the Norm; elect,
And living by the Doctrine; self-possessed,
Intent. Hence are recluses dear to me. (280)

Far and remote they wander, self-possessed;
Wise in their words and meek, they know the end
Of Ill. Hence are recluses dear to me. (281)

And when along the village street they go,
At naught they turn to look; incurious
They walk. Hence are recluses dear to me. (282)

They lay not up a treasure for the flesh,
Nor storehouse-jar nor crate. The Perfected
Their Quest. Hence are recluses dear to me. (283)

They clutch no coin; no gold their hand doth take,
Nor silver. For their needs sufficient yields
The day.[2] Hence are recluses dear to me. (284)

From many a clan and many a countryside
They join the Order, mutually bound
In love. Hence are recluses dear to me.' (285)

[1] Unspotted by greed, hate, or dulness; full of the A-sekha's qualities—virtue, contemplation, concentration, insight (Commentary).

[2] This phrase is amplified in *Sanyutta Nikāya*, i. 5: 'They mourn not over the past, nor hanker after the future. They maintain themselves by the present.' *Cf.* the same attitude prescribed in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vi. 25-34).

'Now truly for our weal, O Rohiṇī,
Wert thou a daughter born into this house!
Thy trust is in the Buddha and the Norm
And in the Order; keen thy piety. (286)
For well thou know'st this is the Field supreme
Where merit may be wrought. We too henceforth
Will minister ourselves to holy men.
For thereby shall accrue to our account
A record of oblations bounteous.' (287)

'If Ill thou fearest, if thou like it not,
Go thou and seek the Buddha and the Norm,
And Order for thy refuge; learn of them
And keep the Precepts. *So* shalt thou find weal.'[1] (288)

'Lo! to the Buddha, I for refuge go
And to the Norm and Order. I will learn
Of them to take upon myself and keep
The Precepts. So shall I indeed find weal. (289)

Once but a son of brahmins born was I.
To-day I stand brahmin in very deed.
The nobler Threefold Wisdom have I won,
Won the true Veda-lore, and graduate
Am I from better Sacrament returned,
Cleansed by the inward spiritual bath.'[2] (290)

For the brahmin, established in the Refuges and the Precepts, when later on he became alarmed, renounced the world, and, developing insight, was established in Arahantship. Reflecting on his attainment, he exulted in that last verse.

[1] *I.e.*, she referred him to the true source of the 'weal' he imputed to her. The rest is borrowed from Ps. lxv.

[2] *Cf.* Psalm lxv.

LXVIII

Cāpā.

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, till she had accumulated the sources of good, and matured the conditions for emancipation, was, in this Buddha-age, reborn in the Vankahāra country, at a certain village of trappers, as the daughter of the chief trapper, and named Cāpā.[1] And at that time Upaka, an ascetic,[2] met the Master as he was going to Benares, there to set rolling from his Bo-tree throne[3] the Wheel of the Norm, and asked him: 'You seem, my friend, in perfect health! Clear and pure is your complexion. Wherefore have *you*, friend, left the world? or who may your teacher be? or whose doctrine do you believe in?' And he was thus answered:

'All have I overcome. All things I know,
'Mid all things undefiled. Renouncing all,
In death of Craving wholly free. My own
The Deeper View. Whom should I name to thee?
For me no teacher lives. I stand alone
On earth, in heav'n rival to me there's none.

Now go I on seeking Benares town,
To start the Wheel, the gospel of the Norm,
To rouse and guide the nations blind and lost,
Striking Salvation's drum, Ambrosia's alarm.'

[1] Pronounce *Chāpā*. The name of her native district has, so far, not been met with elsewhere.

[2] An Ājīvaka (-ika), described in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 221.

[3] *I.e.*, when he left the Bo-tree as Buddha and went to preach his first sermon at Isipatana by Benares. The meeting is told in *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 170, 171, and *Vinaya Texts*, i. 90.

The ascetic, discerning the omniscience and great mission of the Master, was comforted in mind, and replied: 'Friend, may these things be! Thou art worthy[1] to be a conqueror, world without end!' Then, taking a by-road, he came to the Vankahara country, and abode near the hamlet of the trappers, where the head trapper supplied his wants. One day the latter, setting off on a long hunt with sons and brothers, bade his daughter not neglect 'the Arahant'[2] in his absence. Now, she was of great beauty; and Upaka, seeking alms at her home, and captivated by her beauty, could not eat, but took his food home, and laid down fasting, vowing he would die should he not win Cāpā. After seven days the father returned, and, on inquiring for his 'Arahant,' heard he had not come again after the first day. The trapper sought him, and Upaka, moaning, and rolling over, confessed his plight. The trapper asked if he knew any craft, and he answered, 'No;' but offered to fetch their game and sell it. The trapper consented, and, giving him a coat, brought him to his own home, and gave him his daughter. In due time she had a son, whom they called Subhadda.[3] Cāpā, when the baby cried, sang to him: 'Upaka's boy, ascetic's boy, game-dealer's boy, don't cry, don't cry!' mocking her husband. And he said at length: 'Do not thou, Cāpā, fancy I have none to protect me.[4] I have a friend, even a conqueror eternal, and to him I will go.' She saw that he was vexed, and teased him again and again in the same way, till one day, in anger, he got ready to go. She said much, but vainly, to prevent him, and he

[1] In the *Majjhima Nikāya* there is another *śloka* before the last above, in which the Buddha says, 'I am worthy,' etc., thus:

> 'I am the Arahant [*i.e.*, worthy] of the world, I am
> The Guide supreme, the one Truly Awake.
> Cool and serene I in Nibbana dwell (*nibbuto*).'

[2] The 'holy man,' as our tradition might say. He was no Arahant in the Buddhist sense.

[3] Fortunatus.

[4] His humility was due, apart from his natural disposition, to his having no status among a group of independent huntsmen.

set out *westward*. And the Exalted One was then at Sāvatthī in the Jeta Grove, and announced this to the brethren: 'He who to-day shall come asking, "Where is the Conqueror eternal?" send him to me.' And Upaka arrived, and, standing in the midst of the Vihāra, asked: 'Where is the Conqueror eternal?' So they brought him, and when he saw the Exalted One, he said: 'Dost know me, Exalted One?' 'Yea, I know. But thou, where hast thou spent the time?' 'In the Vankahāra country, lord.' 'Upaka, thou art now an old man; canst thou bear the religious life?' 'I will enter thereon, lord.' The Master bade a certain Bhikkhu, 'Come, do thou, Bhikkhu, ordain him.' And he thereafter exercising and training himself, was soon established in the Fruition of the Path-of-No-Return, and thereupon died, being reborn in the Aviha heavens.[1] At the moment of that rebirth he attained Arahantship.

Seven have thus attained it, as it has been said.

But Cāpā, sick at heart over his departure, delivered her boy to his grandfather, and, following in the way Upaka had gone, renounced the world at Sāvatthī, and attained Arahantship. And uniting Upaka's verses with her own, she thus exulted:

(*Her husband speaks.*)

'Once staff in hand homeless I fared and free.
Now but a trapper am I, sunken fast
In baneful bog of earthly lusts, yet fain
To come out on the yonder side. My wife (291)
Plays with her child and mocks my former state,
Deeming her charm yet holdeth me in thrall.
But I will cut the knot and roam again.' (292)

[1] This ranked among the five 'topmost' heavens of the 'world of form,' or Brahma-world. See *Buddh. Psy.*, p. 334; *Dīgha N.*, ii. 52.

Cāpā.

'O be not angry with me, hero mine!
O thou great prophet, be not wroth with me!
For how may he who giveth place to wrath
Attain to holy life and purity?' (293)

'Nay, I'll go forth from Nāla.[1] Who would live
At Nāla now, where he who fain to lead
A life of righteousness sees holy men
Beguilèd by the beauty of a girl!' (294)

'O turn again, my dark-eyed lover, come
And take thy fill of Cāpā's love for thee,
And I, thy slave, will meet thy every wish,
And all my kinsfolk shall thy servants be.' (295)

'Nay, were a man desirous of thy love,
He well might glory didst thou promise him
A fourth of what thou temp'st me here withal!'
(296)

'O dark-eyed love, am I not fair to see,
As the liana swaying in the woods,
As the pomegranate-tree in fullest bloom
Growing on hill-top, or the trumpet-flower
Drooping o'er mouth of island cavern? See, (297)
With crimson sandal-wood perfumed, I'll wear
Finest Benares robe for thee—O why,
O how wilt thou go far away from me?' (298)

[1] The Commentator explains this intrusion of Nāla, a village 'in Magadha, near the Bo-tree' (of Gayā) (see Ps. lix.), by saying it was Upaka's native place, and that the pair had gone to live there. As he was the trappers' middleman, and therefore in frequent communication with them, this would locate the Vankahāra country in the forests or jungles immediately to the south of Magadha, Gayā being in South Magadha.

'Ay! so the fowler seeketh to decoy
His bird. Parade thy charms e'en as thou wilt,
Ne'er shalt thou bind me to thee as of yore.' (299)

'And this child-blossom, O my husband, see
Thy gift to me—now surely thou wilt not
Forsake her who hath borne a child to thee?' (300)

'Wise men forsake their children, wealth and kin,
Great heroes ever go forth from the world,
As elephants sever their bonds in twain.' (301)

'Then this thy child straightway with stick or axe
I'll batter on the ground—to save thyself
From mourning for thy son thou wilt not go!' (302)

'And if thou throw the child to jackals, wolves,
Or dogs, child-maker without ruth, e'en so
'Twill not avail to turn me back again!' (303)

'Why, then, go if thou must, and fare thee well.
But tell me to what village wilt thou go,
What town or burg or city is thy goal?' (304)

'In the past days we went in fellowship,
Deeming our shallow practice genuine.
Pilgrims we wandered—hamlet, city, town,
And capital—we tramped to each in turn.' (305)

'But the Exalted Buddha now doth preach,
Along the banks of the Nerañjarā,[1]

[1] This river flows from the watershed south of the Ganges past Gayā, and the Buddha was coming from it when Upaka first met him. But the Buddha, in the Commentary, is said to have awaited Upaka at Sāvatthī to the north-west. Upaka sets out 'westward' to find him. The geography here forms a pretty crux. Whatever may be decided by archæologists in the near future as to the site of Sāvatthī, that site was north-westward of Gayā.

The Norm whereby all may be saved from ill.
To him I go; he now my guide shall be.' (306)

'Yea, go, and take my homage unto him
Who is the supreme Sovran of the World,
And making salutation by the right,[1]
Do thou from us to him make offering.' (307)

'Now meet and right is this, e'en as thou say'st,
That I in doing homage, speak for thee
To him, the Supreme Sovran of the World.
And making salutation by the right,
I'll render offering for thee and me.' (308)

So Kāla went to the Nerañjarā,
And saw the very Buddha on the bank,
Teaching the Way Ambrosial: of Ill, (309)
And of how Ill doth rise, and how Ill may
Be overpast, and of the way thereto,
Even the Ariyan, the Eightfold Path. (310)
Low at his feet the husband homage paid,
Saluted by the right and Cāpā's vows
Presented; then the world again renounced
For homeless life; the Threefold Wisdom won,
And brought to pass the bidding of the Lord. (311)

LXIX

Sundarī.

She too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, was reborn thirty-one æons ago, when Ves-

[1] Keeping the right side toward the object of adoration in walking round him.

sabhu was Buddha, in a clansman's family. One day she ministered to the Master with alms, and worshipped him, and he perceived her believing heart, and thanked her. After celestial and other happy rebirths, her knowledge having come to maturity, she was, in this Buddha-age, reborn at Benares as the daughter of Sujāta, a brahmin. Because of her perfect form they called her Sundarī (Beauty). When she grew up, her younger brother died. Her father, overmastered by grief, and going to and fro, met the Therī Vāsiṭṭhī.[1] When she asked him what afflicted him, he answered as in the first two verses. Wishing to allay his grief, she spoke the next two verses, and told him of her own griefless state. The brahmin asked her: 'How, lady, did you become free from grief (*a-sokā*)?' The Therī told him of the Three Jewels, the Refuges. 'Where,' he asked, 'is the Master?' 'He is now at Mithilā.' So the brahmin drove in his carriage to Mithilā and sought audience of the Master. To him the Master taught the Norm; and he believed, and entered the Order, attaining Arahantship on the third day, after strenuous effort in establishing insight.

But the charioteer drove his chariot back to Benares, and told the brahminee what had taken place. When Sundarī heard of it, she asked her mother, saying: 'Mother, I too would leave the world.' The mother said: 'All the wealth in this house belongs to you. You are the heiress of this family. Take up your heritage and enjoy it. Go not forth.' But Sundarī said: 'Wealth is no use to me. Mother, I would leave the world;' and, bringing the mother to consent, she abandoned her great possessions like so much spittle, and entered the Order (at Benares). And studying and striving because of the promise in her and the maturity of her knowledge, she attained Arahantship, with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and meaning.

Dwelling thereafter in the ease of fruition and the bliss

[1] See Ps. li.

of Nibbana, she thought: 'I will utter a Lion's Roar[1] before the Master.' And asking permission of her teacher, she left Benares, accompanied by a great following of Bhikkhunīs, and in due course came to Sāvatthī, did obeisance to the Master, and stood on one side. Welcomed by him, she declared her AÑÑĀ by extolling her relation to him as the 'daughter of his mouth,' and so on. Thereupon all her kinsfolk, beginning with her mother, and their attendants, renounced the world. She, reflecting on her attainment, and using her father's utterances in her own Psalm, exulted as follows:

Sujāta.

Dame of the brahmins, thou too in the past—
Thou knowest—'twas thy little babes[2] Death robbed
And preyed upon; and thou all night, all day
Madest thy bitter wail. Vāsiṭṭhī, say! (312)
How comes it that to-day thou, who hast lost
So many—was it seven?—all thy sons,
No more dost mourn and weep so bitterly? (313)

Vāsiṭṭhī.

Nay, brahmin, many hundreds of our babes,
And of our kinsfolk many hundred more,
Have we in all the ages past and gone

[1] An idiomatic phrase for a pæan or congratulatory or proclamatory speech. *Cf.* the two discourses so named, *Majjhima N.*, i., pp. 63 *ff.*

[2] Vāsiṭṭhī, it will be remembered, is in her legend represented as losing but one child. The Commentary, undaunted by this discrepancy, explains it by the grief-distracted state of the father. Her name is that of a brahmin gens—the Vāseṭṭhas—yet she is not called a brahmin in her own legend. On the other hand, her individual point of view regarding the Dhamma is very consistently reproduced. Dr. Neumann, ignoring the Commentary as elsewhere, sees in Vāseṭṭhī, or Vāsiṭṭhī, the family name of Sundarī, introducing a very baffling complication into the dramatic simplicity of the Psalm *quâ* ballad.

Seen preyed upon by Death, both you and I. (314)
But I have learnt how from both Birth and Death
A way there is t' escape. Wherefore no more
I mourn, nor weep, nor make my bitter wail. (315)

Sujāta.

Wondrous in sooth, Vāsiṭṭhī, are the words
Thou speakest! Whose the doctrine thou hast learnt?
Whence thine authority for speech like this? (316)

Vāsiṭṭhī.

'Tis He, the Very Wake, the Buddha, He
Who late, hard by the town of Mithilā,
Did teach the Norm, brahmin, whereby
All that hath life may put off every ill. (317)
When I, O brahmin, when I heard the Arahant
Reveal the Doctrine of the Non-Substrate,[1]
Forthwith the Gospel sank into my heart,
And all my mother-grief fell off from me. (318)

Sujāta.

Then I too straight will go to Mithilā,
If haply the Exalted Buddha may
Me, even me, release from every ill. (319)

The brahmin went; he saw the Awaken'd One,
Th' Emancipated, Him in whom
No base is found for rebirth, and from Him,
The Seer, Him who hath passed beyond all ill, (320)

[1] *Nirupadhi—i.e.*, of how to live so as to undo the conditions or bases for rebirth. The following line reads literally: 'I, being one who had understood the Gospel, dispelled my child-grief then and there.'

He heard the Norm: the Truth of Ill, and how
Ill comes, and how Ill may be overpassed,
E'en by the Ariyan, the Eightfold Path,
That leadeth to the abating of all Ill.[1] (321)
Forthwith the Gospel sank into his heart.
He left the world, he chose the homeless life.
On the third night of contemplation rapt,
Sujāta touched and won the Threefold Lore.[2] (322)

'Come, charioteer, now drive this chariot home!
Wish thy good mistress health, the brahminee,
And say: "The brahmin hath renounced the world.
On the third night of contemplation rapt
Sujāta touched and won the Threefold Lore."' (323)

And so the driver took the car and purse
Of money home, and wished his mistress health,
And said: 'The brahmin hath renounced the world.
On the third night of contemplation rapt
Sujāta touched and won the Threefold Lore.' (324)

Sundarī's Mother.

For this that thou hast heard, O Charioteer,
And tellest: that the brahmin hath attained
The Threefold Lore, no half-gift give I thee.[3]
Take thou the chariot, take the horses both,
And take a thousand pieces for thy pains. (325)

'Let them remain thine own, O brahminee,
Horses and chariot and the thousand coins,

[1] Ps. lix. 186. [2] See Ps. xxii. *n.*
[3] Lit., I give thee a full bowl.

For I, too, have a mind to leave the world,
Near him of chiefest wisdom to abide.' (326)

'But thou, my Sundarī, now that thy father hath
gone forth,[1]
Leaving his home, renouncing all his great estate—
Cattle and horses, elephants, jewels and rings—
Dost thou at least come to thine own! Thou art
the heir
Of this thy family. Do thou enjoy thy wealth.
(327)

'Cattle and horses, elephants, jewels and rings—
Ay, all that goes to make this fair and broad estate
Hath he put far from him, my father dear,
And left the world, afflicted for his son.
I, too, afflicted at my brother's death,
I have a mind like him to leave the world.' (328)

'May this, then, thine intention, Sundarī,
Thy heart's desire, be crownèd with success!
The food from hand to mouth,[2] glean'd here and
there,
The patchwork robe—these things accomplishèd
Will purify in other after-world
Whate'er has poisoned life for thee in this.'[3] (329)

[1] For this and one half the next verse (327, 328) the Pali verses become redundant. Two are irregular in metre, one has an additional half *śloka*. No gloss, apparently, has crept into the text. Conceivably the redundancy may be intentionally used to express the abundance of her heritage—that *papañca* to which the higher life, as a simplification, selection, elimination, stood in sharp contrast.

[2] See verse 349 *n.* Lit., food left over, scraps.

[3] Tradition places this speech in the mother's mouth. Dr. Neumann's guess ascribes it to the Bhikkhunī who receives Sundarī into the Order. But the whole tone of it, especially the last sentiment—*paraloke anāsavā*—is that of the *laity's* point of view. The mere routine to sustain life becomes a *tapas* to win future compensations.

Sundarī.

I've trained me, Lady, in the threefold course.[1]
Clear shines for me the Eye Celestial.
I know the how and when I came to be
Down the long past, and where it was I lived. (330)
To thee I owe it, O thou noble friend,
Thou loveliest of the Therī Sisterhood,
That I the Threefold Lore have gotten now,
And that the Buddha's will hath been obeyed. (331)
Give to me, Lady, thy consent, for I
Would go to Sāvatthī, so that I may
Utter my 'lion's roar,'—my 'Hail, all hail!'—
In presence of the Buddha, Lord and Chief.[2] (332)

See, Sundarī, the Master fair in hue,
His countenance as fine gold, clear and bright,
Him who is All-enlightened, Buddha, Best,
Tamer of untamed, never tasting fear. (333)

And see, O Master, Sundarī, who comes
To tell thee of Emancipation won,
And of the right no more to be reborn.
Who hath herself from passion freed,
Unyoked from bondage, loosened from the world.

No word is said of the real object of the religious life—the training of the mind and emotions. And salvation here and now—*diṭṭhadhamme anāsavā*—was the goal of those entering the Order. *Cf.* Ps. lxx. 349 *ff.* for the *Sister's* point of view. In this Psalm I follow the Commentary, which does not interrupt the little drama with its expositions, but gives them separately.

[1] *Cf.* Ps. xlv. 104.

[2] So Sundarī went with Bhikkhunīs to Sāvatthī, and, entering the Vihāra, saw the Master sitting on the Seat of Doctrine. And, thrilled with a glory of joy and gladness, she said a verse, as if to herself.

Accomplished now is her appointed work,
And all that drugged her heart is purged away.[1] (334)

Lo! from Benares I am come to thee—
I, Sundarī, thy pupil, at thy feet,
O mighty Hero, see me worship here. (335)
Thou art Buddha! thou art Master! and thine,
Thy daughter am I, issue of thy mouth,
Thou Very Brahmin![2] even of thy word.
Accomplished now is my appointed task,
And all that drugged my heart is purged away. (336)

'Welcome to thee, thou gracious maiden! thence
For *thee* 'twas but a little way to come.[3]
For so they come who, victors over self,
Are fain to worship at the Master's feet,
Who also have themselves from passion freed,
Unyoked from bondage, loosened from the world,
Who have accomplished their appointed task,
And all that drugged their hearts have purged away.' (337)

[1] It is clear from this affirmation—viz., that she was *Anāsavā*—that Sundarī was Arahant. Curiously, hers is the sole case where the attainment is not explicitly recorded. She is only said to be *tevijjā*. To be *Anāsavā* was the sixth and last stage in *vijjā* or *paññā* or *abhiññā*.

Thus she spoke, declaring her AÑÑĀ, by way of expressing her joy. Then the Master, to relieve her nervousness, asked her: 'But whence comest thou? and wherefore? and who is this Sundarī?' Then she made answer: 'Lo! from Benares. . . .'

[2] *Brahmana!* Cf. *Dhammapada*, ch. xxvi; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i, 138-140; Neumann, *op. cit.* 347, *n* 2.

[3] She had travelled approximately rather under 300 miles for this pilgrimage. But she was near the end of her infinitely long life.

LXX

Subhā

(The Goldsmith's Daughter)

She, too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy, so that she had progressively planted the root of good and accumulated the conditions of emancipation, was, in this Buddha-era, reborn at Rājagaha as the daughter of a certain goldsmith. From the beauty of her person she was called Subhā. Come to years of discretion, she went one day, while the Master was at Rājagaha, and belief in him had come to her, and did obeisance, seating herself on one side. The Master, seeing the maturity of her moral faculties, and in accordance with her wish, taught her the Norm enshrined in the Four Truths. She was thereby established in the fruition of Stream-entry, which is in countless ways adorned. Later she realized the disadvantages of domestic life, and entered the Order under the Great Pajāpatī the Gotamid, devoting herself to the higher Paths. From time to time her relations invited her to return to the world, urging its charms. To them thus come one day, she set forth the danger in house-life and in the world, preaching the Norm in the twenty-four verses below, and dismissed them cured of their desire. She then strove for insight, purifying her faculties, till at length she won Arahantship. As Arahant she spoke thus:

A maiden I, all clad in white, once heard (338)
The Norm, and hearkened eager, earnestly,
So in me rose discernment of the Truths.
Thereat all worldly pleasures irked me sore,
For I could see the perils that beset
This reborn compound, 'personality,'
And to renounce it was my sole desire. (339)

So I forsook my world—my kinsfolk all,
My slaves, my hirelings, and my villages,
And the rich fields and meadows spread around,
Things fair and making for the joy of life—
All these I left, and sought the Sisterhood,
Turning my back upon no mean estate. (340)

Amiss were't now that I, who in full faith
Renounced that world, who well discerned the
Truth,
Who, laying down what gold and silver bring,
Cherish no worldly wishes whatsoe'er,
Should, all undoing, come to you again! (341)
Silver and gold avail not to awake,[1]
Or soothe. Unmeet for consecrated lives,[2]
They are not Ariyan—not noble—wealth. (342)
Whereby greed is aroused and wantonness,
Infatuation and all fleshly lusts,
Whence cometh fear for loss and many a care:
Here is no ground for lasting steadfastness. (343)
Here men, heedless and maddened with desires,
Corrupt in mind, by one another let
And hindered, strive in general enmity. (344)
Death, bonds, and torture, ruin, grief, and woe
Await the slaves of sense, and dreadful doom. (345)
Why herewithal, my kinsmen—nay, my foes—
Why yoke me in your minds with sense-desires?

[1] *Na bodhāya na santiyā*: not for enlightenment, lit., being awake, or peace. George Eliot has lines in sympathy with Subhā:

> 'Nay, falter not—'tis an assurèd good
> To seek the noblest—'tis your only good,
> Now you have seen it; for that higher vision
> Poisons all meaner choice for evermore.'

[2] Literally, for *samaṇa's* or recluses (*religieux*).

Know me as one who saw, and therefore fled,
The perils rising from the life of sense. (346)
Not gold nor money can avail to purge
The poison of the deadly Āsavas.
Ruthless and murderous are sense-desires;
Foemen of cruel spear and prison-bonds. (347)
Why herewithal, my kinsmen—nay, my foes—
Why yoke me in your minds with sense-desires?
Know me as her who fled the life of sense,
Shorn of her hair, wrapt in her yellow robe. (348)
The food from hand to mouth,[1] glean'd here and there,
The patchwork robe—these things are meet for me,
The base and groundwork of the homeless life.[2] (349)

Great sages[3] spue forth all desires of sense,
Whether they be in heaven or on earth;
At peace they dwell, for they freeholders are,
For they have won unfluctuating bliss. (350)
Ne'er let me follow after worldly lusts,
Wherein no refuge is; for they are foes,
And murderers, and cruel blazing fires.[4] (351)
Oh! but an incubus is here, the haunt
Of dread and fear of death, a thorny brake,
A greedy maw it is, a path impassable,
Mouth of a pit wherein we lose our wits, (352)
A horrid shape of doom impending—such
Are worldly lusts; uplifted heads of snakes.

[1] Lit., left over, given as alms. *Cf. Jātaka*, iv. 380.

[2] *Cf.* Ps. lxix. 329 *n.*

[3] I read with the Commentary *mahesihi*. *Cf.* the *te* on next line and 361.

[4] These are similes occurring in discourses ascribed to the Buddha—*e.g.*, *Ang. Nik.*, iv. 128; *Saṃy. Nik.*, v. 112-114; iv. 189, 198; *Udāna*, 24; *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 130, etc.

Therein they that be fools find their delight—
The blinded, general, average, sensual man. (353)

For all the many souls, who thus befooled
Err ignorant in the marsh of worldly lusts,
Heed not that which can limit birth and death. (354)

Because of worldly lusts mankind is drawn
By woeful way to many a direful doom—
Where ev'ry step doth work its penalty.[1] (355)

Breeders of enmity are worldly lusts,
Engendering remorse and vicious taints.
Flesh baits, to bind us to the world and death. (356)

Leading to madness, to hysteria,
To ferment of the mind, are worldly lusts,
Fell traps by Māra laid to ruin men. (357)

Endless the direful fruit of worldly lusts,
Surcharged with poison, sowing many ills,
Scanty and brief its sweetness, stirring strife,
And withering the brightness of our days. (358)

For me who thus have chosen, ne'er will I
Into the world's disasters come again,
For in Nibbana is my joy alway. (359)

So, fighting a [good] fight with worldly lusts,
I wait in hope for the Cool Blessedness,
Abiding earnest in endeavour, till
Nought doth survive that fetters me to them. (360)

[1] Lit., Bringer-along of its (the way's) own affliction.

This is my Way, the Way that leads past grief,
Past all that doth defile, the haven sure,
Even the Ariyan Eightfold Path, called Straight.[1]
There do I follow where the Saints[2] have crossed. (361)

* * * * *

See now this Subhā, standing on the Norm,
Child of a craftsman in the art of gold!
Behold! she hath attained to utter calm;
Museth in rapture 'neath the spreading boughs. (362)
To-day, the eighth it is since she went forth
In faith, and radiant in the Gospel's light.
By Uppalavaṇṇā[3] instructed, lo!
Thrice wise is she and conqueror over death. (363)

Freed woman she, discharged is all her debt,
A Bhikkhunī, trained in the higher sense.
All sundered are the Bonds, her task is done,
And the great Drugs that poisoned her are purged. (364)

To her came Sakka, and his band of gods
In all their glory, worshipping Subhā,
Child of a craftsman in the art of gold,
But lord of all things that have life and breath.[4] (365)

---

[1] '*Ujuko nāma so maggo.*'

'Straight' is the name that Way is called. (*Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 33.)

[2] *Mahesino*, as in 350.

[3] See Ps. lxiv.

[4] *Bhutapati*; *issaro*, lord or god of beings in the three planes of sense, says the Commentary; presumably gods, men, and animals. Note that she is not called Queen or Goddess, but *pati* (masculine).

When, on the eighth day after her ordination, she won Arahantship, attaining fruition, seated beneath a tree, the Exalted One uttered these three verses (362-364) in her praises, pointing her out to the Brethren. And the last verse was added by them who recited (the canon at the Council), to celebrate Sakka's adoration.

CANTO XIV

PSALM OF ABOUT THIRTY VERSES

LXXI

Subhā of Jīvaka's Mango-grove.[1]

SHE too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, fostering the root of good and perfecting the conditions for emancipation through the ripening of her knowledge, was in this Buddha-era reborn at Rājagaha, in the family of a very eminent brahmin. Her name was Subhā, and truly lovely was her body in all its members. It was for this reason that she came to be so called. While the Master sojourned at Rājagaha, she received faith and became a lay-disciple. Later she grew anxious over the round of life, and saw the bane of the pleasures of sense, and discerned that safety lay in renunciation. She entered the Order under the Great Pajāpatī the Gotamid, and exercising herself in insight, was soon established in the fruition of the Path of No-return.

Now one day a certain libertine of Rājagaha, in the prime of youth, was standing in the Jīvaka Mango-grove, and saw

[1] Jīvakā Komārabhacca, physician to King Bimbisāra at the court of Rājagaha, is a very prominent layman in the first chronicles of the Order, prescribing for its members on different occasions. See *Vinaya Texts* (*S.B.E.*), i. 191, ii. 173 *ff.*, iii. 102; *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 368 *ff.*; *Dīgha Nik.*, i. 49 (*Dialogues*, i. 67), in which the Grove is mentioned.

her going to siesta; and feeling enamoured, he barred her way, soliciting her to sensual pleasures. She declared to him by many instances the bane of sensuous pleasures and her own choice of renunciation, teaching him the Norm. Even then he was not cured, but persisted. The Therī, not stopping short at her own words, and seeing his passion for the beauty of her eyes, extracted one of them, and handed it to him, saying: 'Come, then! here is the offending eye of her!' Thereat the man was horrified and appalled and, his lust all gone, asked her forgiveness. The Therī went to the Master's presence, and there, at sight of Him, her eye became as it was before. Thereat she stood vibrating with unceasing joy at the Buddha. The Master, knowing the state of her mind, taught her, and showed her exercise for reaching the highest. Repressing her joy, she developed insight, and attained Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and meaning. Thereafter, abiding in the bliss and fruition of Nibbana, she, reflecting on what she had won, uttered her dialogue with the libertine in these verses:

In Jīvaka's pleasant woodland walked Subhā
The Bhikkhunī. A gallant met her there
And barred the way. To him thus spake
Subhā:[1] (366)

'What have I done to offend thee, that thus in my
path thou comest?
No man, O friend, it beseemeth to touch a Sister
in Orders. (367)

[1] The metre now changes from *śloka* to that termed *vetālīya*, or, at least, to a metre which in later literature became formulated under that name. It runs approximately thus ('What have I,' etc.):

Kin te aparādhitaṅ mayā yan maṅ ovariyāna tiṭṭhasi?
Na hi pabbajitāya, āvuso, puriso samphussanāya kappati.

So hath my Master ordained in the precepts we honour and follow;
So hath the Welcome One taught in the training wherein they have trained me,
Purified discipline holy. Why standest thou blocking my pathway? (368)
Me pure, thou impure of heart; me passionless, thou of vile passions;
Me who as to the whole of me freed am in spirit and blameless,
Me whence comes it that Thou dost hinder, standing obnoxious?' (369)

'Young art thou, maiden, and faultless—what seekest *thou* in the holy life?
Cast off that yellow-hued raiment and come! in the blossoming woodland
Seek we our pleasure. Filled with the incense of blossoms the trees waft (370)
Sweetness. See, the spring's at the prime, the season of happiness!
Come with me then to the flowering woodland, and seek we our pleasure. (371)
Sweet overhead is the sough of the blossoming crests of the forest
Swayed by the Wind-gods. But an thou goest alone in the jungle,
Lost in its depths, how wilt thou find aught to delight or content thee? (372)
Haunted is the great forest with many a herd of wild creatures,
Broken its peace by the tramplings of elephants rutting and savage.

Empty of mankind and fearsome[1]—is't there thou
would'st go uncompanioned? (373)

Thou like a gold-wrought statue, like nymph in
celestial garden
Movest, O peerless creature. Radiant would shine
thy loveliness
Robed in raiment of beauty, diaphanous gear of
Benares. (374)
I would live but to serve thee, an thou would'st
abide in the woodland.
Dearer and sweeter to me than art thou in the
world is no creature,
Thou with the languid and slow-moving eyes of
an elf of the forest. (375)
If thou wilt list to me, come where the joys of the
sheltered life[2] wait thee;
Dwell in a house of verandas and terraces, hand-
maidens serving thee. (376)
Robe thyself in delicate gear of Benares, don gar-
lands, use unguents.
Ornaments many and divers I give to thee,
fashioned with precious stones,
Gold work and pearls. And thou shalt mount on
a couch fair and sumptuous, (377)
Carvèd in sandalwood, fragrant with essences,
spread with new pillows,
Coverlets fleecy and soft, and decked with im-
maculate canopies. (378)
Like to a lotus upborne on the bosom of sprite-
haunted water,

[1] 'Although,' remarks the Commentator, 'in that wood there was then nothing of the sort. But this he said, wishing to make her afraid.'

[2] Lit., 'Come, dwell in a house.'

Thou, O chaste anchorite, farest to old age, thy
beauty unmated.' (379)

'What now to thee, in this carrion-filled, grave-
filling carcase so fragile
Seen by thee, seemeth to warrant the doctrine thou
speakest, infatuate?' (380)

'Eyes hast thou like the gazelle's, like an elf's in
the heart of the mountains—
'Tis those eyes of thee, sight of which feedeth the
depth of my passion. (381)
Shrined in thy dazzling, immaculate face as in
calyx of lotus,
'Tis those eyes of thee, sight of which feedeth the
strength of my passion. (382)
Though thou be far from me, how could I ever
forget thee, O maiden,
Thee of the long-drawn eyelashes, thee of the eyes
so miraculous?
Dearer to me than those orbs is naught, O thou
witching-eyed fairy!' (383)

'Lo! thou art wanting to walk where no path is;
thou seekest to capture
Moon from the skies for thy play; thou would'st
jump o'er the ridges of Meru,[1]
Thou who presumest to lie in wait for a child of
the Buddha! (384)
Nowhere in earth or in heaven lives now any object
of lust for me.
Him I know not. What like is he? Slain, root
and branch, through the Noble Path. (385)

[1] The mythical central mountain of the universe, called also Sineru.

Hurled as live coal from the hand, and rated as
deadly as poison-cup,
Him I see not. What like is he? Slain, root and
branch, through the Noble Path. (386)
Tempt thou some woman who hath not discerned
what I say, or whose teacher
Is but a learner; haply she'll listen; tempt thou
not Subhā;
She understandeth. And now 'tis thyself hast
vexation and failure. (387)
For I have set my mind to be watchful in whatso
befalls me—
Blame or honour, gladness or sorrow—and knowing
the principle:—
'Foul are all composite things,' nowhere the mind
of me clings to them. (388)

Yea, the disciple am I of the Welcome One;
onward the march of me
Riding the Car of the Road that is Eightfold.
Drawn are the arrows
Out of my wounds, and purged is my spirit of
drugging Intoxicants.
So I am come to haunts that are Empty.[1] There
lies my pleasure. (389)

Oh! I have seen it—a puppet well painted, with
new wooden spindles,
Cunningly fastened with strings and with pins, and
diversely dancing. (390)
But if the strings and the pins be all drawn out and
loosened and scattered,

[1] *Suñña*, for the earnest Buddhist, connoting both solitude and the ejection of the Ego-delusion. *Cf.* Ps. xxxi. 46.

So that the puppet be made non-existent and broken in pieces,
Which of the parts wilt thou choose and appoint for thy heart's rest and solace? (391)
Such is the manner wherein persist these poor little bodies:
Take away members and attributes—nothing surviveth in any wise.
Nothing surviveth! Which dost thou choose for thy heart's rest and solace? (392)
E'en as a fresco one sees drawn on a wall, painted in ochre,
[Giveth us naught of the true and the real, save in the seeming;][1]
Thou herein with vision perverted [canst not distinguish;
Judgest with] wisdom of average human, fallible, worthless. (393)
O thou art blind! thou chasest a sham, deluded by puppet shows
Seen in the midst of the crowd; thou deemest of value and genuine
Conjurer's trickwork, trees all of gold that we see in our dreaming. (394)
What is this eye but a little ball lodged in the fork of a hollow tree,
Bubble of film, anointed with tear-brine, exuding slime-drops,
Compost wrought in the shape of an eye of manifold aspects?'[2] (395)

[1] I have filled up the somewhat elliptical style of the text from the Commentary.

[2] *Cf.* Balzac's *philosophe:* 'Tiens,' dit-il, en voyant les pleurs de sa femme, 'j'ai décomposé les larmes. Elles contiennent un peu de

Forthwith the maiden so lovely tore out her eye
and gave it him:
'Here, then! take thou thine eye!' Nor sinned she,
her heart unobstructed. (396)
Straightway the lust in him ceasèd and he her
pardon imploring:
'O that thou mightest recover thy sight, thou maid
pure and holy!
Never again will I dare to offend thee after this
fashion. (397)
Sore hast thou smitten my sin; blazing flames have
I clasped to my bosom;
Poisonous snake have I handled—but O! be thou
heal'd and forgive me!' (398)
Freed from molesting, the Bhikkhunī went on her
way to the Buddha,
Chief of th' Awakened. There in his presence,
seeing those features
Born of uttermost merit, straightway her sight was
restored to her. (399)

---

phosphate, de chaux, de chlorure de sodium, du mucus et de l'eau.'
—*La Recherche de l'Absolu*.

CANTO XV[1]

PSALM OF OVER FORTY VERSES

LXXII

Isidāsī.

She too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and persisting in her former disposition in this and that rebirth, in that she heaped up good of age-enduring efficacy, in the seventh rebirth before her last phase of life, susceptible to sex-attraction, wrought adulterous conduct. For this she did purgatory for many centuries, and thereafter for three rebirths was an animal. Thereafter she was brought forth by a slave-woman as an hermaphrodite, and thereafter she was born as the daughter of a poor common man, and was, when of age, married to the son of a caravan-leader named Giridāsa. Now the wife that he had was virtuous and of noble qualities, and the new wife envied her, and quarrelled with the husband because of her. After her death she was, in this Buddha-era, reborn at Ujjenī[2] as the daughter of a virtuous, honoured and wealthy merchant, and was named Isidāsī.[3] When she was of age, her parents gave her in marriage to a merchant's son, a good match with herself. For a month she dwelt with him as a devoted wife; then, as the fruit of her previous actions, her husband became estranged from her, and turned her out of his house. All this is told in the Pali text. Because she had not proved desirable for one husband after another,

[1] On this curious Psalm see Introduction.

[2] See *n.* to verse 405.

[3] = Slave of the sage.

she grew agitated and, gaining her father's consent, took orders under the Therī Jinadattā. And studying for insight, she not long after attained Arahantship, together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and meaning.

Dwelling in the bliss of fruition and Nibbana, she one day, after seeking her meal in the city of Patna and dining, sat down on a sandbank of great Ganges, and being asked by her companion, the Therī Bodhi, about her previous experience, she related it by way of verses. And to show the connection of her former and latter replies, these three stanzas were inserted by the Recensionists:

In the fair city of Patna, earth's fairest city,
Named for its beauty after the Trumpet-flower,[1]
Dwelt two saintly Sisters, born of the Sākiyas, (400)
Isidāsī the one, Bodhi the other.
Precept-observers, lovers of Jhāna-rapture,
Learnèd ladies and cleansed from the taint of all worldliness. (401)
These having made their round, and broken their fasting,
Washed their bowls, and sitting in happy seclusion,
Spake thus one to the other, asking and answering: (402)

'Thou hast a lovely mien, Isidāsī,
Fresh and unwithered yet thy woman's prime,
What flaw in the life yonder hast thou seen,
That thou didst choose surrender for thy lot?' (403)
Then in that quiet spot Isidāsī,
Skilled in the exposition of the Norm,

[1] Pāṭaliputta. On the rise of this city as the capital of the Mauryan dynasty, and the Buddha's prophecy of that rise, see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, xi., pp. xv. 18; *Buddhist India*, pp. 262 *ff.*, where the testimony of Megasthenes is largely quoted.

Took up her tale and thus did make reply:
'Hear, Bodhi, how it was that I came forth. (404)

In Ujjenī,[1] Avantī's foremost town,
My father dwells, a virtuous citizen,
His only daughter I, his well-beloved,
The fondly cherished treasure of his life. (405)
Now from Sāketa came a citizen
Of the first rank and rich exceedingly
To ask my hand in marriage for his son.
And father gave me him, as daughter-in-law. (406)
My salutation morn and eve I brought
To both the parents of my husband, low
Bowing my head and kneeling at their feet,
According to the training given me. (407)
My husband's sisters and his brothers too,
And all his kin, scarce were they entered when
I rose in timid zeal and gave them place. (408)
And as to food, or boiled or dried, and drink,
That which was to be stored I set aside,
And served it out and gave to whom 'twas due. (409)
Rising betimes, I went about the house,
Then with my hands and feet well cleansed I went
To bring respectful greeting to my lord, (410)
And taking comb and mirror, unguents, soap,
I dressed and groomed him as a handmaid might. (411)
I boiled the rice, *I* washed the pots and pans;
And as a mother on her only child,
So did I minister to my good man. (412)

[1] On Ujjenī and Sāketa, see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 39, 40; Neumann, *op. cit.*, 361 *n.* They may have been some 500 miles apart, and the journey would be largely by river. *Cf.* Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, 103.

For me, who with toil infinite thus worked,
And rendered service with a humble mind,
Rose early, ever diligent and good,
For me he nothing felt save sore dislike. (413)
Nay, to his mother and his father he
Thus spake :—'Give ye me leave and I will go,
For not with Isidāsī will I live
Beneath one roof, nor ever dwell with her.' (414)

'O son, speak not on this wise of thy wife,
For wise is Isidāsī and discreet,
An early riser and a housewife diligent.
Say, doth she find no favour in thine eyes?' (415)

'In nothing doth she work me harm, and yet
With Isidāsī will I never live.
I cannot suffer her. Let be, let be!
Give ye me leave and I will go away.' (416)
And when they heard, mother and father-in-law
Asked of me: 'What then hast thou done t' offend?
Speak to us freely, child, and speak the truth.' (417)

'Naught have I done that could offend, nor harm,
Nor nagged at evil words. What can I do,[1]
That me my husband should so sore mislike?' (418)

To guard and keep their son, they took me back,
Unwilling guides, to father's house, distressed,
Distraught: 'Alas! we're beaten, pretty Luck!'[2] (419)

[1] The Commentator interprets the Vedic infinitive *kātuye*, 'do,' as meaning *kātu' yye*, 'do, lady.'

[2] My reading of this very obscure passage—*jinām̆hase rūpinin Lacchin* or *rūpinī Lacchī*—is suggested by my husband, and differs from that of Dr. Neumann, who has felt compelled to doctor the text. Commentary: 'Defeated by the goddess Sirī (Śrī) clad in human dress'—*i.e.*, Isidāsī, as personating the fickle goddess of chance. Thus

Then father gave me for the second time as bride,
Content with half my husband's sire had paid. (420)
From that house too, when I had dwelt a month,
I was sent back, though I had worked and served,
Blameless and virtuous, as any slave. (421)
And yet a third, a friar begging alms—
One who had self controlled, and could control
Favour in fellow-men—my father met
And spake him thus: 'Be thou my son-in-law!
Come, throw away that ragged robe and pot!' (422)
He came, and so we dwelt one half moon more
Together. Then to father thus he spake:
'O give me back my frock, my bowl and cup.
Let me away to seek once more my scraps.' (423)
Then to him father, mother, all the tribe
Of kinsfolk clamouring: 'What is it then
Here dwelling likes you not? Say quick, what is't
That we can do to make you better pleased?' (424)
Then he: 'If for myself I can suffice,
Enough for me. One thing I know:—beneath
One roof with Isidāsī I'll not live!' (425)

Dismissed he went. I too, alone I thought.
And then I asked my parents' leave to die,
Or, that they suffer me to leave the world. (426)
Now Lady Jinadattā on her beat
Came by my father's house for daily alms,
Mindful of every moral precept, she,
Learnèd and expert in the Vinaya.[1] (427)

---

they call *her* 'Luck!' I cannot believe that, had the young *divorcee* been *enceinte*, she would have been sent home so ignominiously, or that the tale would have been silent about the child when born.

[1] *Vinayadharā*, who could repeat the Vinaya-Piṭaka. This proficiency was Paṭācārā's to a special degree. See Ps. xlvii.; *Ang. Nik.*, i. 25.

And seeing her we rose, and I prepared
A seat for her, and as she sat I knelt,
Then gave her food, both boiled and dried, (428)
And water—dishes we had set aside—
And satisfied her hunger. Then I said:
'Lady, I wish to leave the world.' 'Why here,' (429)
My father said, 'dear child, is scope for thee
To walk according to the Norm. With food
And drink canst gratify the holy folk
And the twice-born.[1] But of my father I, (430)
Weeping and holding out clasped hands, besought:
'Nay, but the evil karma I have done,
That would I expiate and wear away.'[2] (431)
Then father said: 'Win thou Enlightenment
And highest Truth, and gain Nibbana. That
Hath He, the Best of Beings,[3] realized.' (432)

Then to my mother and my father dear,
And all my kinsfolk tribe I bade farewell.
And only seven days had I gone forth
Ere I had touched and won the Threefold Lore. (433)
Then did I come to know my former births,
E'en seven thereof, and how e'en now I reap
The harvest, the result, that then I sowed.
That will I now declare to thee, an thou
Wilt listen single-minded to my tale. (434)

In Erakaccha's[4] town of yore I lived,
A wealthy craftsman in all works of gold.

[1] Brahmins.

[2] *Nijjaressāmi.* This was the ascetic aspect taken of the religious life. As a Jainist opinion, it is criticized by the Buddha in the 'Devadaha Sutta,' *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii. 214 *ff.*

[3] *Dvipada*, lit., 'bipeds,' an epithet of the Buddha I do not find elsewhere.

[4] *Buddhist India*, p. 40; Neumann, *op. cit.*, 366 *n.*

Incensed by youth's hot blood, a wanton, I
Assailed the virtue of my neighbours' wives. (435)
Therefrom deceasing, long I cooked[1] in hell,
Till, fully ripened, I emerged, and then
Found rebirth in the body of an ape. (436)
Scarce seven days I lived before the great
Dog-ape, the monkeys' chief, castrated me.
Such was the fruit of my lasciviousness. (437)
Therefrom deceasing in the woods of Sindh,
Reborn the offspring of a one-eyed goat (438)
And lame; twelve years a gelding, gnawn by worms,
Unfit, I carried children on my back.
Such was the fruit of my lasciviousness. (439)
Therefrom deceasing, I again found birth,
The offspring of a cattle-dealer's cow,
A calf of lac-red hue; in the twelfth month (440)
Castrated, yoked, I drew the plough and cart,
Purblind and worried, driven and unfit.
Such was the fruit of my lasciviousness. (441)
Therefrom deceasing, even in the street
I came to birth, child of a household slave,
Neither of woman nor of man my sex.
Such was the fruit of my lasciviousness. (442)
At thirty years of age I died, and was reborn
A girl, the daughter of a carter, poor
And of ill-fortune, and oppressed with debts
Incurred to usurers. To pay the sum (443)
Of interest that ever grew and swelled,
In place of money,[2] woeful little me

[1] To ripen or be cooked is the usual metaphor for a cause working out its effect. Note that 'hell' here (*nirâyâ*) is really purgatory. No form of being, for Buddhism, was eternal.

[2] I have discussed this passage in 'Early Economic Conditions in North India' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1901, 880, *n.* 1) thus: In the second line,

The merchant of a caravan dragged off,
Bearing me weeping from my home. (444)
Now in my sixteenth year, when I
Blossomed a maiden, that same merchant's son,
Giridāsa the name of him, loved me
And made me wife. Another wife he had, (445)
A virtuous dame of parts and of repute,
Enamoured of her mate. And thus I brought
Discord and enmity within that house. (446)

Fruit of my karma was it thus that they,
In this last life, have slighted me, e'en tho'
I waited on them as their humble slave.

Well! of all that now have I made an end! (447)

---

which Dr. Neumann renders 'Vom Tische Reicher lasen wir die Reste auf,' I take the compound *dhanikapurisapātabahulamhi* (Commentary: *iṇāyikānaŋ purisānaŋ adhipatanabahule bahūhi iṇāyikehi abhibhavitabbe*) to mean 'fallen into the power of usurers.' This leads up to the next line, giving a point to it which is lacking in the rendering alluded to.

I am unable to classify the metre throughout this poem, from the first line:

nagaramhi kusumanāme Pāṭaliputtamhi pathaviyā

to the last:

dāsī va upaṭṭhahantiŋ tassa pi anto kato mayā

CANTO XVI

PSALM OF THE GREAT CHAPTER

LXXIII

Sumedhā

She too, having made her resolve under former Buddhas, and heaping up good of age-enduring efficacy in this and that rebirth, thoroughly preparing the conditions of emancipation, was born, when Koṇāgamana was Buddha, in a clansman's family. When she was of age, she and her friends, clansmen's daughters, agreed together to have a great park made, and handed it over to the Buddha and his Order. Through the merit of that act, she was reborn in the heaven of the Three-and-Thirty. After a glorious period there, she arose once more among the Yāma gods, then among the Blissful gods, then among the Happy Creators, then among the Disposers of others' creations,[1] and there became Queen of the King of the gods. Reborn thereafter, when Kassapa was Buddha, as the daughter of a wealthy citizen, she acquired splendid merit as a lay-believer, winning another rebirth among the gods of the Three-and-Thirty. Finally reborn, in this Buddha-age, at the city of Mantāvatī, as the daughter of King Koñca,[2] she was named Sumedhā. And when she was come to years of discretion, her mother and father agreed to let Anikaratta,

[1] See Ps. lxi., *n.*

[2] The two Kings and their capitals are all names unknown in Indian records. Vāraṇavatī = having elephants, or ramparts. Koñca = heron.

the Rāja of Vāraṇavatī, see her. But she from her childhood had been in the habit of going with Princesses of her own age and attendant slaves to the Bhikkhunīs' quarters to hear them preach the Doctrine, and for a long time, because of her pristine resolve, she had grown fearful of birth in the round of life, devoted to religion and averse to the pleasures of sense.

Wherefore, when she heard the decision of her parents and kinsfolk, she said: 'My duty lies not in the life of the house. I will leave the world.' And they were not able to dissuade her. She thinking, 'Thus shall I gain permission to leave the world,' laid hold of her purpose, and cut off her own hair. Then using her hair in accordance with what she had heard from the Bhikkhunīs of their methods, she concentrated her attention on repugnance to physical attraction, and calling up the idea of 'Foul Things,'[1] then and there attained First Jhana. And when she was thus rapt, her parents came to her apartments in order to give her away. But she made them first and all their retinue and all the Rāja's people believers in religion, and left the house, renouncing the world in the Bhikkhunīs' quarters.

Not long after, establishing insight, and ripe for emancipation, she attained Arahantship, with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and in meaning. And reflecting on her victory, she broke forth in exultation:

King Heron's daughter at Mantāvatī,
Born of his chief consort, was Sumedhā,
Devoted to the makers of the Law.[2] (448)
A virtuous maid was she and eloquent,
Learnèd and in the system of our Lord
Well trained. She of her parents audience
sought,

[1] *Cf.* Ps. xli. In the Commentary, p. 273, read, for *patikula-manasikāraŋ*, *paṭikkūla°*.

[2] *Sāsanakārā* =, according to the Commentary, Ariyans—*i.e.*, Arahants, including the Buddhas. Just below, *sāsana* is rendered by 'system.' Sumedhā = very wise.

And spake: 'Now listen, mother, father, both! (449)
All my heart's love is to Nibbana given.
Transient is everything that doth become,
E'en if it have the nature of a god.
What truck have I, then, with the empty life
Of sense, that giveth little, slayeth much? (450)
Bitter as serpents' poison are desires
Of sense, whereafter youthful fools do yearn.
For that full many a night in wretchedness
They drag out tortured lives in realms of woe.[1] (451)
The vicious-minded, vicious doers mourn
In purgatorial lives. Ever are fools
Without restraint in deed and word and thought. (452)
Oh! but the foolish have no wit or will.
They cannot grasp what maketh sorrow rise—
When taught, they learn not; in their slumb'ring minds
The Fourfold Ariyan Truth awakens not. (453)
Those Truths, O mother, that th' Awakened One,
The Best, the Buddha, hath revealed to us,
They, the Majority, know not, and they
Delight in coming aye again to be,
And long to be reborn among the gods. (454)
E'en with the gods is no eternal home.[2]
Becoming needs must be impermanent.
Yet they, the foolish souls, are not afraid
Again, again to come somewhere to birth. (455)
Four are the ways of doleful life, and two
Alone the ways of weal[3]— and these how hard

[1] See note, verse 436. [2] In Pali 'no eternal rebirth.'

[3] Rebirth in 'hell,' as animal, as 'ghost,' as demon, are the four ('purgatorial lives,' *vinipāta*, in 452); as human or as god, the two.

To win! Nor if one come into the four,
Is there renunciation from *that* world. (456)
Suffer ye both that I renounce my world;
And in the blessed teaching of the Lord,
Him of the Powers Ten,[1] heedless of all
Without, I'll strive to root out birth and
death. (457)
How can I take delight in many births,
In this poor body, froth without a soul?[2]
That I may put an utter end to thirst
Again to be, suffer that I go forth. (458)
Now is the Age of Buddhas! Gone the want
Of opportunity! The moment's won!
O let me never while I live misprize
The precepts, nor withstand the holy life!' (459)

Thus spake Sumedhā, and again: 'Mother
And father mine, never again will I
As a laywoman break my fast and eat.
Here will I sooner lay me down and die!' (460)

Th' afflicted mother wept; the father, stunned
With grief, strove to dissuade and comfort her
Who prostrate lay upon the palace floor:— (461)

[1] The Ten Powers peculiar to a Tathāgata are: (1) He knows thoroughly right and wrong occasions; (2) he knows thoroughly the effect of all karma-series; (3) the methods for accomplishing anything; (4) the elements (data) of the world; (5) the various tendencies, inclinations, of beings; (6) the capacities of beings; (7) the nature and procedure of all contemplative disciplines; (8) former lives; (9) he has the 'celestial vision'; (10) he has realized the intellectual emancipation of the Arahant (A., v. 33 *ff.*).

[2] *Kāyakalinā asārena.* The rendering of the former obscure term is, perhaps, a trifle forced, but was chosen from the use of *kali* in *Jātaka*, v. 134 (= *khela*, spittle, froth), because of the juxtaposition of *asāra* = pithless, without essence (*cf. Saŋy. Nik.*, iii. 140), in preference to the more usual association of *kali* with gambling. See ver. 501.

'Rise up, dear child. Why this unhappiness
For thee? Thou art betrothed to go and reign
In Vāraṇavatī, the promised bride
Of King Anikaratta, handsome youth. (462)
Thou art to be his chief consort, his queen.
Hard is it, little child, to leave the world,
Hard are the precepts and the holy life. (463)
As queen thou wilt enjoy authority,
Riches and sov'reignty and luxuries.
Thou that art blest herein and young, enjoy
The sweets life yields. Let's to thy wedding, child.' (464)

Then answered them Sumedhā: 'Nay, not thus!
No soul, no essence, can becoming yield.
One or the other shall be—choose ye which:
Or let me leave the world, or let me die.
Thus, and thus only, would I choose to wed.[1] (465)
What is it worth[2]—this body foul, unclean,
Emitting odours, source of fears, a bag
Of skin with carrion filled, oozing impure (466)
The while? What is it worth to me who know—
Repulsive carcass, plastered o'er with flesh
And blood, the haunt of worms, dinner of birds—
To whom shall such a thing as this be given? (467)
Borne in a little while to charnel-field,
There is this body thrown, when mind hath sped,[3]
Like useless log, from which e'en kinsfolk turn. (468)
Throwing the thing that they have bathed to be
The food of alien things, whereat recoil

[1] *Vāreyyaṁ*. So above, lit., 'Let there be choosing for thee, child, the term for marriage in high life, whether or no the woman had any voice in the matter.

[2] Lit., 'What is it like?'

[3] *Apetaviññāṇo*.

The very parents, let alone their kin. (469)
They have a fondness for this soulless frame,
That's knit of bones and sinews, body foul,
Filled full of exudations manifold. (470)
Were one the body to dissect, and turn
The inside outermost, the smell would prove
Too much for e'en one's mother to endure. (471)
The factors of my being, organs, elements,
All are a transient compound, rooted deep
In birth, are Ill, and first and last the thing
I would not.[1] Whom, then, could I choose to wed? (472)
Rather would I find death day after day
With spears three hundred piercing me anew,
E'en for an hundred years, if this would then
Put a last end to pain, unending else. (473)
The wise would with this [bargain] close, and meet
Utter destruction, seeing that His Word,
The Master's, runneth: "Long the wandering
Of them who, smitten, ever rise again."[2] (474)
Countless the ways in which we meet our death,
'Mong gods and men, as demons or as beasts,
Among the shades, or in the haunts of hell.[3] (475)
And there how many doomed tormented live!
No sure refuge is ours even in heaven.
Above, beyond Nibbana's bliss, is naught. (476)
And they have won that Bliss who all their hearts

[1] *Yoniso aruciŋ*. *Cf.* Pss. xxx., xxxviii., lvii.

[2] *Cf.* *Samyutta Nikāya*, iii. 149: 'Eternal, brethren, is the wandering (*saŋsāro*)—nor is the beginning thereof revealed—of them who, hindered by ignorance and fettered by craving, run to and fro, and wander (among rebirths). . . .' So *op. cit.*, v. 431: 'It is because we had not grasped the Four Truths, brethren, that we have run and wandered up and down so long, both I and you.'

[3] 'In the Nirayas.' See p. 162, *n*. 1.

Have plighted to the blessed Word of Him
Who hath the Tenfold Power, and heeding naught,
Have striv'n to put far from them birth and death. (477)
This day, my father, will I get me forth!
I'll naught of empty riches! Sense-desires
Repel and sicken me, and are become
E'en as the stump where once hath stood a palm.' (478)

So spake she to her father. Now the King,
Anikaratta, on his way to woo
His youthful bride's consent, drew near
At the appointed time. But Sumedhā (479)
Let down the soft black masses of her hair
And with a dagger cut them off. Then closed
The door that led to her own terraced rooms,
And forthwith to First Jhana-rapture won. (480)
There sat she lost in ecstasy, the while
Anikaratta reached the capital.
Then she fell musing on impermanence,
Developing the thought.[1] Then is she ware (481)
The while Anikaratta swiftly mounts
The palace steps, in brave array of gems
And gold, and bowing low woos Sumedhā. (482)

'Reign in my kingdom and enjoy my wealth
And power. Rich, happy and so young thou art,
Enjoy the sweets that life and love can yield,
Though they be hard to win and won by few. (483)
To thee my kingdom I surrender! Now
Dispose as thou dost wish; give gifts galore.
Be not downcast. Thy parents are distressed.' (484)

[1] The Commentary holds she went on to the other 'signs'—Ill, or Sorrow, and Soullessness.

To him thus Sumedhā, for whom desires
Of sensuous love were worthless, nor availed
To lead astray, made answer: 'O set not
The heart's affections on this sensual love.
See all the peril, the satiety of sense. (485)
Mandhātā, King o' th' world's four continents,[1]
Had greater wealth to gratify his sense
Than any other man, yet passed away
Unsatisfied, his wishes unfulfilled. (486)
Nay, an the rain-god rained all seven kinds
Of gems till earth and heaven were full, still would
The senses crave, and men insatiate die. (487)
'Like the sharp blades of swords are sense-desires.'
'Like the poised heads of snakes prepared to dart.
'Like blazing torches,' and 'like bare gnawn bones.'[2] (488)
Transient, unstable are desires of sense,
Pregnant with Ill and full of venom dire,
Searing as heated iron globe to touch.
Baneful the root of them, baleful the fruit. (489)
As 'fruit'[3] that brings the climber to a fall,
Are sense-desires; evil as 'lumps of flesh'
That greedy birds one from the other snatch;
As cheating 'dreams'; as 'borrowed goods' reclaimed. (490)
'As spears and jav'lins are desires of sense,'

[1] A mythical ancestor of Sumedhā's and the Buddha's people, the Sākiyas. Mentioned in *Ang. Nik.*, ii. 7; *Jātaka*, ii. 310, iii. 454 *ff.*; *Dīpavansa*, iii. 5; *Mahāvansa*, 8, 231; *Milindapañha*, 115, 291, etc.

[2] These similes are all quoted from *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 130, 364 *ff.* *Cf Saŋy. Nik.*, i. 128; *Ang. Nik.*, iii. 97. See below.

[3] The text in these four lines gives merely the metaphor. As this would call up no associated similes in us, I expand the terms after the similes in *Majjhima Nikāya*, 54th Sutta, whence they are borrowed.

'A pestilence, a boil, and bane and bale.
A furnace of live coals,' the root of bane,
Murderous and the source of harrowing dread. (491)

So hath the direfulness of sense-desires,
Those barriers to salvation, been declared.
Go, leave me, for I do not trust myself,
While in this world I yet have part and lot. (492)
What shall another do for me? For me
Whose head is wrapped in flames,[1] whose steps are dogged
By age and death that tarry not. To crush
Them utterly I needs must strive.' (493)

Then coming to her door she saw the king
Her suitor, and her parents seated there
And shedding tears. And once more spake to them: (494)

'Long have they yet to wander through the worlds
Who witless aye again their tears renew,
Weeping world without end for father dead,
Or brother slain, or that themselves must die.[2] (495)

[1] A simile frequent in the Nikāyas. Presumably muslin turbans, let alone oily hair-dressing, often caused such mishaps. *Cf. Saŋy. Nik.*, i. 108, v. 440; *Aŋy. Nik.*, ii. 93, etc.

[2] These and the following verses are apparently allusions to the first Vagga of the Anamatagga Saŋyutta ('World-without-end' Collocation) in the *Saŋyutta Nikāya*, vol. ii., 178 *ff.* The only feature lacking there is the perennial *blood*-flow—a point not without interest in the history of the Pali Canon. The bone-cairn gāthā in the Vagga is quoted by the Commentator, and runs thus:

> 'But *one* man's bones who has *one* æon lived
> Might form a cairn—so said the Mighty Seer—
> High as Vipulla, higher than the Peak
> Of Vultures, mountain-burg of Magadha'—

i.e., the ancient hill fortress of the Magadhese before they built their capital Rājagaha in the plain. No more ancient remains than these in India have yet been identified (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 37).

Call ye to mind how it was said that tears
And milk and blood flow on world without end.
And bear in mind that tumulus of bones
By creatures piled who wander through the
worlds. (496)
Remember the four oceans as compared
With all the flow of tears and milk and blood.
Remember the 'great cairn of one man's bones
From one æon alone, equal to Vipula'; (497)
And how 'great India[1] would not suffice
To furnish little tally-balls of mould,
Wherewith to number all the ancestors
Of one's own round of life world without end.' (498)
Remember how 'the little squares of straws
And boughs and twigs could ne'er suffice
As tallies for one's sires world without end.' (499)
Remember how the parable was told
Of 'purblind turtle in the Eastern Seas,
Or other oceans, once as time goes by,
Thrusting his head thro' hole of drifting yoke';
So rare as this the chance of human birth.[2] (500)
Remember too the 'body'-parable,
The 'lump of froth,' of spittle without core,

The repetition in verses 496, 497 is curious in a work where redundancy is so severely repressed. Either it goes to strengthen the symptoms that the last two Psalms are by a different and later hand, or else two versions have here been incorporated. In 496 Sumedhā first speaks to all her three chief hearers: 'Call ye to mind' (*saratha*); the following admonitions are to the Prince only: 'bear in mind' and 'remember' (*sarāhi*, *sara*).

[1] In the Vagga just alluded to, the earth itself, and not India (Jambudīpa), is the insufficient source. The 'squares of straw' is from the same Vagga.

[2] This simile is from *Majjhima Nik.*, iii. 169, and *Saṃyutta Nik.*, v. 455. The 'body-parable' is from the latter work (iii. 140). The body (*rūpa*) is as empty of essence (soul) as the clot of foam drifting down the Ganges.

Drifting. See here the fleeting factors five.
And O forget not hell where many thole. (501)
Remember how we swell the charnel-fields,
Now dying, now again elsewhere reborn.
Remember what was said of 'crocodiles,'[1]
And what those perils meant for us, and O!
Bear ye in mind the Four, the Ariyan Truths. (502)

THE NECTAR OF THE NORM IS HERE![2] O how
Canst thou be satisfied with bitter draughts
Of sense satiety? All sensual joys
Are bitterer for the fivefold dogging Ill.[3] (503)

THE NECTAR OF THE NORM IS HERE! O how
Canst thou be satisfied with fevered fits
Of sense-satiety? All sensual joys
Are burning, boiling, ferment,[4] stew. (504)

THERE IS, WHERE ENMITY IS NOT![5] O how
Canst thou be satisfied with joys of sense

[1] The danger from crocodiles is, in two of the Nikāyas, used metaphorically for gluttony, one of the four perils of 'those who go down to the water'; it is in the Canon applied only to a Bhikkhu's temptations (*Majjh. Nik.*, i. 460; *Ang. Nik.*, ii. 124).

[2] Nectar = *amataŋ*, rendered elsewhere in this work by 'ambrosia,' its etymological equivalent. Usually considered one of the many terms for Nibbana, it is here by the commentarial tradition associated with the Dhamma—'the Amata of the Norm brought to us by the Very Buddha in his great compassion.'

[3] Lit., 'Are bitterer by the fivefold-bitter,' explained by the Commentary as 'by the following after of the yet sharper Ill' (*dukkhaŋ*). Fivefold, referring to the five senses.

[4] *Kuthitā* may be from one of three roots: *kuth*, smell; *kuth*, distressed; *kvath*, cook (*cf.* Müller, *Pali Grammar*, 41). The first, chosen by Dr. Neumann, seems forced here. The last accords best with the other three metaphors of heating process.

[5] Lit., 'The unhostile being' (locative absolute). The Pali has *no metaphor of place* whatever.

Engend'ring thee so many foes—the wrath
Or greed of king, or thief, or rival, harm
Through fire, or water—yea, so many foes! (505)

EMANCIPATION[1] WAITS! O how canst thou
Be satisfied with sensual joys, wherein
Lie bonds and death? Yea, in those very joys
Lurk gaol and headsman.[2] They who seek t' indulge
Their lusts needs must thereafter suffer ills. (506)
Him will straw-torches burn who holds them long
And lets not go. So, in the parable,[3]
Desires of sense burn them who let not go. (507)
Cast not away, because of some vain joy
Of sense, the vaster happiness sublime,
Lest like the finny carp thou gulp the hook,
Only to find thyself for that foredone[4] (508)
Tame thou thyself in sense-desires, nor let
Thyself be bound by them, as is a dog
Bound by a chain; else will they do forsooth
With thee as hungry pariahs with that dog.[5] (509)

[1] *Mokkhamhi vijjamāne*, lit., exists. *Mokkho*, probably substituted *metri causa* for *vimutti*, is a relatively late term.

[2] These two terms are, in the text, the same as the corresponding pair in the preceding line.

[3] In *Majjhima Nik.*, i. 365, where the torch is said to be borne against the wind, not held too long.

[4] A simile from *Saŋyutta Nik.*, ii. 226, = iv. 158; *Jātaka*, v. 389; vi. 416, 432, 437.

[5] The dog, according to the Commentary, being unable to get away from them, is killed, and presumably eaten. There is no suggestion to the effect that it was acting as watch-dog, and that the pariahs were thieves, beyond stealing the dog. 'Will they do' = *kāhinti*: Commentary = *karissanti*. Pischel pronounced the other reading *khāhinti* as 'no doubt correct,' because of a passage in Hemacandra's *Prakrit Grammar*. But Dhammapāla, nearer to the age of the Therigāthā Pali by at least 500 years, seems to me to have the stronger claim, let alone plausibility.

Once more I say, immeasurable Ills
And many weary miseries of mind
Thou'lt suffer yoked to sensual life. Renounce,
Renounce desires of sense! They pass away. (510)

THERE IS, THAT GROWETH NEVER OLD![1] O how
Canst thou be satisfied with sense-desires
That age so soon? Are not all things reborn,
Where'er it be, gripped by disease and death? (511)
THIS[2] that doth ne'er grow old, that dieth not,
THIS never-ageing, never-dying Path—
No sorrow cometh there, no enemies,
Nor is there any crowd;[3] none faint or fail,
No fear cometh, nor aught that doth torment— (512)
To THIS, the Path Ambrosial, have gone
Full many. And to-day, e'en now 'tis to be won.
But only by a life that's utterly
Surrendered in devotion. Labour not,
And ye shall not attain!'

Thus Sumedhā (513)
Ended her say, who found no joy in all
Activities that lead from life to life,
And, to Anikaratta thus her mind
Declaring, dropped her tresses on the floor. (514)
Then up he rose with outstretched folded hands,

[1] She now, says the Commentary, turns to show forth the excellence of Nibbana.

[2] *Asambādhaŋ*. The Commentary takes this figuratively: 'from the absence of the crowd of corruptions' (or torments, *kilesā*). In view of the cardinal importance in the Vinaya of cultivating solitude (*cf.* Dhammadinnā in Ps. xii.), because, too, of its being the path of the minority, and because of the Suttanta phrase calling the lay life *sambādha*, and the religious life *abbhokāsa*, free as air, I incline to take it literally.

And with her father pleaded for her thus:
'O suffer Sumedhā to leave the world,
That she may see the Truth and Liberty!' (515)

The parents suffered her, and forth she went,
Afeared to stay and build up fear and grief.
Six branches of Insight she realized,
As learner, winning to the Topmost Fruit. (516)

O wondrous this! O marvellous in sooth!
Nibbāna for the daughter of a king!
Her state and conduct in her former births,
E'en as she told in her last life were these: (517)
'When[1] Koṇāgamana was Buddha here,
And in a new abode, the Order's Park,
Took up his dwelling, two o' my friends,[2] and I
Built a Vihāra for the Master's use. (518)
And many scores and centuries of lives
We lived among the gods, let alone men. (519)
Mighty our glory and our power among
The gods, nor need I speak of fame on earth.
Was I not consort of an Emperor,
The Treasure-Woman 'mongst the Treasures Seven?[3] (520)

Endurance[4] in the Truth the Master taught—
This was the cause, the source, the root,
This the First Link in the long Causal Line,
This is Nibbana if we love the Norm. (521)

---

[1] This narrative repeated in from the *Apadāna*.

[2] The two friends are said to have been Khemā (Ps. lii.) and Dhanañjānī, a brahminee convert (*Saŋ. Nik.*, i. 160).

[3] For these, see *Buddhist Suttas* (S.B.E., xi.), pp. 251 *ff.*

[4] *Khanti.* See *Dīgha Nik.* ii. 49.

Thus acting,[1] they who put their trust in Him,
Wisdom Supreme,[2] lose every wish and hope
Of coming back to be—and thus released
They from all passion's stain are purified.[3] (522)

COMMENTATOR'S ENVOI

The Psalms of them who through the Gospel's
grace
Became the true-born children and the heirs,
Mouth-born, of Him who is the Master Blest,
King o' the Norm, creations of the Norm,
Excelling in all virtue, Arahants,
Who wrought all that 'twas possible to do—
These Psalms, their utterances when AÑÑĀ
They did proclaim, or whensoe'er it was,
Beginning with Brother SUBHŪTI's verse,
With Sisters' Psalms, headed by 'STURDYKIN'—
All these the Leaders of the Order took,
And in one ordered serial compiled,
The THERAGĀTHĀ-THERĪGĀTHĀ named.

To elucidate the import of that work
Three Older Commentaries are extant.[4]
Thereto this exegesis I have tried
T' indite, the which, in that where'er 'twas fit,
I strove to set the highest meaning forth,

[1] Another reading is, 'Thus telling.'

[2] Lit., 'Who has immeasurable wisdom.'

[3] This line expands the Pali word *virajjati*, according to the Commentary, which supplements 'purified' by 'set free.' On the metre of the whole Psalm, see Introduction.

[4] On these, see my *Buddhist Psychology*, xx.-xxii.

I named the Paramattha-Dīpanī ;
The whole whereof, now finished to the end,
By orderly decision is arranged,
For recitation from the sacred text,
In chapters of the number ninety-two.
Thus by the efficacy of such good
As has accrued to me, by me applied,
Have I made bright the glory of the word,
The system, of the Sovran of the world ;
That, by their pure attainment in all truth
And virtue, mortals all may come to taste
The essence of emancipation won.
Long may the Very Buddha's Word and Law
Abide, and ever may it be revered
By every creature that hath life and breath !
And may the weather-god in season due
Send rain on earth, and may the powers that be
Govern the world as lovers of the Norm !

Thus endeth the Commentary on the Therigāthā, by the Teacher, Brother Dhammapāla, residing at the Padara-Tittha-Vihāra.

APPENDIX

VERSES ATTRIBUTED TO SISTERS IN THE BHIKKHUNI-SAṆYUTTA OF THE SAṆYUTTA-NIKĀYA

1. Āḷavikā.[1]

Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying at Sāvatthī, in the Jeta Grove, the park of Anāthapiṇḍika. Now Āḷavikā the Bhikkhunī dressed herself early and, taking bowl and robe, entered Sāvatthī for food. And when she had gone about Sāvatthī for it, had broken her fast and returned, she entered the Dark Wood, seeking solitude.

Then Māra the Evil One, desiring to arouse fear, wavering, and dread in her, desiring to make her desist from being alone, went up to her, and addressed her in a verse:

'Ne'er shalt thou find escape while in the world.
What profiteth thee then thy loneliness?
Take the good things of life while yet thou may'st,
Repentance else too late awaiteth thee.'

Then Āḷavikā thought: 'Who now is this, human or non-human, that speaketh this verse? Sure 'tis Māra the Evil One speaketh it, desirous to arouse in me fear, wavering and dread, desirous to make me desist from my solitude.' And Bhikkhunī Āḷavikā, knowing that 'twas he, replied with a verse:

[1] *Cf.* Selā's Psalm, xxxv. She was the daughter of the King of Āḷavī.

'There is escape while in the world, and I
Have well attained thereto by insight won.
Thou evil limb of loafing![1] 'tis not thine
To know that bourne, or how it may be reached.
Like spears and jav'lins are the joys of sense,
That pierce and rend the mortal frames of us.
These that thou callest "the good things of life,"
Good of that ilk to me is nothing worth.'

Then Māra, thinking, 'Bhikkhunī Āḷavikā knows me!' vanished thence, sad and dejected.

2. Somā.[2]

. . . . .[3] Now Somā . . . . . entered the Dark Wood for siesta, and, plunging into its depths, sat down at the root of a certain tree for siesta.

Then Māra the Evil One, desiring to arouse fear, wavering, and dread in her, desiring to make her desist from concentrated thought, went up to her, and addressed her in a verse:

'That vantage-ground the sages may attain is hard
To reach. With her two-finger consciousness
That is no woman competent to gain!'

Then Somā thought. . . . . 'Sure 'tis Māra!' . . . . and . . . . . replied with verses:

'What should the woman's nature do to them[4]
Whose hearts are firmly set, who ever move

[1] *Pamatto.*

[2] See Ps. xxxvi., comparing the vastly more interesting reply given here.

[3] Where dotted lines occur, here and below, the reading is as for Āḷavikā.

[4] Not 'to us,' as in the Psalm.

With growing knowledge onward in the Path?
What can that signify to one in whom
Insight doth truly comprehend the Norm?
To one for whom the question doth arise:
Am I a woman in these matters, or
Am I a man, or what not am I, then?
To such an one is Māra fit to talk!'

Then Māra, thinking, 'Bhikkhunī Somā knows me!' vanished thence, sad and dejected.

3. Gotamī.[1]

. . . . . Now the Lean Gotamid . . . . . entered the Dark Wood for siesta, and, plunging into its depths, sat down at the root of a certain tree for siesta. Then Māra . . . . . went up to her, and addressed her in a verse:

'How now? Dost sit alone with tearful face
As mother stricken by the loss of child?
Thou who hast plunged into the woods alone,
Is it a man that thou hast come to seek?'

Then the Lean Gotamid thought . . . . . 'Sure 'tis Māra!' . . . . . and replied with verses:

'Ay, ever am I she whose child is lost![2]
And for the seeking, there are men at hand.
I do not grieve, I am not shedding tears,
And as for thee, good sir, I fear thee not.

[1] *Cf.* Ps. lxiii. In the case of elisions, read as for Somā.

[2] By 'ever'—*accantaṃ*, lit. exceedingly, endlessly—it is conceivable that she alludes, not to her own too common case, as a mother bereaved of *a* son, but either to endless past bereavements, or to the fact that, as Arahant, she had cut herself off from age-long possibilities of being often again in similar circumstances. *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Ps. xxxiii.

Slain everywhere is love of worldly joys,
And the thick gloom of ignorance is rent in twain.
Defeating all the army of the power of death,
I here abide purged of the poison-drugs.'[1]

Then Māra, thinking, 'Bhikkhunī Gotamī knows me!' vanished thence, sad and dejected.

4. Vijayā.[2]

. . . . . Now Bhikkhunī Vijayā . . . . . sat down at the root of a certain tree for siesta.

Then Māra . . . . . addressed her in a verse :[3]

'A maiden thou and beautiful—and I
So young a lad! Now where to fivefold art[4]
Of sounds melodious we may list, O come,
Lady, and let us take our fill of joy!'

Then Bhikkhunī Vijayā thought . . . . . 'Sure 'tis Māra!' . . . . . and . . . . . replied with verses :

'Sights, sounds and tastes and smells and things
to touch,
Wherein the mind delights, I leave them all
To thee, Māra ; for such no mind have I!
This body vile, this brittle, crumbling thing,

[1] Āsavas.

[2] Vijayā, to whom Ps lvii. is ascribed, is apparently a different person.

[3] *Cf.* Khemā's Psalm (lii.).

[4] Five sorts of musical instruments are supposed to be implied in this idiomatic phrase—*ātataṃ*, *vitataṃ*, *ātata-vitataṃ*, *ghanaṃ*, *susiraṃ*.

Doth touch me only with distress and shame.
Craving for joys of sense is rooted out.
They who have come to worlds of form, and they
Who dwell where form is not, and that perfect
Attainment which is peace[1]—from all,
From everywhere, the darkness is dispelled.'

Then Māra, thinking, 'Bhikkhunī Vijayā knows me!' vanished thence, sad and dejected.

5. Uppalavaṇṇā.

. . . . . Now, Bhikkhunī Uppalavaṇṇā . . . . . entered the Dark Wood for siesta, and, plunging into its depths, halted at the root of a certain sāla-tree in full blossom.

Then Māra . . . . . addressed her in a verse.

'Thou that art come where over thee crownèd
with blossom
[Waveth] the sāl-tree, Sister, and standest alone in
the shade of it,
No one like thee could hither come rival to beauty
as thine is!
Fearest thou not, O foolish maiden, the wiles of
seducers?'[2]

[1] I have ventured to bridge over the hiatus, in what Professor Windisch calls the 'loose construction' of this *gāthā*, by the insertion of 'from all, from. . . .' For what may have been the original, and is the more logical, ending, see Cālā's verses below. As the *gāthā* in Pali stands here, it seems to mean: '"I *see* life steadily, and see it whole." Trouble me not with your foolish little solicitations to sensual joys.'

[2] Where the text differs from that of Psalm lxiv. may be seen by the following:

Then Bhikkhunī Uppalavaṇṇā thought . . . . . 'Sure 'tis Māra !' . . . . . and . . . . . replied with verses :

'Were there an hundred thousand seducers e'en
such as thou art,
Ne'er would I tremble affrighted thereat, or turn a
hair of me.
Māra, I fear not thee, all lonely though I be
standing.
Here though I stand, I vanish, or enter into thy
body.
See ! 'twixt thine eyelashes hide, standing where
thou canst not see me.
For all my mind is wholly self-controlled,
And the Four Paths to Potency are thoroughly
learnt.
Yea, I am free from all the Bonds there be.
In sooth, good sir, no fear have I of thee !'

Then Māra, thinking, 'Bhikkhunī Uppalavaṇṇā knows me !' vanished thence, sad and dejected.

Therigāthā.	*Saṃyutta.*
Supupphitaggaŋ upagamma padāpaŋ ekā tuvaŋ tiṭṭhasi rukkhamūle	Supupphitaggaŋ upagamma bhikkhuni ekā tuvaŋ tiṭṭhasi sālamūle
Na cāpi te dutiyo atthi; koci na tvaŋ bāle bhāyasi dhuttakānaŋ.	Na c'atthi te dutiyā vaṇṇadhātu idhāgatā tādisikā bhaveyyuŋ. Bāle na tvaŋ bhāyasi dhuttakānaŋ.

On choice of reading in the preceding line, see the Psalm in question, *n.*

6. Cālā.[1]

. . . . . Now, Bhikkhunī Cālā . . . . . sat down at the root of a certain tree for siesta.

Then Māra the Evil One went up to her, and spoke thus to her: 'Wherein, O Sister, dost thou find no pleasure?'

'In birth,[2] good sir, I find no pleasure.'

'Why findest thou no pleasure in birth? Once born, one enjoys the pleasures of a life of sense. Who hath put this into thy mind—"Find no pleasure in birth"—Sister?'

'Once born, we die. Once born, we see life's Ills—
The bonds, the torments, and the life cut off.[3]
The Buddha hath revealed the Norm to us—
How we may get beyond the power of birth,
How we may put an end to every Ill.
'Tis He hath guided me into the True.
They who have come to worlds of Form, and they
Who in those worlds abide where Form is not,
An they know not how they may end it all,
Are goers, all of them, again to birth.[4]

Then Māra, thinking, 'Bhikkhunī Cālā knows me!' vanished thence, sad and dejected.

[1] Pronounced *Chālā*. *Cf.* Ps. lix., lx. The latter Psalm—Upacālā's—incorporates most of what is here attributed to her sister.

[2] *I.e.*, in the fact or phenomenon of 'being born over and over again.'

[3] Literally, meaning the punishments of criminals, but standing for the ills of life in general. *Cf.* Ps. lxx., verse 345; lxxiii., verse 505.

[4] *Cf.* last note to Vijayā's verses above.

7. Upacālā.[1]

. . . . . Now, Bhikkhunī Upacālā . . . . . sat down at the root of a certain tree for siesta.

Then Māra the Evil One, desiring to arouse fear . . . . . to make her desist from concentrated thought, went up to her, and spoke thus to her:

'Where, Sister, dost thou wish to rise again?'

'Nowhere, good sir, I wish to rise again.'

'Now, think upon the Three-and-Thirty gods,
And on the gods who rule in realm of Shades,
On those who reign in Heaven of Bliss, and on
Those higher deities who live where life
Yet flows by way of sense and of desire—
Think, and thither aspire with longing heart,
The bliss of each in turn shall then be thine.'

Upacālā.

Ay, think upon the Three-and-Thirty gods,
And on the gods who rule in realm of Shades,
On those who reign in Heaven of Bliss, and on
Those higher deities who live where life
Yet flows by way of sense and of desire!
They all are bound by bonds of sense-desire,
Hence come they evermore 'neath Māra's sway.
On fire is all the world, is wrapt in smoke.[2]
Ablaze is all the world, the heav'ns do quake!

[1] In the Psalms, her Psalm is put into the mouth of her sister, Sīsupacālā.

[2] *Padhūpito*, in the corresponding Psalm *paridīpito*.

But that which quaketh not, influctuate,[1]
Untrodden by the average worldling's feet,
Where Māra cometh not nor hath way-gate—
There doth my heart abide in blest retreat.'[2]

Then Māra, thinking, 'Bhikkhunī Upacālā knows me!' vanished thence, sad and dejected.

8. Sīsupacālā.[3]

. . . . . Now, Bhikkhunī Sīsupacālā . . . . . sat down at the root of a certain tree for siesta.

Then Māra the Evil One went up to her, and spoke to her thus: 'Of whose shibboleth, Sister, dost thou approve?'

'I approve of no one's shibboleth, good sir.'

'Why now and whereto art thou seen thus garbed
And shaven like a nun, yet dost not join
Ascetics of some sort and shibboleth?
What, futile and infatuate, is thy quest?'

''Tis they that are without, caught in the net
Of the vain shibboleths in which they trust—
Their's is the doctrine I cannot approve.
'Tis they that lack acquaintance with the Norm.

'Lo! in the princely Sākiya clan is born
A Buddha peerless 'mong the sons of men,

[1] *Sanyutta.*	*Therīgāthā.*
Akampitaŋ acalitaŋ aputthujana-sevitaŋ	Akampitaŋ atuliyaŋ aputhujjana-sevitaŋ
Agati yattha Mārassa tattha me nirato mano.	Buddho dhammaŋ me desesi tattha me nirato mano.

[2] Lit., Thereto is my heart (or mind) devoted.

[3] In the Psalms she is made to utter her sister Cālā's Psalm.

Who all hath overcome, before whose face
Māra doth flee away, who everywhere
Unconquered stands, He that is wholly freed
And fetterless, the Seer who seeth all,
For whom all karma is destroyed, who in
The perishing of every germ that birth
Once more engenders, is at liberty.
This the Exalted One, my Master and my Lord:
His doctrine, His the word that I approve.'

Then Māra, thinking, 'Bhikkhunī Sīsupacālā knows me! . . . . .

9. Selā.[1]

. . . . . Now, Bhikkhunī Selā . . . . . sat down at the root of a certain tree for siesta.

Then Māra . . . . . went up to her, and addressed her with a verse:

'Who was't that made this human puppet's form?
Where, tell me, is the human doll's artificer?
Whence hath the human puppet come to be?
Where, tell me, shall it cease and pass away?'

Then Bhikkhunī Selā thought . . . . . 'Sure 'tis Māra!' . . . . . and . . . . . replied with verses:

'Neither self-made the puppet is, nor yet
By other is this evil fashionèd.
By reason of a cause it came to be;
By rupture of a cause, it dies away.

[1] The *Psalm* ascribed to Selā (xxxv., p. 144) is, in this Appendix, put into the mouth of Āḷavikā, which, in the Commentary, is Selā's patronymic.

Like to a given seed sown in the field,
Which, when it lighteth on the taste of earth
And moisture likewise—by these twain doth grow,
So the five aggregates, the elements,
And the six spheres of sense—even all these—
By reason of a cause they came to be;
By rupture of a cause they die away.'

Then Māra, thinking, 'Bhikkhunī Selā knows me!' vanished thence, sad and dejected.

10. Vajirā.

. . . . . Now Bhikkhunī Vajirā . . . . . sat down at the root of a certain tree for siesta.

Then Māra . . . . . went up to her, and addressed her with a verse:

'Who hath this being[1] fashionèd? Where is
The maker of this being? Whence hath it sprung?
Where doth this being cease and pass away?'

Then Bhikkhunī Vajirā thought . . . . . 'Sure 'tis Māra!' . . . . . and replied with a verse:

'"Being"? Why dost thou harp upon that word?
'Mong false opinions, Māra, art thou strayed.
This a mere bundle of formations is.
Therefrom no "being" mayest thou obtain.
For e'en as, when the factors are arranged,
The product by the word' "chariot" is known,
So doth our usage covenant to say—
"A being"—when the aggregates are there.

[1] *Satto*, a concrete living entity, not the abstract idea.

'Tis simply Ill that riseth, simply Ill
That doth persist, and then fadeth away.
Nought beside Ill it is that doth become;
Nought else but Ill it is doth pass away.'

Then Māra, thinking, 'Bhikkhunī Vajirā knows me!' vanished thence, sad and dejected.

Here endeth the Bhikkhunī Series.

The Yakkha-Saŋyutta, or Fairy Series in the same Nikāya, gives the summons uttered by the indignant tree-fairy to the people of Rājagaha in Sukkā's little poem (Ps. xxxiv.). The lines are exactly the same, except that 'wayfarer' is *panthagū* instead of *addhagū*.

In the following Sutta presumably the same devoted spirit proclaims the praises both of Sukkā and of a lay-disciple who supplied the eloquent Therī with food:

'O surely plenteous merit hath he wrought,
That layman wise, who Sukkā's wants supplied—
Sukkā's, who from all bonds is wholly free!'[1]

[1] *Cf.* Ps. xlvi. 111.

NOTES

I. On clansmen, to which reference is so often made in the Chronicles (clansman's family = *kulageha*), see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 17-22. 'Treasurer' or 'merchant' stands for *seṭṭhi*, a leading commoner, head (*seṭṭhi* = chief) of a guild, and often treasurer to a King.

II. On the co-existing customs of cremation and exposure of the dead, to which the Psalms testify, see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 78 *f.*

III. In the note on p. 66, reference should have been made to the Vīticcha-jātaka, No. 244, in the second volume of the Jātaka. Here the Buddha himself asks the question, *Ekaŋ nāma kiŋ?* whereupon the itinerant debater runs away! The birth story is then told, the question being *contra* the theory of the *Ding-an-sich*.

CORRIGENDUM

In verse 72, where Professors Pischel and E. Müller have read

. . . *aññā samatimaññi 'haŋ*,

I now incline, with the Commentary, to read

aññāsam atimaññi 'haŋ,

and would amend the English thus:

> *Filled with the pride of my youth, I scorned and despised other women.*

Again, in verse 74, a truer rendering would be :

> *Manifold wiles I wrought, mocking with insolent laughter.*

And in verse 76, for 'calm' read 'cool.'

INDEX

(*Numbers refer to pages.*)

ABHAYA, 30
Abhayā, 31, 45
Abhaya's mother, xxxiii, 30
Abhidhamma, 17
Abhirūpa-Nandā. See Nandā
Acjravatī, 39, 117
Aḍḍhakāsī, xxxiii, 25 *f.*
Age, 19 *f.*, 34, 59, 121 *ff.*, 157, 172, 176
Agnostic position, xxix
Akaniṭṭha sphere, 18 *n.*
Akkhāna, Ākhyāna,
Āḷāra, 4
Āḷavī, 43
Āḷavikaŋ, -ā, 43, 180
Ambapāli, xxi, xxxiii, xl, 120-5
Ambrosia, 6, 41, 110, 174 *n.*
Ambrosial Path or Way. See Path
Ānanda, 7, 32, 88
Ānanda, a mythical king, 60
Anāthapiṇḍika, 117, 180
Anga, xxix; country, 68
Anguttara-Nikāya, xiv, *passim*
Anikaratta, 164 *ff*
Añjana Grove, 84
—— Sākiyan, 88 *n.*
Aññā, xxxv, 12, 18, 20, 23, 36, 42, 73, 88, 136, 140 *n.*, 178
Aññakondañña, 5
Anomā, 4
Anonymous Sister, 50
Anopamā, 86
Apadāna, xiv, xvi *f.*, 47 *n.*, 49 *n.*, 82, 87, 177 *n.*
Arahant, xxvi, xxxi, 39, 44, 49, 60, 130, 137, 141 *n.*, 178
Arahantship, xxiv, xxxv, 6 *passim*
Ariyan way, 32; wealth, 143
Ariyas, xxvi, 24 *n.*, 48, 82, 88, 165
Arnold, Matthew, xxxiv
Aruṇavā, 45
Āsavas. See Drugs
Ascetics, 97, 139
Atthakathā, xv. See Commentary
Avantī, 158
Aviha, 131
Avyākata, xxxi

Bamboo Grove, 81
Bandhumati, a mythical city, 35 *passim*
Banyan, Goatherds', 5
Bathing rites, 58, 117 *f.*
Beauty, 22, 26, 52, 55, 81 *f.*, 120 *ff.*, 135, 149 *ff.*, 184
Becoming, being (*bhava*), 18, 37, 166, 168, 178
Being, 190 *f.*
Benares, capital of Kāsī, xxii, 5, 26, 47, 88, 129, 135 *ff.*; robe of, 132, 151
Bhaddā Kāpilānī, xxvi, xxxvi, 7-9
—— Kuṇḍalakesā, xxxvi, 57, 63-8
Bhagavā. See Exalted One
Bhaggava, 4
Bhārukaccha, 103
Bhikkhu, xiv, xv, 31 *n.*, 103
Bhikkhunī, xiii, 36, 76 *passim*
Bimbisāra, 6, 30, 45, 81
Biped, 161
Birth. See Rebirth
Bliss. See Happiness
Blood, 172 *n.*, 173
Bode, Mrs. Mabel, 17 *n.*, 61 *n.*, 63 *n.*, 68 *n.*, 81 *n.*, 87 *n.*, 111 *n.*
Bodhi, 4, 92 *n.*, 143 *n.* (Therī), 157; -citta, xix
Bodhisat, -va, xix, 12
Body (*kāya*), 21, 23, 30, 31, 56, 58, 59, 83, 93, 99 *n.*, 167 *ff.*, 183;

(*deha*), verses 7, 10, pp. 31, 42, 49, 154 ; (*kaḷebara*), 152, 168 ; (*rūpa*), 173
Bojjhanga's, 24, 37, 92
Bonds, 53, 58, 68, 82, 146, 185, 191
Bo-tree, 4 *f*., 43, 129, 132 *n*.
Brahma-heaven, 48, 131
Brahmin, 125, 134, 141; daughters of a, 11, 15, 28, 37, 38, 57, 58, 90, 125, 135, 148 ; baptist, 117 ; twice-born, 161
Brahminee, 60, 96, 138 *f*.
Buddha, one of the seven acknowledged in the Pali Canon, 8, 22, 25, 29, 31, 34, 35 *f*., 41, 44, 60, 64, 81, 106, 116, 120, 125, 134, 164, 177 ; one of the twenty-four of scholastic Buddhism, 1, 15 *f*., 28, 30, 39, 47, 55, 60 *ff*, 81, 87, 111 ; -dispensation, 9 and *passim* ; age of, 167
——, Gotama the, outline of his early life, 1-6 ; admits women to the Order, 7 ; at Vesālī, 9, 23, 53, 88 ; at Benares, 5, 129 ; at Kapilavatthu, 22, 55 ; at Gayā, 133 ; at Rājagaha, 17, 27, 31, 81, 142, 148 ; at Sāvatthī, xviii, 11 *f*., 19, 26, 39, 48, 60, 65, 70, 88 *f*., 106 *ff*., 131, 135 *ff*., 140, 180 *ff*. ; at Mithilā, 79 *f*. ; at Āḷavī, 43 ; at Sāketa, 84 *ff*. ; speaks verses to Sisters, 10-14, 18, 20, 23, 31, 39, 56, 71 *f*., 82, 107 *f*.
—— Pacceka, 11, 27, 47, 87
—— Silent. See Pacceka Buddha.
Buddhaghosa, xvi, xxxv
Buddhist Psychological Ethics, 23 *n*., 24 *n*., 37 *n*., 53 *n*., 116 *n*.

Cālā, xxxviii, 96, 186
Calm, serene (*upasanta*), 14, 18, 23, 51, 57, 67, 91 ; (*samātha*), 74
Candā, 75
Candabhāgā, 11, 34, 37
Cāpā, 129-33
Carabhūta, 22
Cause, 54 *n*., 61, 189 ; causal law, 5 ; causal line, 177
Ceylon, 31 *n*.
Chariot, 190
Charioteer, 135, 188
Cittā, 27
Commentary, Dhammapāla's, xiv *f*., xxxix ; Older Three, xvi, 178
Compassion, 5, 71, 75 *f*., 80, 85
Conceit (*māna*), 23, 91, 116
Concentration (*samādhi*, *susamāhita*), 23, 45, 56, 63, 94 ; want of, 54. See Distraction
Concord, 89
Conjuncture, xxiv, 13 ; *cf*. 167
Conjuring (*māyā*), 154
Conqueror, 35, 130 *f*.
Consciousness, 45, 181
Consolation, xxvii, 39, 40, 71, 77 *f*., 135 *f*.
Content, 53
Conviction, faith, 9, 14, 20, 27, 40, 43, 45, 52, 55, 58 *ff*., 143, 146
Cool, xxxi, 19, 20, 21, 30, 49, 53 (read 'cool' for 'calm'), 61, 104, 145 ; Grove (*Sīta-vana*), Rājagaha, 31
Courtezan, xxxix, 25, 30, 52, 120
Craving (*taṇhā*, *tṛshṇā*), 19, 21, 32, 33, 35, 59, 87, 89 ; (*rāga*), 42
Cremation, 70, 109
Crowd, 16, 176 *n*.
Culture, 13, 14 (=*dhammehi* ; Commentary : 'by calm and insight,' and the Ariyan Bojjhangas, see 24 *n*.). See Develop, Exercise, Indriya (2)
Cunningham, 28 *n*., 41 *n*.

Dantikā, 37
Dark Grove or Wood, Sāvatthī, 43 *f*., 96, 180 *ff*.
Daughters of the Buddha, xxxii, 37, 141, 152, 178 ; of brahmins, etc., see Brahmin ; of Kiki, King of Kāsī, the seven, 16 *n*.
Death, xxvii, xxxi, 14, 15, 89, 136 *f*., 169, 172, 176. See Rebirth (round of)
Debaters, itinerant, xxxvi, 57, 65 *f*.
Debt, 162 ; free from, 10, 146
Devadaha, 50, 88
Develop (*bhāveti*), 14, 37
Devotion, 176
Dhamma, 4, 7, 23, 43, 45, 51, 127, 137 *f*., 142, 157, 174, 178
Dhammā, 20
Dhammadinnā, xxxvi, 15, 41, 50
Dhammapada, 56, 107
Dhammapāla, xiv, xvi, 67 *n*. 175 *n*., 179
Dhanañjānī, 177 *n*.

Dhīrā (1), 13, 15, 18, 21; (2) 14
Distraction, 13, 15, 54, 91
Doom, 145. See Hell
Doubt, 90, 103
Drugs (*āsavā*), 13, 50 *n.*, 51, 53, 61, 75, 76, 95, 104, 113, 139 *ff.*, 144, 146, 153, 183
Dryad, xxxvi, 41, 191
Duroiselle, Professor Chas., xv

Ease. See Happiness
Eckenstein, L., xxxi, xxxviii
Elements. See Life (*dhātuyo*)
Elephant, 38, 133, 150
Emancipated (*vi*[*ppa*]*mutta*), 137, 144, 150
Emancipation. See Liberty
Emperor, 177
Empty. See Void
Endurance, 177
Energy, effort, 62, 89, 92 *n.*
Enlightened, The, 87
Enlightenment (*bodhi*), 161
Enmity, 112, 143 *f.*, 174
Erakaccha, 161
Escape, xxiv, 180 *f.*
Exalted One, 22, 55, 67, 79, 82, 89, 91, 107, 147, 189
Exercise in meditation (*kammatthāna*), 50, 56, 88, 149; (*bhāvanā*), 61
Exposure of the dead, 80, 107, 109, 191
Eye, Buddha-eye, 5; of Insight (*paññā*), 21 *n.*; Heavenly, 26 *n.*, 51, 60, 61, 63, 74, 92, 95, 113

Fairies, 11, 34, 151, 191
Faith. See Conviction (*saddhā*)
Fasts and Feasts, 29, 35, 58, 83 *f.*
Fear, 31, 80, 140, 144, 176 *f.*
Fire-worship, 83
Flood (realm of birth and death), 14
Flux of things, 72 *n.*
Formations, 190
Fortunate, 14, 130
Foul, The, 23, 31, 56, 153, 165
'Fragrant Chamber,' 11 *f.*, 31, 72
Franke, Professor R. O., 56 *n.*
Freedom. See Liberty
Fresco, 154
Friend, 14
Friendship, 108
Fruit, Fruition, 5, 10, 40, 63, 67, 88, 112, 157, 177

Ganges-bank Elder, 112
Gayā, 132 *n.*, 133 *n.*
Germ of birth (*upadhi*), 189
Ghaṭīkāra, 4
Gijjhakūṭi. See Vulture's Peak
Giridāsa, 156
Glory (*obhāsa*), 14 *ff.*, 18 *f.*, 90, 108
Goal, analysis of, 13
God(s), 29, 37, 53, 65, 100 *f.*, 164, 166, 177
Goddesses, tribal,
Goldsmith, 122, 142, 161
Good, 11 *passim*; highest, xxxi, xxxviii, 42, 59, 76, 105
Gospel, xxxv *n.*, 42, 85 *n.*, 137, 178
Gotama, 80 *n.*, 88. See Buddha
Guttā, 90

Haṃsavatī, a mythical town, 15 *passim*
Happiness (*sukha*), bliss, 13, 37, 54, 67, 88, 93, 96, 97, 103, 112, 135, 144, 149, 150, 157, 169, 175
Hardy, R. S., 43 *n.*, 75 *n.*
Harm (offence), 67
Harrison, Dr. Jane, xxxviii *n.*
Hate. See Ill-will
Hearing, sublimated, 51
Heaven, 29, 49, 100 *f.*, 144, 169
Hell (*apāya*), 49; (*niraya*), 162, 166, 169, 174
Hermaphrodite, 162
Hero (*vīra*), 89, 133, 141
Herrad, Abbess, xxxi *f.*
Hills and Therīs, xxxviii, 27, 28
Hither shore, 90

Iddhi, 'mystic potency, power,' 23, 51, 82, 92 *n.*, 111 *ff.*, 185
Ignorance (*avijjā*), 21; root of Craving, 19, 21; gloom of, 12, 27, 36, 44, 74, 83, 92, 95, 98 *ff.*, 115
Ill (*dukkha*), xxvii *ff.*, 31, 35, 89, 91, 97 *f.*, 104, 108 *f.*, 125, 127 *f.*, 134, 137 *f.*, 169, 174 *f.*, 186, 191
Ill-will, 21, 25, 61, 90
Immaculate, 60, 67, 85, 127, 152
Impermanence, 107, 121, 166, 170
Individuality, 101, 142
Indriya — (1) senses, 100; (2) higher faculties, 14, 92, 97 *f.*, 146
Insight (*paññā*), 21 *n.*; (*vipas-*

sanā), 10, 12, 35, and all similar passages; 45, 59, 182; (*abhiññā*), 177
Interest, 162
Intoxicants. See Drugs
Intuitive knowledge, 50 *n.*, 63, 88, 95, 102 *f.*
Isidāsī, xviii, xxii, 156-63
Isipatana, 5, 87, 129 *n.*

Jain, xxii, 57, 65, 161
Jātaka xvi, 10 *n.*, 108 *n.*, 171 *n.*
Jentā (Commentary), or Jentī (*text reads either*), 23
Jeta Grove, 38, 48, 60, 65, 70, 82, 88, 108, 131
Jewels, 64, 121 *ff.*, 139, 151, 171; the Three, 135
Jhana, 36, 48, 53, 112, 157, 165, 170
Jinadattā, xxii, 157, 160
Jīvā, xxx, 39
Jīvaka, 148
Jungle, 103 *f.*, 144, 150

Kāḷa = Upaka, 134
Kamma (Karma), xxxiv, 29, 43, 48, 69, 77, 94, 117, 120, 126 *n.*, 161, 163, 189
Kammāssadamma, 57, 58
Kapila, brahmin, 47 *n.*
Kapilavatthu, 6, 12, 22, 29, 55
Kāsī, 16, 26, 64, 68
Kassapa, Mahā, Pippali, 48, 49
Kathā-vatthu, xxii *n.*
Khandhas, 17, 36, 51, 59, 63, 72, 83, 169, 190
Khemā, xx, 81-4, 91, 177 *n.*
Khemaka, 22
Khuddakanikāya, xiv
Khuddakapātha, 66
Kiki, mythical King of Kāsī, 16 *passim*
Kisā-Gotamī, xxi, xxviii, 106-10, 182
Knowledge (*paññā*), 12; (*ñāṇa*), 45, 79, 182
Koñca, 164
Kosala, xxii, 15, 37, 68; Pasenadi, King of, 19, 39
Kosambī, 32, 34
Kosiya clan, 48
Kurus, 57 *f.*

Laity, 68, 91
Lambent Artifice, 112
Lamp, 73
Learning. See Lore
Liberty (*vimutti*), xxiv *f.*, 15, 21, 28, 54, 59, 73, 78, 95, 140 *f.*, 189; (*vi-mokkha*), 63, 148, 175, 177; (*parimutto*), 84; bliss of, 18; (*bhujissā*), 146
Licchavis, 53 *n.*
Life in Buddhism (*jīvita*), 59; springs of (*dhātuyo*), 18, 51, 63, 92, 169, 190; good things of (*kāmā*), 44, 180; low life (*hīna*), 54, 59; line of lives, 58; mystery of, 77 *f.*; house life, xxv, 2, 21, 58, 72, 73, 85, 94, 142, 151; homeless life, 59, 61, 76, 85, 87, 138 *f.*, 144; holy, 150, 168; elixir of, 42, 100; doleful, 166; new, xxxiii; in the Path, 80
Light, xxxvii, 42
Light of Asia, xxviii; Light of the World, 84
'Lion's Roar,' 136, 140
Lore, Triple, 26 *n.*, 28, 49, 138, 140, 161; Sixfold, 51
Lotus, 111, 151 *f.*
Love (*rati*), 14 (ver. 8, 9), 145 (ver. 359), 152, 157, 166; *piyā-yati*, 127 (*abhinandi*), 171
Luck, 159
Lust (*rāga*), 21, 25, 30, 61, 91, 152, 155; (*lobha*), 143 *ff.*; (*kāmā*), 175

Madonna cult, xix, xxxviii
Magadha, 68, 81, 96
Mahā-Suppabuddha, 88
Majjha, 36
Majority, the, 166
Mandhātā, 171
Mango-grove, 148 *f.*; guardian, 120
Manoratanapūraṇī, 61 *n.*
Mantāvatī, 164 *f.*
Māra, vanquished, 5, 14, 42, 49; tempter, 43, 45, 82 *f.*, 90, 96 *ff.*, 113 *f.*, 145, 180 91
Master, The (*satthā*), 6, 88 *passim*
Māyā, 88, 89
Megasthenes, 157 *n.*
Mendicant, 76
Merit, 9, 16, 128, 155, 164, 191
Meru, 152
Metres, xxxix *f.*, 110, 114, 139 *n.*, 149, 178

Mettikā, 28, 29
Milinda, xxx *n.*, xxxi *n.*
Milk, 173
Mindfulness, 59, 92 *n.*
Mirror, 110
Mithilā, 79 *f.*, 135
Mittā (1), 14 ; or (2) Mettā, 29
Mittakālī, Mittakālikā, 58
Moggallāna, 6, 52, 57
Monasticism, Christian, xxiv ; women under, xxix
Moon, 10, 12, 29, 58, 152
Mother leaving children, 21, 55, 61, 103, 131 ; left by child, 135, 165 ; losing children, 39, 70, 77 *f.*, 79 *f.*, 109, 182 ; of many children, 62 ; dreading childbirth, 109 ; converted by son, 30 ; converting son, 103 ; neglected by children, 62
Müller, Professor E., xiv, xx *n.*, 174 *n.*
Music, 83, 183
Muttā (1), 10 ; (2) 15
Mystic potency. See Iddhi
Mythology, xviii

Nāga, 38 *n.*, 79 *n.*; King of Nāgas, 4
Nāla, 96, 132
Nālaka, 96
Nanda, 6, 55
Nandā, Abhirūpa-, 22, 55 ; Sundarī-, 55
Nandaka, 7, 88
Nanduttarā, 57
Nerañjarā, xviii, 133 *f.*
Netti-pakaraṇa, xxx
Neumann, Dr. K. E., xv, xxiii, xli, 12 *n.*, 25 *n.*, 47 *n.*, 56 *n.*, 77 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 111 *n.*, 124 *n.*, 139 *n.*, 141 *n.*, 158 *n.*, 159 *n.*, 161 *n.*, 163 *n.*, 174 *n.*
Nibbāna, xxiv, xxxi, xxxvii, 5, *passim*
Nigaṇṭha. See Jain
Night, 138 ; three watches of, 74, 92, 95
Nikāyas, xiv, xxii, *passim*
Niraya, see Hell ; 'misery,' 13
Nirvāna. See Nibbāna
Norm, xxxv *n.*, 60 ; and see Dhamma
Non-substrate, 137
Novice, xxxiv, 10, 12, 61, 120
Nun, xli, 97, 188

Oghaṭaka, 15
Oil, 112, 172
Oldenberg, Professor H., xiv, xxii, 7 *n.*, 53 *n.*, 148 *n.*
Order of Bhikkhunīs, 7 *passim.*
Ordination, 7, 10, 20, 67 *n. passim*

Padara-Tittha-Vihāra, 179
Padumavatī, 30
Pajāpatī, Mahā or Great, 87-9 ; founds the Sisters' Order, 7, 12, 55 ; preaches, 9, 12 ; head of the Order, 22, 27, 142
Pakulā. See Sakulā
Paṇḍava, Mount, 4
Paramattha Dīpanī, xiv, 178
Pasenadi. See Kosala
Passion(s) (*rāga*), 9, 20, 141 ; (*rajo*), 150
Paṭācārā, xxi, 68 *ff*, 109 ; preacher, 35, 73, 75, 77, 94 *f.*
Path, 61, 77, 118 ; noble, 152 *f.* ; Ariyan Eightfold, 89, 92, 98 *ff.*, 108, 134, 146, 153 ; Holy, 97 *ff.* ; Ambrosial, 62, 85, 108, 134, 176 ; 'straight,' 146 ; Four Paths, 63 ; First (Stream-entry), 56, 72, 82, 107, 125, 142 ; Third (No Return), 6, 10, 16, 20, 87, 131, 148 ; Fourth (Arahatta), 12 ; and see Arahantship
Paṭisambhidā's, 17 *n.*
Patna, xxii, 157
Peace, xxxiv *f.*, xxxvii ; (*santi*), 32, 34, 36, 51, 58, 92, 105
Phantom, 23, 31, 55, 82
Philpot, Mrs., *The Sacred Tree*, 41 *n.*
Pippali = Mahā-Kassapa,
Pischel, R., xiv, xvi, xxi, 113 *n.*, 175 *n.*
Pitakas, xiv, 116
Pleasure, love of (*nandi*), 44, 46, 83, 98 *ff.*, 115
Powers, 92. See Ten
Practice (*bhāvanā*), 75, 88
Praṇidhānas. See Resolve
Precepts, eight (*aṭṭhanga*), 29 ; (*sīla*), 100, 119, 128, 157, 160
Prostitute, 25, 120. See Courtezan
Puṇṇā, 11
Puṇṇikā, or Puṇṇā, xxxvi, 116
Puppet (*sombhā*), 153 ; (*bimba*), 189
Purgatory (*niraya*), 25
Purification, 85 ; *cf.* 150

Quest, xix, 127

Rāhu, 10
Rāhula, 6, 55
Rain-god, 70, 171, 179
Rājagaha, xviii, 28, 172 *n.*; women of, 16, 27, 28, 31, 41, 45, 64, 81, 91, 113, 142, 148, 191
Rājāyatana-tree, 5
Rapt, 19, 146, 165
Reasonings (*vitakka*), 53
Rebirth, xxiv, xxix, xxxvi, 15, 18, 49, 54 *n.*, 63, 98 *f.*, 186, 187; round of, 24, 26, 37, 78, 89, 101, 103, 137, 145, 167, 170; past rebirth, 60; spontaneous, 120; former, 161
Recensionists, xx *ff.*, 8, 157
Recluse, 126 *ff.*
Refrains, xx, xxiii
Refuges, the Three, 6, 20, 40 *n.* *passim*
Renunciation, 4, 90, 96, 113, 135, 142 *f.*, 167, 176
Repentance, 18, 74, 180
Resolve, xix, 1, 9 *passim*
Rest, xxvi, 9, 20; (*avasāya*), 17; (*nivesaya*), 154
Rhys Davids, T. W.; *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 3 *ff.*, 10, 68 *n.*; *Buddhist Suttas*, 5 *n*, 120 *f.*, 157 *n.*, 177 *n.*; *Vinaya Texts*, 7 *n.*, 53 *n.*; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 10 *n.*, 50 *n.*, 51 *n.*, 67 *n.*, 81 *n.*, 129 *n.*, 141 *n.*, 148 *n.*; *Buddhist India*, 19 *n.*, 157 *n.*, 158 *n.*, 161 *n.*, 172 *n.*; *Yogāvacara's Manual*, 23 *n.*, 37 *n.*; *Buddhism*, 29 *n.*; *American Lectures*, 91 *n.*
Rites, 90. See Fasts
Rohiṇī, river, 6; therī, 125

Sāgala, 48, 81
Sage, 104, 108, 133, 144, 146
Saints, xxxviii, 146
Sāketa, 84, 86, 158
Sākiya (Sākya, Sakka, Sakya), 4, 7, 12, 22, 29, 55, 65, 88, 97 *f.*, 157, 171 *n.*, 188
Sakka, 74, 95, 146
Sakulā, 60
Sāla-tree, 113, 184
Salvation, xxxvii, 13 *f.*, 146, 176
Sāmā (1), 32 *f.*; (2) 34, 35
Samaṇī, 81
Sāmāvatī, 32, 34
Sangha, 67, and see Order
Sanghā, 21
Sanity, restored, 71, 80; disturbed, 145
Saṃsāra, 75, 90 *f.* See Rebirth, round of
Saṃyutta-Nikāya, xiv, 180-91 *passim*
Sāriputta, 6, 65-7, 96
Sāsana, xxxiii; precepts, 150; 'will' of the Buddha, 18, 28, 33, 73, 74; 'word' of the Buddha, 24, 35; 'bidding' of the Lord, 26, 51; gospel, 42; law, 165; system, 165
Sati, 71 *n.*, 77 *n.*, 153 (verse 388)
Satthuka, 64
Sāvatthī, capital of Kosala, site of, 133 *n.*; women of, 11, 12, 19, 20, 24, 26, 35, 38, 39, 43, 60, 62, 68 *ff.*, 90, 94, 106, 111, 117; at Sāvatthī, 45, 48, 65, 131, 136, 140, 180
Savonarola, 89 *n.*
Seed, 190
Seeing, 21 *n.*, 24, 56, 85, 98, 104, 154, 177
Seer, 21, 49, 85, 137, 189
Selā, 42
Self, 'Me' (*samussaya*), 24, 62, 89; (*attā*), 27; see also Khandhas, 36; not-self, 61, 94; delusion of, 90
Self-mastery, 19, 32, 36, 49, 114, 141, 185; want of, 54, 90, 92
Self-possessed, 1-7, 31, 42, 97, 100
Sense (*kāma*, *-ā*), 114, 166 *ff.*; life of the senses, 4, 44, 166 *ff.*; sense-desires, 17, 37, 50, 83, 100 *f.*, 112, 143 *ff.*; (*kāmarati*), 83, 98, 115, 180 *f.*; (*kāmarāga*), 51, 54, 58; (*kāmacchanda*), 90; sense-objects, 183
Sermon on the Mount, 127 *n.*
Sex standpoint, 46, 182
Shibboleths (*diṭṭhiyo*), 97, 188
Shrine, 120
Sign, threefold (*nimitta*), 23, 37, 63
Sīha, 53
Sīhā, 53
Similes, quoted, 144 *f.*, 166 *f.*, 171, 173 *f.*
Sisupacālā, 96, 100, 188
Solitude, 18, 44, 180 *ff.*

Somā, xxvi, 44-6, 181 *f.*
Son, 71, 78, 103 *ff.*, 106 *ff.*; of the Buddha, 49. See Mother
Soṇā, 61
Soothsayer, xxxix, 121
Sophists' Grove, 48
Sorrow. See Ill
Soul, No-Soul, 6, 125
Spur, 104
Steadfastness (*ṭhiti*), 143. See Concentration
Stevenson, R. L., xxiii
Sturdykin, 9, 178
Subhā (1), 142-7; (2) 148-55
Subhadda, 130
Subhūti, 178
Suddhodana, 4, 6, 55, 88
Suitors, 86
Sujāta (1), 135 *ff.*; (2) 81
Sujātā (1), 4; (2) 84
Sukkā, xxxvi, 40-42, 191
Sumanā (1), 18; (2) 19
Sumangala's Mother, 24
Sumedhā, xviii, xxii, 164-77
Sundarī, 134-41. See Nandā
Superman, 55, 84
Surūpasārī, 96
Sutta Nipāta, xix, 43 *n.*
Suttee, xxvii

Tamer, tamed, 38, 49, 80, 104, 108, 140
Tears, 172 *f.*
Telepathy, 51, 113
Tennyson, xxviii
Ten Powers, 82, 106, 167, 170
Therīkā, 'little Sturdy,' 9
Thirst. See Craving
Tissā (1), 12, 18, 19; (2) 13
Tortoise, 35 *n.*; turtle, 173
Touch, 13, 85 *n.*, 138, 149
Tradition, xviii *ff.*
Training, 38, 73; threefold, 12, 63, 140, 150
Trapper, 129 *f.*
Treasure-woman, 177
Trees and Therīs, xxxviii, 25, 38, 43, 53, 54, 113 *f.*, 146, 149 *f.*, 180-91; of gold, 43, 154
Truth, xxvi, 6, 177; the Four, 92, 108, 142, 166, 174; light of truth (lit., bright, or pure, 'higher things'), 42; Dhamma, 97, 99, 161

Ubbirī, xxx, 38
Uddaka, 4
Ujjenī, women of, 30, 31, 156, 158
Ummādantī, xxi
Upacālā, 96, 98, 187
Upaka, 5, 129
Upanishads, 66 *n.*
Uppalavaṇṇā, xx, xxxiii, 111-13, 146, 184 *f.*
Upstream, 17; *uddhaṃsota*, 17 *n.*
Uruvelā, 4
Usurers, 162
Uttamā (1), 35, 36; (2) 36, 37
Uttarā (1), 19; (2) 94

Vaḍḍha, 103 *ff.*
Vaḍḍha's Mother, 103 *ff.*
Vaḍḍhesī, 50
Vajirā, 190 *f.*
Vajjī, 68
Vankahāra, 129
Vāraṇavatī, 165
Vāsitthī, Vāsetthī, 79, 135 *f.*
Veda, 26 *n.*, 119, 128
Vedalla-sutta, 17
Vesālī, capital of the Licchavi confederation, 6 *f.*, 9, 23, 52, 53, 79, 88, 120, 125
Vibhanga, 17 *n.*, 23 *n.*
Vihāra, 11, 20, 32, 40, 42, 51, 70, 81, 85, 104, 106, 120, 125, 177
Vihāraka, 59
Vijayā, 91, 183
Vimalā, 52
Vimala-Kondañña, 120
Vinaya, xxxiv, 26, 68, 160 *n.*
Virginity in Buddhism, xxxiii
Visualizing former lives, xviii, xxxiv, 49, 51, 61, 63, 74, 92, 95
Visākha, husband to Dhammadinnā, 10, 16
Visākhā, Sister, 18; lay-woman, 16 *n.*
Void, empty, 37 *n.*, 153
Vulture's Peak, xviii, 27 *f.*, 38, 67

Wake, 89, 97, 137, 155, 166
'Wanderer,' 60
Watanabe, K., 57 *n.*
Watson, W., 57 *n.*
Wedding, 22, 168
Wheel of the Dhamma, 5, 129; -rollers, 88
Widow, xxvii, 43 *n.*
Wife, leaving husband, xxvii, 9, 15 *f.*, 25, 79 *ff.*; not leaving husband, 10, 20; leaving with

husband, 48; left by husband, 159 *f.*; following husband, 7, 29, 62, 131; losing husband, 69; serving husband's family, 158; in the kitchen, 10, 25, 45; co-wives, 108, 112, 115, 156, 163; neighbours' wives, 162
Wiles (*māyā*), 53
Will, see Energy; the Buddha's, see Sāsana
Wind-gods, 150
Windisch, Professor E., xvii *n.*, xix *n.*, xli, 114 *n.*, 184 *n.*
Wisdom (*vijjā*), 75, 76, 85, 95, 98 *ff.*, 104, 119, 128, 134, 141 *n.*, 146; (*paññā*), 108, 178
Wish, 58, 101
Wit (*paññā*), 56
Woman, her nature, 45, 181; her lot, 108
Work, xxxvi, 121, 141
World, xxv, 21, 101, 107; woe and pity of (*ādīnava*), 49; worldling, 31, 44, 90, 145; world of form, etc., 184, 186; Chief of, 87; Light of, 85; Sovran of, 113, 178; world without end, 172 *n.*

Yakkha, 30; -Saŋyutta, 191
Yogakkhema, 13, 14
Yoke (*yoga*), 13, 53, 144

Zeal, 57, 59, 73, 104, 145

THE END

PSALMS OF THE EARLY BUDDHISTS

II.—PSALMS OF THE BRETHREN

BY

MRS. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A.

FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON
LECTURER IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY, MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY
AUTHOR OF 'A MANUAL OF BUDDHIST PSYCHOLOGICAL ETHICS,' 'BUDDHISM, A STUDY IN THE BUDDHIST NORM,' ETC.

'*The truth (however true it is) that robs you of sympathy with any form of thought or trait of man, is false for you.*'—R. L. STEVENSON

London
PUBLISHED FOR THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY
BY
LUZAC & COMPANY LTD.
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C .1
1964

First published - - 1913
Reprinted - - - - 1937
Reprinted - - - - 1951
Reprinted - - - - 1964

UNESCO COLLECTION OF REPRESENTATIVE WORKS
This Buddhist text has been accepted in the series of translations from the literature of Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Laos, and Thailand, jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the National Commissions for Unesco in these countries.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
LOWE AND BRYDONE (PRINTERS) LIMITED, LONDON, N.W.10

TO

HERMANN OLDENBERG,

WHO FIRST MADE ACCESSIBLE TO THE WEST THE

THERAGÂTHÂ,

THIS THE FIRST ENGLISH TRANSLATION

IS IN GRATEFUL ADMIRATION

DEDICATED

'Tis self whereby we suffer. 'Tis the greed
To grasp, the hunger to assimilate
All that earth holds of fair and delicate,
The lust to blend with beauteous lives, to feed
And take our fill of loveliness, which breed
This anguish of the soul intemperate.
'Tis self that turns to harm and poisonous hate
The calm, clear life of love that [Arahants] lead.
Oh! that 'twere possible this self to burn
In the pure flame of joy contemplative!
Then might we love all loveliness, nor yearn
With tyrannous longings; undisturbed might live
Greeting the summer's and the spring's return,
Nor wailing that their joy is fugitive.

J. A. Symonds.

. . . *Was erlöschen sollte, is erloschen, das Feuer der Begier, des Hasses, der Verblendung. In wesenloser Ferne liegt Fürchten wie Hoffen; das Wollen, das Sichanklammern an den Wahn der Ichheit ist überwunden, wie der Mann die törichten Wünsche der Kindheit von sich abwirft.*

H. Oldenberg.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

It has needed twenty-four years to exhaust the stock of a thousand copies printed for the first edition, even when the readers were not of the British Isles alone, but also of India and the whole British Commonwealth. I might even add, to a certain extent of Europe also, since of its peoples only Germany has its own translation. A good proof of the scanty interest yet felt by the educated general reader in the literature of a tradition alien to his own.

E pur si muove! Booksellers here and there are asking the Pali Text Society for copies, and so at my own cost—for that hard-pressed Society must first cater for the deplenishing of its stock of texts—I have had my translation photo-printed, and to some extent revised. By the meticulous care and skill of our printers, the majority of the corrigenda in Appendix I., and many others in the Index, have been incorporated *in situ*. The illustrations I have not reproduced.

Beyond this, one comment alone remains to be made.

The dedicatory verse, with its reflection in Oldenberg's lines, was ill chosen. The estimate of "self" in Symonds's sonnet is the modern European worth as to egoism. In the pre-Buddhist view of the self there was no egoism, nor was there any altruism in the view of the self as not real. To connect the Buddhist monk's doctrine of *an-attā* (not-self) with unselfishness is an historical perversion. The lofty worth in the Self—the Divine nature in man—was in the current teaching when the Buddhist mission began: that mission only came to turn from this when, in dissent from Brahman ritual worship,

it turned from that teaching as a whole. The rift tore away the better with the worse. Oldenberg did not discern this.

The outlook, moreover, in the sonnet is not that of original Buddhism; it is that of the materialist who sees in autumn's fading a perishing of all life—not life of the material world only. The spirit of the verses is that of a man who can see this physical decay with calm, but who may not have the insight to see eternal youth and the "glory of going on to be" in the very man, the self, soul, or spirit, and to sing of that Becoming with hope and rapture.

The choice was the worse in that, in the Anthology, there *is* a singing of that hope, that rapture. I do not, in reviewing, come upon any glorying in man as a non-reality.[1] And I owe a humble apology to the singers for having so mal-emphasized the burden of their minstrelsy. Value in the man, the self, is very evident in their words, and, if I leave the page undeleted, it is only that readers who may have been infected by that canker of Pali Buddhism—the unreality of the very man—may note how little of it there is in these mainly early poems, and may take note of my confession of immature sin, and of my present worth in the better and the more true.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

[1] Apart from Commentarial interpretations I find belief in this only in 3 couplets of the 1279:—594, 678, 766.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

PAGE

The text of the verses; its difficulty. Sources of aid. First appearance in translation or in print of Dhammapāla's Commentary. Its historical weakness. The early doctrines in the poems. Gradual insertion of the poems into an anthology. Problem of the names. Type-names. The prose legends and the Old Commentaries of the Great Minster, Ceylon. Poetry in prose framework the Buddhist mode of presentation. Varying utility of the Commentary; cases where it is indispensable. Its information concerning the families whence the authors "went forth." Authors of more than one poem. The proportion of poor families represented. The large number of young and even of child arahant-poets. The Buddha seeking the poor and the children. External and internal experiences in the poems. Sermon-poems and the Sisters. "Aññā" testified to. Pictures in the Commentary. Beauties of diction. Great and ordinary *sāvaka's*. Monachism and nature-love intensified by poetic gift. The forest as a home of the pure. Permanent poetic production and transient wave of poetry. The poetry of the saint as expressing another scale of values from that of the layman and the aspirant. The vision of the Arahant and the "forward view." Comparative study for future writers. Metres xix

INTRODUCTORY VERSES BY THE COMPILERS OF THE ANTHOLOGY . 6

CANTO I. SINGLE VERSES ASCRIBED TO[1]—

I. Subhūti (burgess), Sāvatthī, nephew to Anāthapiṇḍika . 4

II. **KOṬṬHITA THE GREAT*,[2] brahmin, Sāvatthī . . . 6

III. *KANKHĀ REVATA (burgess), Sāvatthī . . . 7

[1] Pronounce the vowels as in German or Italian, but the unaccented *a* as *u* in *nut*. Every *a* is thus pronounced, *if it have no long mark*; *e.g.*, Revata=, not Ray-vah-ta, but Ray-vă-tă; the emphasis not as in *tomato*, but as in *comforter*. Pronounce single consonants as in English, except *c*, which always=*ch*, as in *church*; and *g*, which is always hard, as in *get*. Pronounce dotted dentals as English dentals; in undotted dentals let the tongue strike the teeth. In doubled consonants detach as in Italian, thus: kam-ma, Puṇ-ṇa. In aspirated consonants let the aspirate be heard, *e.g.*, in *Thera*, *t-h* as in *fat-head* (t-hay-rā); Channa, *ch* as *ch-h* in *beech-hill*; *visuddhi* as *d-h* in *dead-head*, with a second *d* interposed; *ŋ*=*ng*; the sound is more usually printed as *ṃ*.

[2] * signifies an *agga-sāvaka*, or disciple, chief in some attainment, according to *Anguttara-Nikāya* i, 'Etad-agga-vagga'. Names in capitals are those of Dhammapāla's *mahā-sāvakā*. Names in *italicized* capitals are those classed as leading Theras in Vinaya and Nikāyas (*cf.* R. O. Franke, *J.P.T.S.*, 1908, p. 23).

		PAGE
IV.	*Puṇṇa of the Mantānis, brahmin, Donavatthu	8
V.	*Dabba of the Mallas, khattiya, Anupiyā	10
VI.	"Sīta-Vaniya" Sambhūta, br., Rājagaha	11
VII.	Bhalliya (caravan-driver), Pokkharavatī	12
VIII.	Vīra, kh. (s. of minister to Pasenadi), Sāvatthī	13
IX.	*Pilinda-Vaccha, br., Sāvatthī	14
X.	Puṇṇamāsa, br., Sāvatthī	15
XI.	Gavaccha the Less, br., Kosambī	16
XII.	Gavaccha the Great, br., Nālaka	17
XIII.	"Vana"-Vaccha, br., Kapilavatthu, playmate of the Bodhisat	17
XIV.	Sīvaka, br., nephew to XIII.	18
XV.	*"Kuṇḍa"-Dhāna, br., Sāvatthī	19
XVI.	Belaṭṭhasīsa, br., Sāvatthī	21
XVII.	Dāsaka, slave, Sāvatthī, Anāthapiṇḍika's household	21
XVIII.	Singāla-Pitar, burgess, Sāvatthī	22
XIX.	Kula, br., Sāvatthī	24
XX.	Ajita, br., Sāvatthī (s. of Pasenadi's valuer)	25
XXI.	Nigrodha, br., Sāvatthī, very rich	26
XXII.	Cittaka, br., Rājagaha, very rich	26
XXIII.	Gosāla, Magadha, rich	27
XXIV.	Sugandha, burgess, Sāvatthī, rich	28
XXV.	Nandiya, kh., Sākiyan, Kapilavatthu	29
XXVI.	Abhaya, kh., Rājagaha, bastard son of Bimbisāra	30
XXVII.	Lomasakangiya, kh., Sākiyan, Kapilavatthu	31
XXVIII.	Jambugāmika's Son, Campā, lay-adherent's son	32
XXIX.	Hārita, br., Sāvatthī (rich)	33
XXX.	Uttiya, br., Sāvatthī	34
XXXI.	"Gahvaratīriya" Aggidatta, br., Sāvatthī	35
XXXII.	Suppiya, s. of cemetery watchman, Sāvatthī	36
XXXIII.	"Sopāka," adopted brother to Suppiya, Sāvatthī	37
XXXIV.	Posiya, burgess, Sāvatthī (rich)	39
XXXV.	Sāmaññakāni, a Paribbājaka's son	40
XXXVI.	Kumā's Son, burgess, Veḷukaṇḍa in Avanti	41
XXXVII.	"Comrade of Kumā's Son," Sudanta, burgess, *ibid.*	42
XXXVIII.	Gavampati, burgess, friend of Yasa (CXVII.)	42
XXXIX.	Tissa, kh., Kapilavatthu, the Bodhisat's step-brother	43
XL.	Vaḍḍhamāna, kh., Vesālī	44
XLI.	Sirivaḍḍha, br., Rājagaha	45
XLII.	*"Khadira-Vaniya," *i.e.* *Revata*, br., younger brother of Sāriputta ; *so also* CCXLIV.	45
XLIII.	Sumangala, peasant, near Sāvatthī	47
XLIV.	Sānu, Sāvatthī, s. of a lay-adherent	48
XLV.	"Ramaṇīya-vihārin," burgess, Rājagaha	49
XLVI.	Samiddhi, kh., Rājagaha	51
XLVII.	Ujjaya, br., Rājagaha	52

		PAGE
XLVIII.	Sañjaya, br., Rājagaha, rich	52
XLIX.	"Rāmaṇeyyaka," burgess, Sāvatthī, rich	53
L.	VIMALA, burgess, Rājagaha, rich	54
LI.	Godhika, kh., Pāvā	54
LII.	SUBĀHU, kh., Pāvā	54
LIII.	Valliya, kh., Pāvā	54
LIV.	Uttiya, kh., Pāvā	54
LV.	"Añjana-Vaniya," kh., Vajjian, Vesālī	56
LVI.	"Kuṭivihārin," (? kh., Vajjian, Vesālī)	57
LVII.	"Kuṭivihārin" (2) (? kh., Vajjian, Vesālī)	58
LVIII.	"Ramaṇīya-kuṭika" (? kh., Vajjian, Vesālī)	59
LIX.	Kosala-vihārin (? kh., Kosala)	59
LX.	*Sīvali, kh., s. of Suppavāsā-kumārā	60
LXI.	VAPPA, br., s. of Vāseṭṭha of Kapilavatthu, one of the "Five" ascetics	62
LXII.	Vajji-putta, burgess, Vesālī	63
LXIII.	"Pakkha" Saṇmoda, kh., Sākiyan, Devadaha	64
LXIV.	Vimala-"Kondañña," Vesālī, bastard son of Bimbisāra	65
LXV.	"Ukkhepata,"-Vaccha, br., Sāvatthī	66
LXVI.	Meghiya, kh., Sākiyan, Kapilavatthu	67
LXVII.	"Ekadhamma-Savaniya," burgess, Setavyā	67
LXVIII.	"Ekudāniya," burgess, Sāvatthī	68
LXIX.	Channa, slave, Suddhodana's household, Kapilavatthu	70
LXX.	PUṆṆA (SUNĀPARANTAKA), burgess, Suppāraka	70
LXXI.	Vacchapāla, br., Rājagaha	72
LXXII.	Ātuma, burgess, Sāvatthī	72
LXXIII.	"Māṇava," br., Sāvatthī	73
LXXIV.	Suyāmana, br., Sālī	74
LXXV.	"Susārada," br., Nālaka	74
LXXVI.	"Piyañjaha," kh., Vesālī	75
LXXVII.	"Hatthāroha-putta," elephant-trainer, Sāvatthī	76
LXXVIII.	"Meṇḍasira," burgess, Sāketa	76
LXXIX.	Rakkhita, kh., Sākiyan, Devadaha	77
LXXX.	Ugga, burgess, Ugga	78
LXXXI.	Samitigutta, br., Sāvatthī	78
LXXXII.	Kassapa, br. (Udicca), Sāvatthī	79
LXXXIII.	Sīha, kh., of the Mallas	80
LXXXIV.	Nīta, br., Sāvatthī	81
LXXXV.	Sunāga, br., Nālaka	81
LXXXVI.	Nāgita, kh., Sākiyan, Kapilavatthu	82
LXXXVII.	Paviṭṭha, br., a Paribbājaka in Magadha	82
LXXXVIII.	Ajjuna, burgess, Sāvatthī	83
LXXXIX.	Devasabha, kh., maṇḍalika-rāja	83
XC.	Sāmidatta, br., Rājagaha	84

		PAGE
XCI.	Paripuṇṇaka, kh., Sākiyan, Kapilavatthu	85
XCII.	Vijaya, br., Sāvatthī	85
XCIII.	Eraka, (?) burgess, Sāvatthī	86
XCIV.	Mettaji, br., Magadha	87
XCV.	"Cakkhu"-Pāla, s. of landowner (kutumbiya), Sāvatthī	88
XCVI.	Khaṇḍasumana, kh., Malla, Pāvā	90
XCVII.	Tissa, kh., Roguva	90
XCVIII.	Abhaya (2), br., Sāvatthī	92
XCIX.	Uttiya, kh., Sākiyan, Kapilavatthu	92
C.	Devasabha (2), kh., Sākiyan, Kapilavatthu	93
CI.	Belaṭṭhakāni, br., Sāvatthī	94
CII.	Setuccha, kh., maṇḍalikarāja	94
CIII.	Bandhura, burgess, Sīlavatī	95
CIV.	Khitaka, br., Sāvatthī	96
CV.	Malitavambha, br., Kurukaccha	96
CVI.	Suhemanta, br., "Border country", (Sankassa)	97
CVII.	Dhammasava, br., Magadha	98
CVIII.	Dhammasava's father, br., Magadha	98
CIX.	Sangharakkhita, rich, Sāvatthī	98
CX.	Usabha, Kosala, rich	99
CXI.	Jenta, kh., maṇḍalika-rāja, Magadha	100
CXII.	Vacchagotta, br., Rājagaha	101
CXIII.	"Vana"-Vaccha, br., Rājagaha	101
CXIV.	Adhimutta, br., Sāvatthī (*cf.* CCXLVIII.)	102
CXV.	Mahānāma, br., Sāvatthī	103
CXVI.	Pārāpariya, br., Rājagaha	103
CXVII.	Yasa, burgess, Benares	104
CXVIII.	Kimbila, kh., Sākiyan, Kapilavatthu	105
CXIX.	Vajji-putta (2), kh., Vesālī	106
CXX.	Isidatta, caravan-guide, Veḷugāma, Avanti	107

Canto II. Psalms of Two Verses ascribed to—

CXXI.	Uttara, br., Rājagaha	109
CXXII.	*"Piṇḍola"-Bhāradvāja, br., s. to King Udena's chaplain Kosambī	110
CXXIII.	Valliya (2), br., Sāvatthī	112
CXXIV.	"Gangatīriya" Datta, burgess, Sāvatthī	112
CXXV.	Ajina, br., Sāvatthī (poor)	114
CXXVI.	Melajina, kh., Benares	114
CXXVII.	*Rādha, br., Rājagaha	115
CXXVIII.	Surādha, br., younger brother of above, Rājagaha	116
CXXIX.	Gotama, br., Rājagaha	117
CXXX.	Vasabha. kh., Vesālī	118
CXXXI.	*Cunda the Great*, br., younger brother of Sāriputta, Nālaka	118

		PAGE
CXXXII.	Jotidāsa, br., Pādiyattha country . . .	119
CXXXIII.	Herañnakāni, (?) *bhojaka* in Kosala . .	121
CXXXIV.	Somamitta, br., Benares	121
CXXXV.	Sabbamitta, br., Sāvatthī	122
CXXXVI.	Mahākāla, merchant, Setavyā . . .	123
CXXXVII.	Tissa (2), br., Rājagaha	125
CXXXVIII.	Kimbila, kh., same as CXVIII. . . .	125
CXXXIX.	*Nanda, kh., step-brother to the Bodhisat, Kapilavatthu	126
CXL.	Sirimat, burgess, Sāvatthī	127
CXLI.	Uttara, br., Sāketa	128
CXLII.	Bhaddaji, burgess, Bhaddiya of the Angas .	129
CXLIII.	*Sobhita, br., Sāvatthī	131
CXLIV.	" Valliya " Kaṇhamitta br., Vesālī . .	131
CXLV.	Vītasoka, kh., younger brother of King Asoka .	133
CXLVI.	Puṇṇamāsa, landowner, Sāvatthī . . .	134
CXLVII.	Nandaka, burgess, Campā	134
CXLVIII.	Bharata, burgess, Campā, elder brother of above .	135
CXLIX.	Bhāradvāja, br., Rājagaha . . .	136
CL.	Kaṇhadinna, br., Rājagaha, s. of above . .	137
CLI.	Migasira, br., Kosala	138
CLII.	Sivaka, br., Rājagaha	139
CLIII.	Upavāna, br., Sāvatthī	140
CLIV.	Isidinna, burgess, Sunāparantas' country . .	141
CLV.	Sambula-Kaccāna, burgess, Magadha . .	142
CLVI.	Khitaka (2), br., Kosala	143
CLVII.	Soṇa-Poṭiriyaputta, bhojaka, Kapilavatthu .	143
CLVIII.	Nisabha, kh., Koliyans	144
CLIX.	Usabha (2), kh., Sākiyan, Kapilavatthu . .	145
CLX.	" Kappaṭa-Kura," pariah, Sāvatthī . .	146
CLXI.	*" Kumāra "-Kassapa, burgess, Rājagaha . .	147
CLXII.	Dhammapāla, br., in Avanti (later) . . .	149
CLXIII.	Brahmāli, br., Kosala	150
CLXIV.	*Mogharājan, br., pupil of Bāvariya . .	151
CLXV.	Visākha, Pañcālī's Son, kh., Magadha . .	152
CLXVI.	Cūḷaka, br., Rājagaha	153
CLXVII.	" Anūpama," Kosala, rich	154
CLXVIII.	Vajjita, Kosala, rich	155
CLXIX.	Sandhita, Kosala, rich	156

Canto III. Psalms of Three Verses ascribed to—

CLXX.	Aṅgaṇika-Bhāradvāja, br., Ukkaṭṭhā, rich . .	157
CLXXI.	Paccaya, kh., Rohi	158
CLXXII.	*" Bākula," burgess, Kosambī . . .	159
CLXXIII.	Dhaniya, potter, Rājagaha . . .	161
CLXXIV.	Mātanga's Son, landowner, Kosala . .	162

		PAGE
CLXXV.	"Khujja"-Sobhita, br., Pāṭaliputta	163
CLXXVI.	Vāraṇa, br., Kosala	164
CLXXVII.	Passika, br., Kosala	165
CLXXVIII.	YASOJA, fisherman, gate of Sāvatthī	166
CLXXIX.	Sāṭimattiya, br., Magadha	167
CLXXX.	**UPĀLI*, barber, Kapilavatthu	168
CLXXXI.	Uttarapāla, br., Sāvatthī	170
CLXXXII.	Abhibhūta, kh., Veṭṭhapura	170
CLXXXIII	Gotama (2), kh , Sākiyan	171
CLXXXIV.	Hārita (2), br., Sāvatthī (? identical with Hārita XXIX)	172
CLXXXV,	Vimala (2), br., Benares	173

CANTO IV. PSALMS OF FOUR VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CLXXXVI.	Nāgasamāla, kh., Sākiyan	175
CLXXXVII.	BHAGU, kh., Sākiyan, Kapilavatthu	176
CLXXXVIII.	Sabhiya, kh., born of Paribbājaka parents	177
CLXXXIX.	*NANDAKA, kh., Sāvatthī	178
CXC.	Jambuka, very poor, an ascetic	179
CXCI.	Senaka, br., Gayā, nephew of the Kassapas of Uruvelā	180
CXCII.	Sambhūta (? "Sāṇavāsin"), kh., a "Western" Thera	182
CXCIII.	**RĀHULA*, kh., Sākiyan, s. of the Bodhisat	183
CXCIV.	Candana, rich, Sāvatthī	183
CXCV.	Dhammika, br., Kosala	185
CXCVI.	Sabbaka, br., Sāvatthī	186
CXCVII.	Mudita, c., Kosala	187

CANTO V. PSALMS OF FIVE VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CXCVIII.	Rājadatta, caravan leader, Sāvatthī	189
CXCIX.	Subhūta, c., Magadha	190
CC.	Girimānanda, br., Rājagaha, s. of King's chaplain	192
CCI.	Sumana, c., Kosala	193
CCII.	Vaḍḍha, c., Bharukaccha (Therī's son)	194
CCIII.	KASSAPA OF THE RIVER, br., Magadha	195
CCIV.	KASSAPA OF GAYĀ, br., Magadha, brother of above,	197
CCV.	*Vakkali, br., Sāvatthī	197
CCVI.	Vijitasena, elephant trainer, Kosala	200
CCVII.	Yasadatta, kh., of the Mallas	201
CCVIII.	SOṆA-"KUṬIKAṆṆA," seṭṭhi, Avanti	202
CCIX.	Kosiya, br., Magadha	204

CANTO VI. PSALMS OF SIX VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

		PAGE
CCX.	*KASSAPA OF URUVELĀ, br., Magadha	206
CCXI.	Tekicchakāri, br., s. of Subuddha (later)	208
CCXII.	Mahānāga, br., Sāketa	210
CCXIII.	Kulla, landowner, Sāvatthī	211
CCXIV.	Mālunkyā's Son, s. of King's valuer, Sāvatthī	212
CCXV.	Sappadāsa, br., Kapilavatthu, s. of Suddhodhana's chaplain	214
CCXVI.	Kātiyāna, Kosiya, br., Sāvatthī	215
CCXVII.	Migajāla, s. of Visākhā, Sāvatthī (seṭṭhi)	216
CCXVIII.	Jenta (2), br., s. of King's chaplain, Sāvatthī	218
CCXIX.	Sumana (2), upāsaka's son, pupil of Anuruddha	220
CCXX.	"Nhātaka-muni," br., Rājagaha	222
CCXXI.	Brahmadatta, kh., son of Pasenadi	223
CCXXII.	Sirimaṇḍa, br., Suṇsumāragiri	224
CCXXIII.	Sabbakāma, kh., Vesālī (later), pupil of Ānanda	226

CANTO VII. PSALMS OF SEVEN VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXXIV.	"Sundara"-Samudda, seṭṭhi, Rājagaha	228
CCXXV.	*"LAKUṆṬAKA"-BHADDIYA, Sāvatthī, rich	230
CCXXVI.	Bhadda, setthi, Sāvatthī	231
CCXXVII.	Sopāka (2), either a pariah, or a trader's child	233
CCXXVIII.	"Sarabhanga," br., Rājagaha	236

CANTO VIII. PSALMS OF EIGHT VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXXIX.	**KACCĀ[YA]NA THE GREAT*, br., son of the chaplain to King Caṇḍapajjota, Ujjenī	238
CCXXX.	Sirimitta, landowner, Rājagaha	241
CCXXXI.	*"PANTHAKA" MAJOR, seṭṭhi's daughter's s., Rājagaha	242

CANTO IX. PSALM OF NINE VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXXXII.	Bhūta, seṭṭhi, Sāketa	245

CANTO X. PSALMS OF TEN VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCXXXIII.	*Kāḷudāyin, s. of a statesman, Kapilavatthu (? kh.)	248
CCXXXIV.	"Ekavihāriya" Tissa-kumāra, kh., brother to King Asoka (*cf.* CXLV.)	251
CCXXXV.	**KAPPINA THE GREAT*, kh., Kukkuṭa (Border country)	254

PAGE

CCXXXVI. *"Cūḷa-Panthaka" (Minor), seṭṭhi's daughter's s., Rājagaha 258
CCXXXVII. Kappa, kh., Magadhan rāja . . . 259
CCXXXVIII. *Upasena, Vangaṇta's Son, and of Sārī, or "Rūpa-Sārī," br., Nālaka . . . 261
CCXXXIX. Gotama (3), br., of Udicca, Sāvatthī . . 264

Canto XI. Psalm of Eleven Verses ascribed

CCXL. Sankicca, br., Sāvatthī, high rank . . 266

Canto XII. Psalms of Twelve Verses ascribed to—

CCXLI. Sīlavat, kh., s. of Bimbisāra, Rājagaha . . 269
CCXLII. Sunīta, flower-scavenger 271

Canto XIII. Psalm of Thirteen Verses ascribed to—

CCXLIII. *Soṇa-Koḷivisa (councillor's s.), Campā . . 275

Canto XIV. Psalms of Fourteen Verses ascribed to—

CCXLIV. **Revata* ("Khadiravaniya"), br., younger brother of Sāriputta, Nālaka (*see* XLII.) . 279
CCXLV. Godatta, caravan-leader, Sāvatthī . . 281
(Psalms of fifteen verses desunt.)

Canto XV. Psalms of Sixteen Verses ascribed to—

CCXLVI. *Aññā-Kondañña, br., Donavatthu, the first disciple 284
CCXLVII. Udāyin, br., Kapilavatthu . . . 287
(Psalms of seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen verses desunt.)

Canto XVI. Psalms of Twenty Verses ascribed to—

CCXLVIII. Adhimutta, br., nephew of Sankicca (CCXL.) . 291
CCXLIX. Pārāpariya, br., Sāvatthī (*see* CCLVII.) . . 294
CCL. Telakāni, br., Sāvatthī 298
CCLI *Raṭṭhapāla, councillor's s., Thullakoṭṭhika . 302
CCLII. Mālunkyā's Son (same as author of CCXIV.) . 307
CCLIII. Sela, br., Āpana 310
CCLIV. *Bhaddiya-Kāḷigodhā's Son, kh., Kapilavatthu 315
CCLV. "Angulimāla" Ahiṃsaka, br., s. of Bhaggava, Pasenadi's chaplain (? Sāvatthī) . . 318
CCLVI. **Anuruddha*, kh., Kapilavatthu . . . 325
CCLVII. Pārāpariya (later); identical with CCXLIX . 331

CANTO XVII. PSALMS OF THIRTY VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

PAGE

CCLVIII. Phussa, kh. (a later poem) 335
CCLIX. **SĀRIPUTTA*, br., Nālaka, 'chief-disciple' . . 340
CCLX. *ĀNANDA, kh., Sākiyan, cousin to the Bodhisat . 349

CANTO XVIII. PSALM OF FORTY VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCLXI. **KASSAPA THE GREAT*, s. of the brahmin Kapila, Mahātittha 359

CANTO XIX. PSALM OF FIFTY VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCLXII. Tālapuṭa, mime, Rājagaha 369

CANTO XX. PSALM OF SIXTY VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCLXIII. **MOGGALLĀNA THE GREAT*, s. of Moggalī, br., near Rājagaha, 'chief-disciple' . . . 382

CANTO XXI. PSALM OF SEVENTY-ONE VERSES ASCRIBED TO—

CCLXIV. *VANGĪSA 395

APPENDICES

I. ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS 414
II. ASPECTS OF THE GOAL OR GOOD 420
III. THERA-VERSES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS ANTHOLOGY . 423
IV. WORKS QUOTED BY THE COMMENTARY . . . 425

INDEX 428

INTRODUCTION

With this second volume of the so-called Psalms of the Early Buddhists, my task is finished of laying before English readers a translation, at its best but rough and provisional, of the remarkable anthology of the *Thera-therī-gāthā* contained in the Pali Canon of the Three Piṭakas. Of the stanzas in this volume of the poems, numbering, if we discount duplicates, approximately 1,220, only a small proportion, under 100, have hitherto appeared in English dress. These are the verses, specified throughout the work, which appear in English translations of the *Dhammapada*, *Sutta-Nipāta* and *Udāna*, the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, the *Jātaka*, and the *Milinda*. Only in German, in Dr. K. E. Neumann's translation, published fourteen years ago, has the work up till now appeared in its entirety in any European tongue.

Concerning the Pali text itself, I have already written in the sister volume. Thanks to the institution of the Pali Text Society and to the *editio princeps* of the text, prepared by the fine scholarship of Dr. Hermann Oldenberg, and forming one of that Society's early volumes, there has been no need for the translator to wear eyes and patience in deciphering undivided lines of alien scripts on palm-leaves of mellow ochre, unsuited to readers in this light-starved climate.

The residual difficulties encountered in coping with the poetic diction in general, and with many an obscure allusion in particular, have at times been very formidable. As with the sister volume, however, three powerful aids have been at hand throughout—my husband's Pali collectanea and knowledge of Pali, the Neumann translation, and

Dhammapāla's commentary: — the *Paramattha - Dīpanī* That neither my husband, nor any other competent critic of Pali or English has gone systematically through the work in proof-stage is a serious drawback; but there are limits to what one can ask of the patience, kindness, and leisure of others, as well as to the time during which a book can be suffered to block the way. Anyway, I have had the benefit of his ready help in most of the cruces of the work, and in much besides. But there are a host of minor flaws, let alone greater ones. Dr. Neumann's presentation of each poem as a whole was of great preliminary assistance, and to differ from him in many a detail of interpretation was a healthy stimulus to closer inquiry, such as he will be content to reckon among the fruits of his pioneer venture.

Then as to the Commentary to which I have referred in the introduction to the *Sisters* :—the whole of this long work was transcribed, during 1911 and half 1912, in considerably over a thousand foolscap pages, by the talent and indomitably sustained industry of my colleague, Miss Mabel Hunt. Of her transcript the former half is in process of collation by Mrs. M. H. Bode, with the Singhalese palm-leaf copy, lent by the Royal Library of Copenhagen, which unfortunately comes to an untimely end at the Soḷasa-Nipāta—in this volume, Canto XV. The present translation could not await the help of that collation; hence to what extent the Burmese MS. will prove faulty, my readings from it will have suffered.

Even had it been consulted in a critically edited edition, such as the Pali Text Society hopes in the near future to publish, the Commentary is doubtless no infallible guide, historically or grammatically. Its narrative contains much hagiographical myth; its exegesis is coloured by later developments of doctrine, and is twisted by professional exigencies of edification. Such historico-scientific defects were unfelt in Dharmapāla's age. He had no conception of historical criticism. If he quotes two versions of a Thera's story, he does not attempt to weigh the evidence, and make inferences as to historical truth. But to gird at

him for lacking anything so new-born in ourselves were to show an equal deficiency in historical sense.

Now the Commentator alleges that there were Thera verses recited 'at the time of the first great Council.' But he also relates that many Theras lived later than that, notably TEKICCHAKĀRI, in the reign of Asoka's father, and VĪTASOKA and EKA-VIHĀRIYA, who are alleged to have been brothers of Asoka himself. Their verses may have been incorporated in the Anthology at the 'Third Great Council,' held at Patna during Asoka's reign. Dhammapāla asserts that this was so in the case of the first-named poet.

There is nothing incredible in the view that the Anthology is thus a collection containing an early nucleus with later accretions. There may well have been, among the constituents of the earliest body of the Dhamma, many such verses containing doctrines generally expressed, or personal confessions of faith associated with the names of particular teachers. Dr. Winternitz concedes as much for one or two of the stanzas which I have tabulated in the index as Refrain-verses.[1] It is probably true of many more. The Sangha is said to have been an organization of over forty years' standing when its founder passed away. It is inconceivable that its unwritten 'literature'—rules, transactions, tenets, homilies, hymns, etc.—should not, during those many years of young energy and endeavour, have also become to some extent organized.

As the Sangha, during the next two or three centuries, continued to develop, so doubtless did the stock of gāthās grow, till conceivably the collection of poems committed to memory by experts became a fluctuating quantity, so that revision and a definite selection became desirable. And this, it appears, was effected at the Council of Patna.

There may possibly have been further accretions before the time when the Piṭakas were committed to writing. Dr. Winternitz suggests signs of later thought in KHAṆḌASUMANA's stanza. That of SANDHITA[2] is along similar lines.

[1] *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur* (1913), ii. 88.

[2] XCVI.; CLXIX.

But that the great bulk of the poems are relatively early seems probable by both the doctrine and diction of them. The former and the latter are true counterparts of the Four Nikāyas :—the true Suttanta teaching, and its idiom, so far as that is metrical. 'Anicca,' 'dukkha,' 'anatta,' the Four truths, the Ariyan Path, the seven Buddhas, Arahants as no less *buddha* and tathāgata than their great Master,[1] and so forth :—such is the range of the ancient Theravādism of these poems, no less than it is that of the Suttantas and the *Sutta-Nipāta*, and the *Dhammapada*.

If European Indologists eventually agree to refer the final inclusion of all but negligible increments to the Council of Patna (in the eighteenth year of Asoka's reign), there seems to be no valid reason why orthodox Buddhists should not concur with this. Admitting, then, this range of nearly two and a half centuries for the growth of the Anthology as such, and discounting the pious tradition that most of the putative authors were contemporaries of the first Theras, I am not so sceptically disposed as to see in most of the names of those authors a large number of literary fictions, nor, in many of the poems, literary concoctions to explain so many names. A goodly proportion of the names are admitted by the Commentary, one or two by the text itself, to have been nicknames, such as are so frequent in Indian literature.[2] The adoption of a new name on leaving the world for a religious order is of much later date. It is, however, not inconceivable that, among the nicknames, one here and there may have been adopted by a poet to screen his identity, such a name, *e.g.*, as Lone-dweller for Prince Tissa-Kumāra, brother, according to Dhammapāla, of the Emperor Asoka. But that name or legend is largely literary fiction is a supposition for which there seems no sufficient historical necessity. If the *Thera-therī-gāthā* took two or three centuries to reach its present canonical proportions, this permits on the average an output of between one and two completed

[1] Cf *Vinaya Texts*, i., p. 112, § 11 (1).
[2] Rhys Davids in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 193.

poems every year. And the Sangha was growing every year. Hence it must have contained a much greater proportion of men and women capable of poetical self-expression than the relatively small number whose verses were deemed worthy of canonical honours. All is, of course, conjecture, but I incline to think that a wholesale and undiscriminating scepticism as to the historical reality of the men and women whose names are attached to these poems is too easy. It is more *likely* than not that at some time within those centuries they lived, were members of the Order, and either composed, or in another way came to have associated with their self-expression—in sermons or converse—the poems bearing their name.

I see no good reason to disallow this for the majority of the names. Some there are, it is true, where the real individual does not stand out at all. Here it is not impossible there may have been one or more bhikkhus with whom the poem was associated, but the *name* may be either a soubriquet, or a name to the poem itself. Take the gāthā entitled Māṇava (LXXIII., p. 73). The name means simply 'brahmin youth,' just as Kumāra means noble youth, *Junker*. The experience related is a phase in the legend of the Buddha himself, just as the story of Yasa (CXVII.) also became a phase. But for the Buddhists—and for how many more than Buddhists!—it is typical of what might amongst us be called 'The Soul's Awakening.' And there may well have been a verse (compiled by some early long-forgotten member of the Order)—perhaps a fraction of a longer poem about the Great Renunciation—expressing this typical phase, and bearing a typical name, analogous to our 'Everyman.'

Other numbers may be selected as bearing names equally shadowy. Thus discriminating, we come to see our cluster of Theras in a perspective like that of a Renaissance painter's aerial gallery—a row of saintly personages clearly portrayed in front, and behind them, not bodies but just faces, leaning out from cloudy bars in all degrees of diminishing clearness.

The length of the biographical legend prefixed, together with citation of the corresponding legend from the *Apadāna* to each poem, varies greatly with each Thera. I have excised the whole of each story with the exception of the, for us, less mythical account of the saint's last and culminating span of life on this limited if indisputable earth of ours. The work, as we know, is early-medieval, and the purist—I use the term in all respect—may ill brook the juxtaposition of any of it beside the purer and more venerable Theravāda of the Gāthās. Let it, however, not be forgotten, firstly, that Dhammapāla claims to have based his Commentary on 'the method of the Old Commentary or Commentaries':

> '*sahassaŋ vaṇṇanaŋ yasmā dhārate Satthu Sāsanaŋ*
> *pubbācariyasīhānaŋ tiṭṭhateva vinicchayo,*
> *tasmā taṃ-avalambitvā ogāhitvāna pañca pi*
> *Nikāye upanissāya Porāṇatthakathā-nayaŋ*
> *suvisuddhaŋ asankiṇṇaŋ nipunatthavinicchayaŋ*
> *Mahā-Vihāra-vāsīnaŋ samayaŋ avilomayaŋ. . .*'[1]

'In order that the Master's doctrine should bear its manifold explication, and the interpretation of those lions, the teachers of old, should be established, therefore [will I, hard though it be, to the best of my powers make a Commentary] resting upon that [interpretation], diving also into the Five Nikāyas, and in dependence on the method of the Old Commentary (or Commentaries)—so pure and unadulterated in its interpretation of subtle meaning—the concordant views of them that dwell at the Great Minster'

[1] From the opening stanzas of the Commentary. They are void of interest except the lines here quoted. Very similar lines preface the other parts of the *Paramattha-Dīpanī*. The Br. transcript reveals at once the error, so easy to make in reading Singhalese, standing in Professor E. Müller's edition of the *Therīgāthā Commentary*, undiscerned by me in the 'envoi' of the *Sisters*. There it is *Porāṇattha-kathā-tayaŋ* (triplet of Old Commentaries) instead of '*nayaŋ*'—'method.' As, however, there seem to have been *three* Commentaries in Ceylon in Dhammapāla's time, the *tayaŋ* may be virtually, if not formally, correct.

[of Anurādhapura, Ceylon]. And this Old Commentary was probably the *Sīhalatthakathā* (Singhalese Commentary), which, in the relatively modern work *Saddhamma-Sangaha*, is said to have comprised the 'Great [Minster] Atthakathā,' the 'Great Raft' (*paccari*), and the 'Great Kurunda Atthakathās.'[1] Hence, the juxtaposition of the Theras' pre-Asokan and Asokan poems with the prose of six to nine centuries later is not so forced as at first sight it might seem. The matter and the method of the more modern work is not really a mushroom invention of story and edifying exigesis. That work is but a recast, a re-compiled edition in scholastic Pali, of the older Singhalese or Tamil prose framework. Set down in writing a few centuries before Dhammapāla's time, the legends were oral tradition long before that. Seen in this perspective the Commentary has a venerableness of its own, bridging over the seas of time between Asoka and the days of the great scholastics to a greater extent than at first appears. Evolving inevitably as secular prose framing the sacredly intact versès, it forms with these a picture, as it were, of wooded slopes of verdant growth clothing the hills that tower relatively unchanging above them—a picture that would lose if both features were not presented.

In the second place, the presentation of verses, solemn or otherwise, in a framework of prose narrative is essentially the historical Buddhist way of imparting canonical poetry. Dhammapāla's chronicles are, for the most part, unduplicated in any other extant work; but not seldom they run on all fours, not only with parallel chronicles in Buddhaghosa's Commentaries, but also with the prose framework of poems in *Sutta Nipāta* or *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, not to mention the *Jātaka*. Centuries divide the compilation of these three last-named prose frameworks from the Paramattha-Dīpanī, and yet we read on with no sense of rupture. And why? Because Dhammapāla is following, as he said, the *naya* of the Old Atthakathā, or 'talk about the meaning,' and that old talk came down to him unbroken, if varied in diction,

[1] *J.P.T.S.*, 1890, p. 55; *cf.* my *Bud. Psy.*, xxi. *f.*

from the earlier ages of his faith. With some excision, therefore, and a little condensing of the prose, I have presented the gāthās in the way in which they have lived for so many centuries in the living tradition of Pali Buddhism.

In defending thus the presentation of the 'psalms' in their native and historical setting, I admit that, as elucidating the circumstances under which the poems were composed, the Commentary varies greatly in utility. At times its utility is at zero-point—*e.g.*, in those poems which are sermons (*e.g.*, CCXXXV.), or collections of folk philosophy, or gnomic runes (*e.g.*, CLXXII.), or hymns of general import (XCIV., CXVII.). Sometimes the Thera's verses bear their own sufficient explanation, as in those of Cūḷa-Panthaka, Sunīta, Nāgāsamāla, Telakāni, etc. The Commentary here does but etch in the individual a little more sharply. But there are a certain number which, like so many Jātakas, are hardly intelligible without the accompanying prose. With its help they become not only intelligible, but intelligible after a simple, ingenuous fashion. Thus read, how clearly and naturally stands out the suicidal wail of Mahānāma (CXV.), the awe and swiftly growing insight of Kimbila at the cinematographic vision before him (CXVIII.), the humour and earnestness of Mahākāḷa (CXXXVI.), the dream of Usabha begging in state (CLIX.), the lure of Kappaṭa-Kura's rags (CLX.), the rebuke of Sāṭimattiya (CLXXIX.), or the revolt against the ever-present satellites in Eka-vihāriya's opening line (CCXXXIV.)! How do we not now understand Pakkha's comment as he watches the scrambling kites (LXIII.), or Ātuma's bamboo canes mutually stifling each other (LXXII.), or Cakkhupāla's virtuous wrath (XCV.)! In Dr. Oldenberg's words on the bulk of the Jātaka verses, we may say of most of these few poems: 'Nobody can imagine that the Buddhists would have found pleasure in reciting such unintelligible fragments to each other.' And can we not, indeed, feel justified in going equally far for these Theragāthās (at least in the poems cited above) as for the *Jātaka*, *Sutta-Nipāta*, *Saŋyutta Nikāya*, and say: 'The verses taken alone are to a large

extent meaningless. Then comes in the prose, and by it all becomes clear. That the verses were intended to complete just that context indicated by the prose is self-evident.'[1]

Let us anyway, with what credulity we can muster, briefly glance at such information as the Commentary yields concerning the Theras in general: their numbers, age, and social status while yet in the life of 'the house,' with a comparative glance at their Sisters' verses.

And first we find that, among several duplicated and triplicated names, there are but five of whom it is alleged that they stand for Theras who composed a second poem in the collection. These are,

Adhimutta (CXIV., CCXLVIII.).
Kimbila (CXVIII., CXXXVIII.).
Mālunkyā's Son (CCXIV., CCLII.).
Pārāpariya (CCXLIX., CCLVII.).
Revata (XLII., CCXLIV.).

This reduces the possible 264 authors to 259. The Commentator is careful to point out these few traditional identities, among other apparently possible and even probable duplicates. This makes his silence concerning the latter—*e.g.*, concerning the two Woodland Vacchas, the two Puṇṇamāsas, and again concerning identical poems ascribed to two authors, *e.g.*, CLXXII., CLXXXIV.—all the stranger. Yet it is perhaps not so strange, when we remember that neither Anthology nor Commentary was the independent work of one or two persons of literary genius, but that both were accretions of slow growth. The added poems would fall into their respective Nipātas (or Cantos), an easy matter when the whole Anthology was completed before it was set down, at a later age, in writing. The 'talk' about each gāthā added would also be, so to speak,

[1] *J.P.T.S.*, 1912. 'The Ākhyāna type and the Jātakas,' pp. 20, 21. One, indeed, of the legends presents its poem in the very words in which the *Jātaka Commentary* presents the Ākhyāna. This is Dhammika's poem CXCV. On both legend and poem, see Additions and Corrections in Appendix, opposite p. 185.

instituted in its proper order, and also eventually and at a still later age, committed to writing. And Dhammapāla, recasting the 'Old Atthakathā,' judged himself bound, not to revise the matter, or to make historical and literary criticisms about it, like us irreverent outsiders (*ito bahiddhā*), but to follow the traditional 'method,' as he says, and set down pretty much what he found. Hence he does not speculate in footnotes on possibly bifurcated legends such as those of the two brahmins of Kosala, MIGASIRA (CL.), and VANGĪSA (CCLXIV.); nor on a possible confusion between the legends of SOMAMITTA, pupil of Vimala, and VIMALA, pupil of Amit(t)a (CXXXIV., CLXXXV.), or between those of uncle SANKICCA and nephew ADHIMUTTA (CCXL., CCXVIII.), etc. The 'revised version' upon which he is engaged is not of the Canon itself, yet is it a very venerable adjunct to the sacred books, and he writes as one from whom an orthodox conservatism is expected, an Āchariya of the Kāñcipura school.

Secondly, the Commentary enables us to take a census of the various classes and districts from which these 259 poets were traditionally believed to have sprung. Thus we find of—

Brahmins	113[1]
Khattiyas (rājas, etc., 'clansmen,' 'minister's' son) ...	60[2]
Owners, or at least tenants, of land, cultivators ...	7[3]
Burgesses, such as seṭṭhis, or councillors, commoners, merchants, or simply 'rich' men's sons (14) ...	58[4]
Craftsmen, elephant-trainers, caravan guides ...	9
Actor	1
Pariahs, labourers, 'slaves,' fisherman (1)	10
Illegitimate sons of kings, sons of *religieux*[4] ...	3
Sons of simply 'lay-adherents'	3
	259

[1] Mālunkyā's son is reckoned as of this class (CCXIV.; *cf.* XX.).

[2] The four 'hut'-theras (LVI.-LIX.), likened in circumstances to the Vajjian rāja's son (LV.), are reckoned as also of this class.

[3] *Bhojakā, kuṭumbikā;* I cannot class these according to *vaṇṇa*.

[4] Gavampati was a wealthy commoner's, or seṭṭhi's, son, see *Vinaya Texts*, i. 110. I have used 'councillor' for seṭṭhi, as implying that

That a large proportion of these men of 'letters' should belong to the class who were the custodians of religious lore and sacred hymns was inevitable. The really interesting feature is that the residuum, consisting of noblemen trained in war, governance, and sports, of merchants, craftsmen, and the like, occupied with business, commerce, and constructive work, and of the illiterate poor, should be as numerous as it is. Or, indeed, that there should have been any of the last-named group at all as composers of verses deserving inclusion in the Canon. In fact, it would not be entirely unreasonable to conclude that if four per cent. of the canonical poets were drawn from the poor and despised of the earth, from whom no such products as verses could be expected, then the proportion of bhikkhus, *in general*, coming from that class may have been considerable. This suggestion is worth bringing up as showing that the Commentary does not altogether confirm the view that Buddhism, at its inception, had but little power to draw to itself the lowly, the wretched, and the suffering.[1]

Another conclusion which the Commentary, in so far as it faithfully handed on more ancient traditions, goes far to modify, is that Buddhism was not for children nor for the childlike.[2] The testimony borne by some of the psalms to the youthfulness of the compilers and to the Sāsana as attracting the young, is largely complemented by the Commentary. In contrast to the Brahmin ordinance which prescribed a retreat to a recluse's career for the declining year's of life, the Sangha welcomed the young, and was sceptical as to the average worth of old age renunciation.[3] We find accordingly a goodly number of

---

the burgess so termed held some municipal post, head of a guild, or the like. The word means simply chief, or best.

[1] *Cf.* Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 5th edition, p. 180 and *n.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] As Dr. Neumann points out in Upāli's poem (CLXXX.), where, however, *navapabbajito navo*, 'novice new,' does not *necessarily* mean 'young.' *Cf.* also *Ang.*, iii. 78, and above (462). 'Thera' means

our poets leaving the world as youths and becoming arahants at the threshold of manhood: MĀṆAVA, ADHIMUTTA, RĀHULA, SĀNU, KUMĀRA-KASSAPA, and many others. But a more striking feature yet is the group of child-arahants, a few of whom betray their childhood in their verses:—BHADDA, SANKICCA, SĪVALI, the SOPĀKAS, and SUMANA. In true Buddhist fashion, the age of seven is assigned to all at their ordination, as the typical childhood figure. And the childlike diction and ideas of the words put into their mouths are worthy of note.[1] We have only to compare the lines:

(1) '*So too ye should be very good*
Towards all creatures everywhere and everyone.'

and

(2) '*Then He asked me questions, He so skilled in questions and so wise,*
And unwavering, unaffrighted answered there the Master I,' etc.

and

(3) '*An only child was I, to mother dear*
And to my father dear,' etc.

with any of the verses ascribed to adult and cultured arahants, however unknown elsewhere in the Canon's roll of honour:—

(4) '*Errant in wilderness of heresies,*
By their contagion dazed and led astray.' . . .

(5) '*Curbed in the harness of right energy,*
Thou shalt not, O my heart, go far from me.'

(6) '*Showing a vision by the light of truth*
Of things as come to be by way of cause.' . . .[2]

'elder' literally, but technically is simply 'senior.' *Cf.* Rhys Davids, *s.v.* Elder, *Encyclopædia Religion and Ethics.*

[1] This does not apply to the abnormally precocious Sīvali, nor to the words spoken of Sumana (2) by the Buddha:

'See, Sāriputta, how the little lad. . . .'

and annexed to his gāthā.

[2] CCXXVI., CCXL., LX., XXXIII., CCXXVII., and CCXIX.

to discern at once the difference between the child's and the (cultured) adult's language and sentiments.[1] Even if we see, in the little narratives of three of the poorest, most illiterate brethren:—the peasant Sumangala, the vagrant Kappaṭa-Kura, the scavenger Sunita[2]—an approach to the style of these child-verses, yet does the standpoint, yet do the experiences, betray the adult mind. Hence the verses support the legend of the Commentary, and strengthen our belief in the faithfulness of the prose tradition which saw, in its great founder, not only a mind of consummate wisdom, but a heart filled with tender compassion, strong and willing to save even these little ones, these *parvulos trahendos*.[3] The stories of that net of insight spread in the early morning by the Master 'great in pity,' as the 'Buddha-eye' surveys the suffering world; of the maturing light of emancipation 'shining as a lamp within a jar' even in the heart of a child; of the journeys to charnel field or to palace to save; as well as of the welcoming the parents' advent:—these may possibly give us a truer picture of a movement sometimes held to be reserved for the middle-aged well-to-do, and may even dispose us to adapt to it a later Divine saying: 'Suffer *me to come to* the little children, for of such too is my kingdom that is within you.'

Thirdly, the Commentary, without calling for over-much credulity, suggests a modification of the contrast lately drawn by Dr. Winternitz,[4] that a far greater proportion of

---

[1] *Cf.* the Pali itself:

(1) *evaŋ sabbesu pāṇesu sabbattha kusalo siyā.*

(2) *tato pañhe apucchi maŋ pañhānaŋ kovido vidū,*
acchambī ca abhīto ca vyākāsiŋ satthuno ahaŋ.

(3) *ekaputto ahaŋ āsiŋ piyo mātu piyo pitu. . . .*

(4) *diṭṭhigahaṇapakkhanno parāmāsena mohito. . . .*

(5) *viriyadhuraniggahīto na yito dūraŋ gamissase, citta!*

(6) *paṭiccuppannadhammānaŋ yathāvālokadassano. . . .*

[2] XLIII., CLX., CCXLII.

[3] A phrase of Gerson's, the mystic scholastic.

[4] *Op. cit.*, ii. 1, p. 83.

the Sisters' poems are occupied with external experience than those of the Brethren, which deal more with introspective self-expression. This at first sight is obviously true; a census yields us these results, roughly estimated:

		External Experience.	Internal Experience.	Mixed.
Sisters' psalms	73	42	26	5
Brothers' psalms	264	114	141	9[1]

When, however, with the aid of the Commentary, we look more closely into these 141 introspective poems of the Theras, we find that upwards of forty of them[2] are not confessions of personal religious experience, but hortatory verses, purporting to have been delivered as so many sermons to bhikkhus or to laymen, either in response to invitations, or as part of the duties of a Thera. Now the Sisters had, as we may infer from the Vinaya, but a limited scope as preachers. They occupied, according to the letter of the Sāsana, the position of novices with respect to the Brethren, however 'senior' (therī) a woman might be among the Sisters in age or in standing. When a Therī, in spite of this, was so gifted a teacher as to become, as such, a valued servant to the Order, her merits are duly recorded.[3] But there is practically none of the Sisters' psalms that is professedly a *public* homily, even though such homilies are themselves the subject of at least one poem.[4] The chant of consolation to the bereaved mothers comes nearest to being one.[5] The poems are largely occupied with the getting out of their cage, and so they sing 'the strange things women carry under their silence, that silence of the centuries which is so profound, that when it is broken their voice sounds like a cry.'[6] But to teach in due season was the duty of a Thera; and strangely is this at times overlooked by a want of sympathy, which sees in books like this a proof that the object of becoming a Thera was

[1] *E.g.*, Vangīsa, CCLXIV.

[2] From the first Canto I have selected only XII., XV., XXXIII., XXXV., XXXVI., LXXXV., CVI., CXIV.

[3] *Cf. Sisters*, p. xxxvi.

[4] Sukkā's, xxxiv.

[5] By Patācārā, l.

[6] M. P. Willcocks, *Wings of Desire.*

solely to live in solitude, absorbed, when not coming round with a bowl, in idle musings and ineffective sentiment! 'Go ye now for the welfare of the many . . . preach ye the doctrine . . . and I will go also, to preach[1] . . .,' was the general marching order given from the first. And that order the verses, as supplemented by the Commentary, show as being dutifully kept. To the 'close time' of respite we shall come presently.

If then we deduct from the 141 introspective poems at least 46, containing nothing but so many miniature versified sermons of relatively general, non-subjective import—or, it may be, *metrical portions*, alone surviving, of longer prose discourses—we get the following corrected table:—

Poems.		Homilies.	External Experience.	Internal Experience.	Mixed.
Brethren : 264	...	46	114	95	9

proportions which, while they still uphold the general truth of Dr. Winternitz's statement, modify the significance of it to a considerable extent.

Fourthly, the so-often reiterated record that the poems were first publicly uttered as 'confessions of *aññā*,' deserves a passing word. The history of this term, of its use and of its *non*-use, in Buddhism has yet to be written. Signifying literally *ad-sciens*, 'ac-knowledging,' aññā is used in the Suttanta books to signify that mental flash, or suffusion of intuitive knowledge and assurance of 'salvation' constituting emancipation, or arahantship. The Buddha testifies to having realized it under the Bodhi-Tree, but uses the kindred, less specialized word *ñāṇa*. In the mouth of bhikkhus such testifying was no guarantee of right (*sammā*) gnosis; it might be made through mental illusion, conceit, frenzy, or even evil design (*Anguttara* iii., 119). Genuine, or *samma-d-aññā* is, of course, intended by the Commentary. This, in Dhammapada, verse 96, is rendered by Fausböll *absoluta cognitio*; by Max Müller, 'true knowledge.' That the testifying to it is as old as the Four Nikāyas, appears from the little episode in the *Anguttara Nikāya*,

[1] *Vinaya Texts*, i., p. 112.

iii. 359:—Two disciples who have newly realized this intuitive knowledge or gnosis, wait upon the Buddha and testify to the same before him. As they again depart, the Buddha remarks: 'Even so do men of true breed declare gnosis (*aññā*);—they tell of the good they have won (*attha*), but they do not bring in their ego (*attā*).'[1] That the public individual testimony to the assurance of salvation won, invited yesterday and to-day in Christian revivalist meetings, should have been thus anticipated 2000 years ago in Buddhist usage, is an interesting link. And *aññā* is rarely met with except in connexion with the confession of the attainment of such consciousness:—the 'fruition of arahantship' (*arahattaphala*).

Fifthly, whereas the Commentary lacks the inspired flame that touches now and again the varying quality of the more venerable Pali verses, and reads often no better than mere fable, it does invest the poems very often with a heightened personal colour, revealing behind many of them a touch of background, like the quiet river-threaded campaign, or the hill-perched Vihāra of a Tuscan Holy Family or single saintly figure. And this is the more welcome in a book where the majority of the poems are ascribed to authors who are mere names, not met with elsewhere in the Canon. Of authors known to us, we hail the better acquaintance with, *e.g.*, (1) the gifted children of Sārī the brahmin lady,[2] when we now see the saintly Sāri-putta, her eldest born, advancing to visit the sick, collectively in the infirmary, and again in the person of his own younger brother, the three boy-nephews standing at attention, coached by anxious Uncle Revata; or (2) with the faithful Ānanda doing sentry-go with lantern and staff around the chamber of the

[1] The context shows that no derogatory judgment on confessions, such as these poems contain, is implied, but that only self-conceit and self-advertisement are condemned. Cf. *Dhammasangaṇi*, § 1116 (*Bud. Psy. Ethics*, 298 *f.*), and below, verse 1076.

[2] A touching picture of Sārī, trying to keep Revata by her, the rest of her children and grandchildren having left the world, is given in *Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 188 *f.* Dr. Burlingame is bringing out a complete translation of this lengthy but interesting work.

Man Beloved; or (3) with VAKKALI, tearing himself from that Beloved's presence; or (4) with KASSAPA the Great, vainly trying to escape his last marriage with her who had been fit mate to him in previous lives. But it is no less pleasant to learn a little more than the mere name of others: to see, as we read SUMANGALA's rough-hewn words, the toil- and soil-stained peasants at work in the fields, or 'Rags-and-Rice' casting wistful glances at his old discarded gear; to feel behind LOMASA-KANGIYA's doughty words the mother's fears, or the father's in JAMBUGĀMIKA's letter, or the midnight horrors from which little SOPĀKA is rescued; or to bear in mind, as we read their delightful verses, EKAVIHĀRIYA's court-bred youth, and the dramatic and rhetorical proficiency of TĀLAPUṬA. For the majority of these Theras, apart from their name in the Anthology, and their legend in the Commentary, are strangers to the Canon. And it is noteworthy that the finer poems belong, on the whole, to these, rather than to the Theras who rank high in Vinaya and Suttanta.

In the limited if earnest lines collected under the great names of SĀRIPUTTA, MOGGALLĀNA, KOṬṬHITA, KAPPINA, PUṆṆA-MANTĀNI-PUTTA, we see no such poetic gift letting itself go as is heard in the musical, sparkling cadences of Kāḷudāyin's opening:

> *Angārino 'dāni dumā, bhadante,*
> *phalesino chadanaŋ vippahāya. . . .* (527),

in the deep and solemn rapture of BHŪTA:

> *yadā nabhe gajjati meghadundubhi*
> *dhārākulā vihangapathe samantato. . . .* (522),

in the culminating roll of splendid compounds describing the Ariyan Path by MIGAJĀLA, beginning

> *Sudesito Cakkhumatā Buddhen' ādiccabandhunā. . . .* (417),

in the swift stride, full of verve and grace, of Ekavihāriya's forest song:

> *vane kusumasañchanne pabbhāre nūna sītale. . . .* (545),

or in the long-drawn sighs of TĀLAPUṬA's aspirations:

kadā nu 'haŋ pabbatakandarāsu ekākiyo addutiyo vihassaŋ. . . .
. . . taŋ me idaŋ taŋ nu kadā bhavissati? (1091)

Such lines as these, and many more, simply as word-music, we may place without hesitation beside any passage of Keats and Shelley. The authors were doubtless capable of composing at least as much as did these two splendid minstrels, and it is possible that they concentrated their efforts, not on missionary or pastoral labours, but on versification. The worse luck for the world that such scanty portions should have been preserved!

Such matters Dhammapāla does not discuss. The only distinction he draws between the Theras is to classify them, in his concluding remarks, not into (A) the eleven or twelve leading Theras usually grouped in the Vinaya, and (B) the rest, viz.:

(A)	Sāriputta	Cunda the Great
	Moggallāna the Great	Anuruddha
	Kassapa ,, ,,	Revata
	Kaccāna ,, ,,	Upāli
	Koṭṭhita ,, ,,	Ānanda
	Kappina ,, ,,	Rāhula,

and (B) the other 247; nor into the 41 *Agga-sāvakā* of the *Anguttara*,[1] and the rest; but into Great (*mahā*) and Ordinary (*pakati*) *sāvakā*, making together the company of *Agga-sāvakā*. Of these the former (Great) were 80 in number, and he proceeds to enumerate 64 only of the 80, made up of 48 of the poet Theras, and 16 others most of whom do not occur in the Canon. 'Why are these called Great Disciples? Because of the greatness of their Resolve (*abhinihāra*),' resulting in, it would seem, a more perfect evolution of knowledge in their last birth. Into his discourse on this point space will not allow further inquiry. But all

[1] *Anguttara Nikāya*, i. 23-5. With the exception of two, Bāhiya Dārucīriya (*cf. Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 209 *f.*) and Sāgata, all of these distinguished followers are represented in the *Theragāthā*.

whom his list terms *Mahā-sāvakā* are printed in the list above in capitals (p. ix *f.*).

We may, finally, note what the Commentary has to say concerning the monachistic proclivities of the poet-Theras, and, in particular, concerning an openly confessed love of, and admiration for, nature, strong enough in the hearts of some of these votaries of renunciation to invest their psalms with a glowing if gentle paganism, such as we have often complacently claimed as a monopoly of our modern poetry.[1] That the members of the Order were advised to cultivate the art of solitude, not only in the cell, but also and much more in the 'empty places' (*suññāgārā*) of nature, is not only confessed to in these poems but is borne out by Vinaya and Suttanta. We read of the founder betraying a predilection for solitude, and that not within walls, but away in the forest.[2] Herein he confesses sympathy with the elephant (*cf.* Udāyin's poem CCXLVII.) which has broken away from the herd, with the 'rhinoceros wandering alone.'[3] Was it not a wrench to leave that 'happy ease here alone, uncompanied,' to go forth and spread the daily 'net of insight' to catch men? And solitude is commended to the disciple both for the better compassing of his own consummation :—

> '*If a bhikkhu should desire . . . to know and realize and win Arahantship, emancipation of heart and mind, let him fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone;*'[4]

---

[1] This opinion finds expression again in Mr. Havelock Ellis's 'The Love of Wild Nature' (*Contemp. Rev.*, February, 1909) : 'It is highly improbable that any earlier or non-Christian writer had ever broken out into such a eulogy of the desert as we find . . . in Jerome's delightful epistles.' Dr. Winternitz's book bears testimony to this feeling for nature in other branches of Indian literature beside the Buddhist (i. 7,404). But the latter strikes a more intimate note.

[2] *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 312 *f.*

[3] *Sutta-Nipāta*, 'Khaggavisāṇa-Sutta.'

[4] 'Ākankheyya-Sutta,' *Majjhima Nikāya*, translated in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Suttas*, *S.B.E.*, xi. *Cf. Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 34 *f.*

and also, in the intervals of his duties towards others, to restore vigour and maintain spiritual tone. There were woods and groves adjacent to most of the cities that witnessed the growth of Buddhism, although, for some of our recluses, nothing short of the deeper recesses of wild jungle sufficed.[1] But most consonant with the stronger temperaments were ever the heights :—the fells dominating the meads of Magadha above Rājgir, or the foothills of Northern Kosala (Nepal and Sikkim), beyond which towered the snowy ramparts of mysterious Himavā :—

'te selā ramayanti maṃ.'[2]

Such retreats were 'clean and pure,' 'a hiding-place from the many-folk,' and the haunt of saintly climbers[3] like great KASSAPA, presences to fortify, not disturb :—

'Lone heights where saintly Rishis oft resort.'

'Is't here, is't there,' in such scenes some of the best poets of these Theras, 'become at heart like creatures of the wild' (*migabhūtena cetasā*), sought and found fit accompaniment to the story of their struggles and their victory.

On all this Dhammapāla's narrative touches but lightly, finding nothing morbid or exceptional about it. They 'loved the woods,' he simply remarks; 'it was to show the charm of the forest that he replied' . . . and so on. It is only with regard to the one purely pagan poem—that of SABBAKA (CXCVI.)—that his language has a touch of apology in it that is delightful :—' And because he showed herein his delight in *empty places*, this became the Thera's confession of aññā.[4] Of pathetic interest, too, is the little

[1] *Cf.* CCXL. and others.

[2] 'They, the crags, are my delight.' See Kassapa's refrain, CCLXI.

[3] *Milinda*, ii. 353.

[4] *Majjhima*, i. 450; ii. 121. It is a not infrequent conclusion to a Sutta for the Buddha to say: 'Now have I made this clear to you. Here, bhikkhus, are the roots of trees; here are *empty places*. Meditate; be earnest lest hereafter ye regret.' . . . *E.g.*, *Majjhima*, i. 118; iii. 302.

background of legend behind Woodland-Vaccha (XIII.), lover of the woods and born there, because his mother, yearning to see them, had ventured thither on an ill-timed excursion. So fleeting as is this mother's form in the picture, it yet shows that the love of nature, if it finds no expression in the Sisters' verses, was not unknown to the heart of the Indian woman, but was part of that which lay under her silence of the centuries, only finding an outlet through her sons.

On the absence of this nature-love in the Sisters' poems I have dealt with elsewhere. Man could afford so much better to range 'alone like the rhinoceros'[1] in the wild than woman, whom for so many centuries he had driven within doors, and looked upon as a prisoner of state, or as a serf. And we can only guess that the sense of the great Mother's touch was on them, too, sometimes by a brief line here and there, reminding us, with an almost poignant pathos, as I have said, of the halting notes of a bird first let out into the woods from its cage.[2]

The leaning of so many of our Theras, however, to prolonged spells of monachistic life in wild, or, at least, retired places, is perhaps not a safe guide by which to judge the early Buddhist Order generally. That Order gathered into itself every variety of temperament, every grade of religious capacity. Many of them were quite unfit for various reasons to make religious progress in solitude.[3] And in one of Thera Subhūti's verses, not included in this collection, he summons the unfit to leave it:—

'Infected as thou art by lust,
By ill-will and illusion's taint,
Come thou away and leave the wood!
This is the home of souls made pure,
Of stainless anchorites austere.
Defile not thou the purified;
Come thou away and leave the wood!'[4]

---

[1] *The Quest*, 'Love of Nature in Buddhist Poems,' April, 1910; *e.g.*, *Sisters*, i. 28, 150.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Cf. Ang.*, iii. 145, as explained by the Commentary quoted by Edmund Hardy in vol. v. 392.
[4] *Milinda*, ii. 315.

In fact, only the Arahant is pronounced to be really fit to dwell in such solitudes.[1] And even among the Theras themselves we find instances of unfitness for the monachistic life, both through immaturity of training and through individual temperament—Meghiya, for instance (LXVI.), Upāli (CLXXX.), and Ānanda (CXIX., CCLX.). In Cunda's stanzas, and in Upāli's legend, the respective advantages of monachistic and of cenobitic life are defined; and that Upāli's choice of the latter suited his temperament is confirmed by his record in the Vinaya. To judge by his gāthā, he had no distinctively poetic gift. The majority of bhikkhus, whether Theras or not, seem to have dwelt as cenobites in 'Vihāras,' and in close touch with the laity, bound with these in a mutual dependence of give and take, spiritual and material. The Buddha was often largely attended, for there came to be a constant stream of bhikkhus, waiting temporarily upon him, from all directions. When not thus engaged, they probably, if we may judge by the Ceylon of to-day, lived in very small groups in groves or on hills. The Vihāras were not the abbeys and monasteries of medieval Europe, but, for the most part, little groups of huts, fulfilling the work of rectory, *presbytère*, or house of call, where a Thera lived with a novice or two, preached to the laity, counselled them in difficulties, and taught their children.

Some temperaments, on the other hand, as we learn from *gāthā* and commentary, were less well fitted to the quiet routine of a pastor's or a social life.[2] And among the motives urging them to seek solitude, a poetic gift may very well have counted. And further, as is revealed by the Buddha's encouragement of Vangīsa's talent of versifying (CCLIV.), it is probable that a disciple thus gifted would be suffered to cultivate his talent, in the wild or elsewhere, so only he used it to compose poems of sound doctrine, whereof, as I have suggested, this anthology is only a selection that has survived. Justly has Dr. Oldenberg remarked

[1] *Anguttara* iii. 135.

[2] *Cf.* Sabbamitta (149); and Kondañña: *What need have I as cenobite to dwell?*

of TĀLAPUṬA's poem (CCLXII.): 'Feeling, such as lives in these verses, is conceivable only as the growth of a culture that has won its way through much suffering. And to give expression to it as TĀLAPUṬA has done, could only be done by a poet.'[1] That is to say, by one who has not only an imperative need of articulate self-expression, but who has also been able to devote himself, not as an amateur otherwise busy, but outright, to the cultivation of the art of verbal self-expression. Briefly stated, our monachistic Theras sought out Nature as much because they were poets and children of Nature as because they were arahants. They present a unique blend of religious maturity, primeval shyness, and æsthetic sensitiveness. And very probably, given an efficient state of organization in the Order, to such exceptionally gifted men exceptional leisure was accorded as a necessity for their proper development, and not in any way a concession to ethical slackness or pagan and atavistic instincts.

These considerations apply, I need hardly say, only to those of the monachistically disposed Theras whose poetic talent was fruitful. It may be said that much leisure and lonely self-communing was not required to turn out many of the short poems composing the majority of this collection. This is true. Not only is the literary gift in them very unequal, but unequal, too, is the florescence of any poetic capacity in the lives of most. Some writers of prose will confess, that at one period only of their lives 'everything seemed to run to metre' and even rhyme. Some conjuncture of notable external experience and responsive internal development, recipient and synergic, has supervened, and for a brief space the rhythm of being becomes rhythmically articulate. Such a period must have been the spiritual crisis and the consciousness of spiritual victory in these authors, impelling them to a rhythmic *udāna*, 'a breathing forth' of the tale, however brief, of their deep emotion. Possibly thereafter they relapsed into the prose of the religious life, teaching only by catechism, by protests, by the force of a blameless life.

[1] *Literatur des alten Indien*, 1910, 102.

But with respect to such brief utterances I repeat, that the Anthology before us probably no more represents the total poetic output of pre-Asokan Theras than such a collection as, say, our Golden Treasury, exhausts the verses of our own poets. This is borne out by the quite remarkable minor anthology that may be formed out of the Thera verses—all by authors represented in this book—which are quoted in Chapter VII. of the *Questions of King Milinda*, not to mention those in the *Divyāvadāna*, and which are briefly discussed in my Appendix. There is nothing in our Commentary to suggest, even in the assortment given under the last few Psalms, that the collection was considered as exhaustive.

* * * * *

A volume might be written on the ideas and ideals revealed in the Theragāthā, but the poems must speak for themselves, so far as they may, in their present ill-made English garb. I have ventured to call them 'psalms,' because they indisputably satisfy the dictionary definition of psalms:—they are 'spiritual songs.' Varied, too, as in the Hebrew Anthology, is their burden. Here and there is a number that lends itself to a ritual hymn, such as METTAJI'S:[1]

> '*All glory to th' Exalted One,*
> *Our splendid Lord, the Sākiyas' son!*' . . .

and others of the first Canto, or such as KUMĀRA-KASSAPA's of the second Canto:—

> '*All hail the Buddhas, and all hail the Norms!*' . . .[2]

and one or two others with refrains. And who shall say that when I-Tsing heard the choric chanting of bhikkhus round stūpas in the cool of the day, it was not these Theras' psalms to which he listened, and not always those of Mātriceta's more prolific muse?[3]

[1] XCIV.; *cf.* XLVII. [2] CLXI.

[3] I-Tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, A.D. 671-95. Translated by J. Takakusu.

Now and again our gāthās show another link with the Hebrew Psalms—namely, when they tell of *pre-Arahant* aspirations, like SUPPIYA'S:[1]

> *'O would that I who hourly waste, might change*
> *For that which ne'er decays—'* . . .

or like the ampler yearnings of TĀLAPUṬA;[2] or when, as in the second part of the latter's poem, in ANŪPAMA'S, or in VIJITASENA'S verses, they record pre-Arahant wrestlings with the *chitta*:—the rational consciousness taming the impulsive consciousness, 'heart,' or 'soul'—or tell of backsliding in the upward way, and self-recovery, such as fills much of the Hebrew Anthology, a work professedly not written by Arahants.

But for the most part—and discounting all but the poems which are, in brief or more fully, so many stories of the heart—these Psalms of the Brethren, no less than those of the Sisters, confirm both their prose legends and the introductory stanzas in bearing testimony less to present struggle and upward aspiration, than to a consciousness of absolute victory and final attainment, cessation of toil, completed introspective sanctification. Outward work on the 'many folk,' and on brethren and pupils remained; but the work on self is done:—

> . . . *'now am I adept!'*[3]

They may describe divers spiritual conflicts of days gone by, like those of TELAKĀNI or UTTARAPĀLA, but when the day of days, the meridian of present Arahantship is the theme, then is their melody so far unisonal as to resemble in part that which Christians sing only after the believer's death:—

> *'Now the labourer's task is o'er!'*

So the great KASSAPA of himself during his lifetime:—

> *'His task is done, and he is sane, immune.'*

---

[1] XXXII. [2] CCLXII. [3] (834).

So Ānanda:—

'Gone are the chains, the barriers all behind.'

And Aññā-Kondañña:—

'Sloughed off have I the dyings and the births,
Wholly accomplishing the life sublime.'

And very many other lines might be quoted.

The 'refrains' harp on a system (*sāsana*) which is 'done,' a quest of highest good which is won, a load laid down once for all, a cessation of further life-force as imminent, and patiently awaited. That the Arahant is immune and cannot 'fall from grace' is a conviction that much of the *Kathā-Vatthu* was compiled to emphasize. He had consummated; he had his reward. And the Thera poets and their Sister poets were ranked as saints of this kind.

Yet the early Buddhist standard of saintship was apparently not one that could accurately be called lax, or vaguely conceived. It was held to be realizable under temporal conditions, but they alone could realize that supreme attainment whose evolution was matured. And as for saints in all ages, so especially for these arahants, with their outlook on life as a thing completed, an abnormal, exceptional standard of values and of satisfactions is needed. They were the religious aristocracy of their age. The Christian saint, like the Hebrew psalmist, never forgets the residual human frailty in himself, and leans perpetually on Divine sources to renew his strength:—

'Wein und Brod des letzten Mahles
Wandelt' einst der Herr des Grales
Durch des Mitleids Liebesmacht
In das Blut das Er vergoss,
In den Leib den dar Er bracht'. . . .

The Arahant has *evolved* into that fifth and ultimate order of his universe: *dhammatā*, or the order (*niyama*) of the Norm (*cf.* verse 712), wherein holiness is the *natural* expression of his mental and moral being:—

'O see the seemly order of the Norm!'

It is a curious fact that, whereas there is perhaps nothing in which human beings vary so much as in the nature and extent of their religious needs and ideals, religion is the sphere in which we are the most determined to be democratic. Before the Most High of the creeds, all men are equal. 'All have sinned and come short,' 'all we like sheep have gone astray.' . . . But while this is true, the range of divergence in errancy and home-returning is lost sight of, and saintly possibilities get reduced to a relatively low level. We speak vaguely of saints, but all we judge a creed need cater for 'here below' is sinners.

India has judged otherwise. In its doctrine of the individual life as an immensely prolonged self-transmitting and evolving force, Buddhism saw in every individual at any given moment a phase of that evolution. During such phases the religious ideals of the individual were those of the layman, or of the average *religieux*:—moral health, the gentle teaching of the Blessed Masters, the well-kept Sabbaths, the pious vows in illness, the docile solemnity at funerals, the aspiration to dwell hereafter with the gods, and so forth. But finally, one individual among a million or so reaches that final stage of life in which his evolution is consummated. The consciousness that this is so comes to him perhaps as the quiet but wonderful awakening from a sleep in which long and fevered dreams had harassed him; or again by the impressive word of a teacher; or again by a terrible rupture of his happiness, as with Hārita:—'and he enjoying his lot with her . . . his wife was bitten by a black snake and died.' And lo! the long-maturing plant bursts into flower. The humanity, which had been latently perfecting itself, void of all greed, enmity, or illusion, reaches heights of insight and power of will undreamt of before. A vision of the ideal order in the cosmos is revealed. Awake like unto the great Awakened of all time, he tastes a wonderful joy in contemplating, as with the eye of a god, the things that are and the way in which they have come to be, or he reaches out hands to guide and bless his less fortunate fellowmen. They listen as they worship

and piously aspire, then go forth to work and play, much as they who have just arisen from a dream. But for him, it is they who have gone back to dreamland; for him, with all the light of a new spiritual day about him, with a vision ineffable of what the vistas of the past have led up to for him, now only is he truly, once for all, and always, *buddho*—awake.

And so great was the zest and joy of these altered ideals and widened retrospects, so deep the peace and calm following on the complete emptying himself of the world's standard of values as the greater presences arose and filled the scene, that all questions concerning any fate awaiting him beyond this most wonderful present were blotted out. The moment of all the ages had come; beyond that time for him was not. In casting out that which insured life's renewal, he had laid low the ancient burden of that life's tale. And how could he conceive a future existence of travel elsewhither, whose boat had already grounded on the shore of the beyond? No forward view remained for him who was there already, who was *pāragū*.[1]

We may call these men and women sick in a sick age. If so, it was of a fairly divine distemper, and one that does not wholly show symptoms of decadence or senility. For it attacked chiefly the young. 'Why have *you* who have suffered in nothing, left the world[2]?' these men and women in the prime of life were asked. And the temper of these is not at all languid, weary, or disgusted with the fact that, as victorious, they yet live. Again, in depreciating the human body (as deserving to be *anything more* than a healthy instrument for spiritual life), they do not speak of it as a weary machine, running down day by day, nearly so much as of a clumsy and offensive and most unfortunately constructed complex.

Not theirs, again, because 'we walk ever near to death,'[3] to eat, drink and be merry. Were they to do so, that 'death who puts an end to ills,' when it is final, would

[1] Verses 766; 748, 771. [2] *Cf. Raṭṭhapāla*, p. 304.
[3] Verses 278, *n.* 2.

be multiplied into a myriad more successive dyings. Not theirs too, the foolishness of seeking to hold, and to quarrel that they might hold; it is only they who 'never really understand that we are here but for a little spell' who quarrel.[1] Again, the distemper made the Arahant as fearless as the Christian martyr. Humans are, perhaps, on the whole braver than they were—anyway, the felt conquest of fear is a distinct feature in the Psalms, notably in the Brethren's. The Sisters barely echo this sentiment. 'No fear cometh' [in Nibbāna], says one, and another calls her Saviour 'Akuto-bhayaŋ,' 'Him who hath the No-whence [cometh] fear.'[2] But both sexes exult in a calm serenity and fortitude that can face hardship, suffering, and, like young ADHIMUTTA,[3] death, in spite of—they would say, because of—their conviction:

> '*Now is there no more coming back to be!*'[4]

Diseased then they may have been, yet did their ailment thrive with an ethics that kept their lives pure, and sweet, and steadfast and very largely occupied with pastoral and missionary effort.

> '*With all am I a friend, comrade to all,*
> *And to all creatures kind and merciful.*'[5]

> '*One should exhort, one should instruct, forbid,*
> *Hinder that which is mischievous and wrong.*'[6]

They stood for the social reforms of their day, teaching goodness, amity, the simple life, the abolition of sacrificial and other slaughter, and of the barriers of rank and

[1] Sabhiya's poem, read superficially, may seem trite. To me it was a striking echo of M. Bergson's voice at his second London lecture, 1911: '. . . that death of each of us, in which we do not *really believe*. Why do I say that? Because, if we *really believed* that we should each of us die, we should act so differently from what we do.' And it is no less haunting.

[2] *Sisters*, verses 135, 512.

[3] CCXLVIII.

[4] Sīlavat is teaching the quite immature when he adverts to the 'joys of heaven' (CCXLI.).

[5] Verse 648.

[6] Verse 994.

caste. Immunity from the microbe of arahantship is no matter for much complacency.

But to return to that most distinctive feature of all :—the absence of all joy in the forward view. I am not dogmatizing here on the unrevealed mystery of a spaceless, timeless *trans-mortality*, possibly comprised in the concept of the Arahant's destiny. Freed from the fetters of 'life.' everything not of life was possible. But nothing was thinkable, much less describable.[1] All that need here be said is that these poets are entirely and orthodoxly unspeculative. Emerson described them unawares : 'Of immortality the soul, when well employed, is incurious. It is so well that it is sure it will be well.' There are many readers of to-day ready to acquiesce in the Thera's refrain of quiet patience in awaiting the end of life's ebb-tide,[2] if not in SĀRIPUTTA'S exultation :

> '*Lo! now my going-out complete will be.*
> *From all am I released and utterly.*'[3]

or ANURUDDHA'S :—

> '*And I 'neath bamboo-thicket's shade that day*
> *Sane and immune, shall wholly pass away.*'[4]

Their only stricture hereupon may be, that a yet more saintly Sāriputta would have aspired to yet further, even to an infinite series of rebirths, wherein he might, with ever-growing power and self-devotion, work for the furtherance of the religious evolution of his fellows.

But social and religious ideals evolve out of, yea, and even beyond the finished work and time-straitened vision of the Arahants of old. It is unreasonable to seek, in ancient ideals, the illimitable faith and hope of the democracy of

[1] The reader is referred to Dr. Oldenberg's judicious discussion of passages bearing on this point. *Buddha*, 5th ed., 318-36.

[2] *E.g.*, verses 606, 607.

[3] Verses 1002 *f.*, 1017. See also Revata, 658.

[4] Verse 919.

the spirit now abroad. If now there dawns for many the hope

'That in a world of larger scope
What here is faithfully begun,
Shall be continued, not undone,'

which is a neo-Christian approximation to the Indian faith in rebirth—it is not because our tradition has nursed us in the belief of an immortality of noble work. And Buddhist ideals may have been growing too. Else let them say with the Christian, in the sublime words of Elijah: 'Lord, now let me die, for I am no better than my fathers!' Let us look to it, in discerning 'motes' in the Arahant vision, that there is no 'beam' in our historical consideration of that past by which we have learnt, thus far, to see.

It remains that a note of the joy of victory in reviewing a past out of which a man or woman has fought his or her way to what is felt as 'salvation,' can claim the sympathy of the religious reader, irrespective of beliefs concerning the future. To read with sympathy is better than to depreciate the Theras' view of saintship for being the conquering of a peak, rather than a further achievement of indefinitely prolonged arrête-climbing.

It should also be noted that not all the poems, nor every theme in them is equally of the nature of a swan's song. The release from Ill, in the release from the rebirths that lead to more Ill, is, no doubt, the ground-wave of the tide of blissful emotion. But there are other themes. Now it is the sublime Teacher:—physician, deliverer, tamer, and guide, comforter in trouble, presence supremely inspiring:

'The Master hath my fealty and love,'—

who could discern the maturing conditions shining in the heart of the poor scavenger, terrified orphan, or squalid fakir, no less than in that of noble or cultured Brahmin. Nobly and worthily is his spiritual descent and glorious mission appraised:—

'The self-same Path by which Vipassi went. . . .
Lo! now to us there cometh Gotama.

'For if i' faith some Man the world's corruptions
Sweep not away, as wind the lowering clouds,
The world were shrouded wholly in thick darkness,
And e'en the brighter minds would lose their light.' [1]

Now it is the saving, missionary spirit, exhorting contemporaries, or bewailing the religious decay of posterity, that should follow the golden morning of a renascent Norm. Again, it is the happy ease attending life purified and simplified, the cool and steadfast pulse in place of the old fevered fret and longing; and greatly, as we have seen, is that joy intensified when felt through 'the calm great nights and days'[2] of life in the wild, and in freedom from the wearing irk and jar of the world's nightmare dream.

I have added (in the Appendix) a roughly approximate table of those matters concerning which the psalms constitute, in Thera-phrase, a 'lion's roar,' or song of victory, or of religious testimony. This may serve not only for comparison with a similar table in the companion volume of the Sisters, but also to show how far are these verses from sameness and monotony, *even when* viewed apart from the particular circumstances of each singer.[3] Not all of these themes will appeal to all of us, but it is not given to man to prescribe unity for man either in Path or Goal. I can remember as a child hearing in my home divines discussing hymns. And one, a muscular parish priest, derided the hymn—

'O Paradise! O Paradise!
'Tis weary waiting here.
I want to be where Jesus is;
To see, to feel Him near!'

as unworthy of Christians who were zealous to work for him here and not weary in well-doing. 'But,' remarked a gentle, wistful-eyed man from Oxford, 'was there not once a tired saint who wrote of himself: "having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better"?'[4]

[1] Verses 490, 1268.
[2] W. Watson.
[3] Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
[4] *Philippians* i. 23.

In the Thera-hymns is a like manifold of harmonies for those who are not sunk over the ears in one tradition only. If the psalms of Arahants suit moderns no more than they will have suited the immature layman and cleric of Asoka's days and earlier, let us not say, So much the worse for the moderns! Let the latter be willing to admit a certain aristocracy in the evolution of the religious spirit. Let it be frankly understood as not implying any morbid symptoms in the saint, or incapacity for either vision or growth in us who, from the Theras' point of view, may all be, as Edwin Arnold's line has it, 'on the upward way,' but are yet at all degrees of distance from the top. The 'manyfolk' (*puthujjana*) could play with religion, put it on and doff it again. The *sāvaka* could not so compromise. When the former are now and again confronted by the dread shapes—

> '*Like forest fires behold them drawing nigh :—*
> *Disease, decay, and death, dread trinity,*[1]

they stay awhile to listen to Thera-strains. For the Thera this was no transient mood, but one that had diverted the whole current of his life, setting him apart and 'free':

> *Tato cittaŋ vimucci me !*
> *O then my heart was set at liberty !*[2]

Out of joint thenceforth with the ways of those who temporized, he felt only safe and at ease precisely when conscious, or at least sub-conscious of this misfit. His is a bliss which rings for him the more truly precisely in proportion as it is not consonant with the joys of the immature.

* * * * *

To other more competent hands I leave the fascinating task of bringing these 'Varieties of Religious Experience' —unknown, alas! to W. James, as to his successors thus far in that field—into comparison with the religious self-expression of other lands and other times, as well as with other Indian literature. Just as both Dr. Winternitz recently, and Professor Ed. Müller, thirteen

[1] Verse 450. [2] *Cf.* verse 640 *f.*, and *passim.*

years ago, have already compared Sister Subhā with SS. Lucy and Bridget (*op. cit.*, 86, 1, quoting the latter authority); just as, in the photographs before me of S. Caterina's home, a fresco shows her repeating Sumedhā's cutting off her own hair to force the hand of those who would keep her from 'going forth'; and just as Kisāgotamī may be said to have quite a little comparative literature of her own,[1] so among the Brethren might a number of interesting parallels be discovered. The present volume is but a pioneer attempt to present the poems and some of their prose in English dress, in the hope that this may facilitate worthier treatment by the more competent.

The metres which alternate nearly always between the *śloka*, and variants in *trishṭubh* and *jagatī*,[2] are another subject awaiting competent discussion in a field where the rules of prosody have been decided only by later forms of poetry. In the Brethren's poems, whatever be the cause, the metre is changed during the poem oftener than is the case with the Sisters. Such changes have been indicated by some corresponding change in the English metre.

The crude forms (Ānanda for Ānando, etc.) used for the names involve more difficulties than is the case with the more uniform terminations of female names; and the choice, where the crude form is, in vocative case or compound, not a hard and fast rule, will find critics, and to what extent it really matters, deservedly so.

For photographs kindly sent, and for permission to reproduce illustrations, my sincere thanks are due to J. H. Marshall, Esq., Director-General of Archæology, Simla; Mrs. Jayasundare, Galle; Rev. Ananda Metteyya, Rangoon; A. D. Imms, Esq., D.Sc.; the Clarendon Press, and Mr. Fischer, Jena, publishers of Schimper's *Plant Geography*.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

---

[1] *Cf* J. H. Thiessen's essay, *Die Legende von Kisāgotamī*, 1880, already quite a venerable work in the growing literature of Indological research.

[2] See verses (417), (527), (522) respectively.

PSALMS OF THE BRETHREN

WITH SELECTIONS FROM THE

CHRONICLE IN DHAMMAPĀLA'S COMMENTARY,

ENTITLED

'PARAMATTHA-DĪPANĪ' (PART V.)

PSALMS OF THE BRETHREN

(THERA-GĀTHĀ)

Honour to the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme.

As to the call of distant lions' roar
Resounding from the hollow of the hills,
List to the psalms of them whose selves were trained,
Telling us messages anent themselves:
How they were named, and what their kin, and how
They kept the Faith, and how they found Release.

Wise and unfaltering they lived their lives;
Now here, now there they saw the Vision gleam;
They reached, they touched the ageless, deathless Way;
And retrospective of th' accomplished End,
They set to speech these matters of their quest.[1]

[1] These verses, writes Dhammapāla, 'were composed by the venerable Ānanda, at the time of the First Council, in praise of these Theras':—a pious but unsupported tradition. 'Distant lions' is in the Pali 'toothèd lions.' 'Faith' is Dhamma. 'Way' is *padaŋ*, a word of wide import, defined in the Commentary thus: 'Nibbāna, so called from its being unmixed with conditioned things, and from the necessity of practising (or walking in) it by those who seek it.' *Cf.* XCII., *n.*

The opening simile has older precedents, notably in a stanza ascribed to the Master himself:

But they who in the bosom of the hills
Sit with heart throughly purged and well-composed,
Like to so many lions crouching still,
Are vanquishers over the creeping dread,
White-minded, pure, serene and undefiled.

Dialogues of the Buddha, ii. 285.

CANTO I

PSALMS OF SINGLE VERSES

PART I

I

Subhūti.

REBORN in the time of our Buddha at Sāvatthī, in the family of councillor Sumana, younger brother of Anāthapiṇḍika, he was named Subhūti.[1] Now on the day when the Jeta Grove, purchased by his uncle, was presented to the Exalted One, Subhūti was present, and when he heard the Norm, he found faith and left the world. Receiving ordination, he mastered the two categories (of Vināya rules).[2] Thereafter a subject for exercise in meditation was given him to learn, and he went into the forest and practised it. Developing insight on the basis of love-jhāna,[3] he won arahantship. And he, teaching the Norm without distinctions or limitations, became chief among the brethren who cultivated universal amity. And because, while going round for alms, he fell, at house after house,

[1] In the days of Padumuttara Buddha, æons earlier, when this Thera was said to have made the resolve that determined the rest of his existence, he was named Nanda. The Chronicle here gives a brief account of the building of the Vihāra, the great college, in Jeta's Grove, by his uncle, as told more fully in the introduction to the Jātakas. See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 130.

[2] See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 273; iii. 2, *n.* 'Norm' is 'Dhamma.'

[3] Rapt but ordered mentality, induced by some specified mode of self-hypnosis, and here concentrated on suffusing its objects with universal goodwill (*Bud. Psy.*, 65 *ff.*; *Vibhanga*, 277).

into love-jhāna, taking his alms when he emerged from reverie, this was judged to bring great reward to his almoners, and he became chief among them that were held worthy of gifts. Wherefore the Exalted One said: 'Subhūti, bhikkhus, is the chief of my bhikkhu-disciples in universal[1] amity, and chief among such as are held worthy of gifts.[2] . . .

So this great Brother, travelling about the land for the good of the many, came in due course to Rājagaha. King Bimbisāra heard of his coming, and went to salute him, bidding him, 'Here, your reverence, be pleased to dwell, and I will make you a dwelling-place.' But, going thence, he forgot. The Brother, receiving no shelter, meditated in the open air. And because of the Brother's dignity, the god rained not, so that the people were oppressed with the drought and raised a tumult at the door of the king's house. The king asked himself for what reason the god rained not, and judged it must be because the Brother was in the open. So he had a leaf-hut made for him, and saluted him, saying, 'Be pleased, lord, to dwell in this leaf-hut,' and so departed. The Brother entered, and seated himself cross-legged on the couch of hay. Then the rain began to drip drop by drop, not in a torrent. But the Brother, wishing to allay the people's fear of drought, declared the absence of any danger to himself from without, or from within, by uttering the verse:

Well-roofed and pleasant is my little hut,
And screened from winds—Rain at thy will,
thou god!
My heart is well composed, my heart is free,
And ardent is my mood. Now rain, god! rain.[3] (1)

[1] *Anodissaka.* See my review of Dr. A. C. Taylor's edition of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *JRAS*, January, 1905.

[2] See *Anguttara Nikāya*, i. 24, where a number of brethren, sisters and the laity are formally recognized as excelling each in a specific attainment.

[3] Dhammapāla states that *deva* here refers to the spirit or deity of the thunder-cloud, Pajjunna, or Parjunya—*idhāpi meghe Pajjunne vā*

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Subhūti utter his Psalm.[1]

And the verse was his confession of Aññā.

II

Koṭṭhita the Great.

Reborn in this Buddha-age[2] at Sāvatthī, in a very wealthy clan of brahmins, he was named Koṭṭhita.[3] When he was come of age he had learned the three Vedas, and perfected himself in the accomplishments of a brahmin. He heard the Master preach the Norm, found faith, and entered the Order. Practising insight from the day of his ordination he attained arahantship, together with thorough mastery of the form and meaning of the Norm.[4] As proficient

---

datthabbo. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 18; Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, 167 *ff.*; *Buddhist India*, 386. *Cf.* LI.-LIV., CLV.

The Commentary leaves the option of seeing in 'hut' a metaphor for the body. This being in good training through discipline, the 'heart' no less so through jhāna, and insight, through knowledge, the verse gives in miniature the end of the threefold *sikkhā* (training). See my *Buddhism*, chap. viii.; *cf.* below, LVII., etc.

[1] This affirmation is canonical matter, doubtless by the editors. The following sentence is the Commentator's. 'Aññā' means gnosis or intuitive enlightenment, constituting the guarantee of Arahantship. *Majjhima*, i. 479; *Saṃyutta*, ii. 221.

We meet with Thera Subhūti elsewhere only in *Udāna*, vi. 7, where the Buddha commends his proficiency in meditation, and in *Questions of King Milinda*, ii. 315, 323, where his verses (not found elsewhere) are quoted. See Appendix (below).

[2] *Imasmiṃ Buddhuppāde*. Lit., not 'age,' but arising, advent. The period, however, includes the whole, *i.e.*, the last life, of the great teacher; hence only 'age' seemed to fit. The phrase alternates with *kālo*, *samayo*, 'time.'

[3] Pronounced Kott'hita. The name is also recorded as Koṭṭhika and Koṭika. The Thera is evidently the one included among the 'Great Elders' in Vinaya and Suttanta, the interlocutor in several Suttas—*e.g.*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 292; *Saṃyutta Nik.*, ii. 112; *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24, etc. See *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 112, 317; iii. 359.

[4] On this technical phrase, see *Sisters*, p. 17, *n.* 1.

herein he used to question the great Theras and Him-of-the-Ten-Powers[1] about them. Hence it came that he was held chief of those who were thus proficient. Then the Master, having shown his attainments in the Vedalla-Sutta, ranked him chief of those who were proficient in insight.[2]

He, on a later occasion, conscious of the bliss of emancipation, broke forth in this verse:

> Whoso, serene and calm, dead to the world,
> Can utter wisdom's runes,[3] with wit unswelled,
> Unruffled—he doth shake off naughty things
> As they were forest leaves by wind-god[4] blown. (2)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Mahā-Koṭṭhita utter his psalm.

III

Kankhā-Revata.

(Revata the Doubter.)

He was reborn in the days of our Exalted One in a wealthy family of Sāvatthī. And as he stood in the outermost ring of those who went after dinner to hear Him-of-the-Ten-Powers preach, he believed, and thereupon entered the Order. And he attained arahantship by way of practising jhāna; and so proficient in jhāna did he become, that the Master pronounced him chief of the bhikkhus who practised it.[5]

[1] A title of the Buddha, frequent in scholastic works. It was at first applied equally to Arahants. *Cf. Ang.*, ii. 68; *Saṃy.*, ii. 28. The powers are enumerated in *Majjh.*, i. 69-71.

[2] *Ang.*, i. 23; *Majjh.*, i. 292.

[3] *Manta* or *mantras*, an allusion to his brahmin or Vedic training. The next two phrases are a rendering of the one word *anuddhato*, which the Commentary connects with *uddhacca*, excitement.

[4] *Māluto*, wind, may possibly have ceased to suggest the Vedic Māruts, or wind-gods, at this date. *Cf. Sisters*, p. 150.

[5] *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24.

His task accomplished thus, this great Brother reflected on the inveterate tendency of his mind to doubt,[1] now wholly overcome, and praised the might and wisdom of the Exalted One, whereby his mind was now calm and steadfast, saying:

> Behold how great the wisdom is of Them
> Who Thus-have-come![2] As fire at midnight hour,
> Givers of light, givers of sight are they
> To those that pass, subduing all their doubt. (3)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Kankhā-Revata utter his psalm.

IV

Puṇṇa of the Mantānis.

He was reborn in the days of our Exalted One, in an eminent brahmin clan, at the brahmin village of Donavatthu, not far from Kapilavatthu. He was sister's son of the Elder Kondañña,[3] and was named Puṇṇa. And after performing all the duties of his novitiate, he put forth every effort till he had accomplished the highest duties of a recluse. He thereupon went with his uncle to dwell near the Master, leaving the neighbourhood of Kapilavatthu. And thoroughly intent in practice, he not long after became an arahant.

Now Puṇṇa came to have a following of 500 clansmen who had also left the world. And because he himself had

[1] This tendency is mentioned in the *Apadāna*. The soubriquet it earned may have been maintained undeservedly to distinguish Revătă from the more distinguished Mahā-Thera Revata, co-Director of the Council of Vesālī (*Vinaya Texts*, ii. 817; *cf.* 67).

[2] *Tathāgatā.* For a full exposition of this famous term, the Comy. refers to the *Udāna* and *Iti-Vuttaka* Commentaries *Cf.* J. H. Moore, *Sayings of Buddha*, p. 131; Sir R. Chalmers, *JRAS*, 1898, 103.

[3] See Ps. CCXLVI. His full name distinguishes him from the Puṇṇa of LXX.

acquired the ten bases of discourse,[1] he taught his followers therein till they, too, became experts and arahants. They thereupon desired him to take them to the Master. But he, judging it unfitting to go surrounded by them, bade them go on, and promised to follow them. They, being all fellow-countrymen of Him-of-the-Ten-Powers, walked the sixty yojanas to Rājagaha, and, in the great Vihāra of the Bamboo Grove,[2] found him and did obeisance to him. Now, when bhikkhus come to Buddhas, the Exalted Ones, it is customary for friendly greetings to be exchanged. Wherefore the Exalted One asked them . 'I hope, brethren, that you are well and have pleasantly rested: Whence come ye?' 'From your own country, lord,' they replied. Then he asked if there were a bhikkhu who knew the Ten Subjects, saying: 'Who, brethren, of such fellow-countrymen of mine is capable, himself a simple liver, to discourse on the simple life?' 'Puṇṇa, lord, the venerable son of the Mantānis.'

And when the Master went from Rājagaha to Sāvatthī, Puṇṇa went thither and, in the Fragrant Chamber,[3] was taught the Norm. And Sāriputta, desiring to meet him, went after him to Dark Wood, whither he had gone to meditate on the Master's words, and found him resting beneath a tree. And they discoursed of those words, and had joy of each other, Puṇṇa winning his heart by the parable of the posting by chariot.

Now the Master proclaimed Puṇṇa chief among the bhikkhus in preaching the Norm.[4] And he one day, reflecting near the Master on the emancipation he had won,

[1] The ten Kathāvatthus, according to the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, are Simple Living, Content, Detachment, Segregation, Endeavour, Morality, Concentration, Understanding, Emancipation, Knowledge with Insight.

[2] See *Sisters*, p. 81.

[3] The Buddha's own cell at the Jetavana. See *Sisters*, p. 11; *JRAS*, 19.

[4] *Ang.*, i. 23. The interview with Sāriputta, after the bhikkhus' testimonial, is told in *Majjhima* ('Rathavinīta Sutta'), i. 146 *ff.* Further testifying to his teaching and influence occurs in *Saṃy.*, ii. 156; iii. 105 *f.*

bethought him: 'Verily to me and many others, delivered from the round of sorrow, how great a help is communion with good men!' And with joy and enthusiasm he uttered this verse:

Aye with the good consort, with them
Who know, who understand, who see the Good.[1]
Great is the Good and deep and hard to see,
Subtle and delicately fine, to which
The wise and brave do penetrate, e'en they
Who strenuous live and lofty vision gain. (4)

Thus verily did the venerable Puṇṇa of the Mantānis utter his psalm.

And the Brother explained that the psalm contained his affirmation of aññā.

V

Dabba.[2]

(Of the Mallas.)

He came to birth in the family of a clansman of the Mallas,[3] at Anupiyā. As a child of seven, he saw the Master when the latter visited his country and home, and was so attracted that he asked his grandmother, his mother having died at his birth,[4] if he might leave the world under the Master. She brought him to the Master, who bade a bhikkhu ordain him. And the boy, being one in whom past causes and an aspiration were taking effect, realized the Four Paths in succession, in the very act of having his curls cut off.

[1] *Attha*, the subject discussed with Sāriputta.

[2] *Cf.* below, verse 1218. On this eminent Brother, see also *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 4-18; *Jātaka*, i. 21; *Udāna*, viii. 9; *Ang. Nik.*, 23.

[3] Lit., of a raja of the Mallas, a confederation of independent clans, located by the two great Chinese pilgrim chroniclers on the mountain slopes eastward of the Buddha's own clan.

[4] *Before* his birth, according to the Commentarial tradition.

And when the Master left the Mallas' country for Rājagaha, Dabba, meditating alone, and desirous of devoting his body to the service of the Order, considered that he might both apportion night's lodging and direct to meals. The Master sanctioned his doing so, and his success herein, and his supernormal power herein, lighting the brethren to their lodgings with his shining finger, is told in the Pali narrative.[1]

But it was after the baseless calumny,[2] wherewith the bhikkhus who followed Mettiya and Bhummajaka sought to ruin him, had been condemned by the Order, that the Brother, conscious of his virtuous compassion for others, uttered this verse :

Once hard to tame, by taming tamed is now
Dabba, from doubts released, content, serene.
Victor is Dabba now, and void of fears ;
Perfected[3] he and staunch in steadfastness. (5)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Dabba utter his psalm.

VI

Sīta-Vaniya.

This is the psalm of the venerable Brother Sambhūta. He was reborn at Rājagaha as the son of an eminent

[1] *Vatthu-pāliyaŋ*—viz., in Khandaka IV. See *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 4 *ff.*

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-18.

[3] *Parinibbuto.* On this Dhammapāla comments: 'There are two *parinibbānas*—the *parinibbāna* of evils (*kilesā*, the "ten torments," or "bases of corruption"; see my *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, p. 327 *ff.*), which is the element of Nibbāna, wherewith is yet remaining stuff of life ; and *parinibbāna* of *khandhas* (factors of personality), which is the element of Nibbāna without that remainder. Here the former species is meant, inasmuch as there had been an entire putting away by the Path of everything that should be put away.' *Cf. Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 168 : my *Buddhism*, p. 191.

brahmin, and named Sambhūta.[1] With his three friends, Bhūmija, Jeyyasena and Abhirādana, he heard the Exalted One preach the Norm, and left the world to enter the Order. While practising the systematic meditation of 'mindfulness respecting the body,' he stayed continually in Sīta-Vana (Cool Wood), and thus became known as Sīta-Vaniya (Cool Woodlander).

And seeing bhikkhus passing by on their way to see the Exalted One, he said: 'Friends, worship the Exalted One for me with speech of mine, and say to him thus' (showing the Master his uninterrupted concern with the Norm):

There is a brother who to Cool Wood gone doth dwell
Alone, content, in meditative ecstasy,
Victorious, no more by creeping dread dismayed,
He mindful watcheth over sense with courage high. (6)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Sītavaniya utter his psalm.

VII

Bhalliya.

He, with his elder brother Tapussa,[2] was born in the time of our Exalted One, in the city of Pokkharavatī, as the son of a caravan-driver. As they were conducting a caravan of carts in a pleasant glade, a muddy place checked their progress. Then a tree-fairy, one of their own kin, showed himself, and said: 'Sirs, the Exalted One hath just attained enlightenment, and for seven weeks abideth fasting in the bliss of emancipation, seated at the root of the King's

[1] This cannot be the Sambhūta of CXCII., verse 9. Of the friends, we meet (probably) only with Bhūmija in *Saŋy.*, ii. 39.

[2] In the Commentarial tradition, they were brothers in like circumstances, when Kassapa Buddha lived, and rendered like service then to Kassapa, entreating that they might repeat it in a future life.

Stead tree.[1] Serve him with food; this will long make for your good and happiness.' They, with joyful eagerness, waited not to prepare food, but took rice-cakes and honey, and, leaving the high road, ministered to the Exalted One.

Now when the Exalted One had set rolling the wheel of the Norm at Benares,[2] he stayed in due course at Rājagaha. There Tapussa and Bhalliya waited on him and heard him teach. The former became a lay-follower, the latter left the world and mastered the six forms of abhiññā.[3]

One day when Māra[4] appeared to the Brother in fearsome terrifying shape, Bhalliya, manifesting how he had passed beyond all fear, uttered a psalm to Māra's discomfiture:

Whoso hath chased away the Death-king and his host,
E'en as a mighty flood the causeway of frail reeds,
Victor is he, self-tamed. Fear cometh never more.
His is the Goal supreme, and utter steadfastness. (7)

Thus verily did the venerable Bhalliya utter his psalm.[5]

VIII

Vīra.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, in the family of a minister to King Pasenadi, he was named Vīra.[6] And when, as befitted his name, he had acquired athletic accomplishments, he became a warrior. Marrying with his parents' consent, a son was born to him. Thereupon,

[1] *Cf. Sisters*, p. 5. This story occurs in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 81, and in the 'Nidāna-Kathā,' *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 110, Bhalliya being there Bhallika and Bhalluka. *Ika* and *iya* are interchangeable adjectival terminations.

[2] His first sermon, etc.

[3] Supernormal thought. *Cf.* p. 32, *n.* 1.

[4] Professor Windisch holds there may have been a collection of such Māra or Devil legends (*Māra und Buddha*, 134).

[5] Henceforth this *obiter dictum* ceases.

[6] Heroic, strong. Pāse'nādi was King of Kosala, of the same age as the Buddha (*Majjh. Nik.*, ii. 124).

seeing the trouble in the perpetuation of life,[1] he left the world in anguish, and putting forth every effort soon acquired sixfold abhiññā. Now when, as arahant, he was living in the bliss of fruition, his former wife tried to lure him back in various ways. But the venerable Vīra said: 'This woman, desiring to seduce me, is like one wishing to shake Mount Sineru[2] with the wing of a gnat.' And he showed her how futile it was by his psalm:

Once hard to tame, by taming now is tamed
Vīra, from doubts released, content, serene;
Victor is Vīra, free from creeping dread;
His is the goal supreme, and steadfast strength. (8)

The woman, hearing him, was deeply moved, and thought: 'My husband has won to this—what good is domestic life to me?' And she went forth among the Sisters, and soon acquired the Three-fold Lore.[3]

IX

Pilinda-Vaccha.

Reborn at Sāvatthī as a brahmin's son, before the Exalted One became a Buddha, they named him Pilinda, Vaccha being the name of his clan. He became a recluse, and acquired the charm called the Lesser Gandhāra,[4] deriving therefrom great renown. But when our Exalted One became Buddha the charm ceased to work. He having learnt that the Greater Gandhāra spell stopped the Less,

[1] Lit., in Saṃsāra, 'continual going on.' *Cf.* XCIX.

[2] See *Sisters*, verse 384. Pronounced Sīne'ru.

[3] *Cf.* p. 29, *n.* 1. This triple acquisition forms three of the six forms of *abhiññā*, or supernormal thought, p. 82, *n.* 1.

[4] On the Gandhāra Vijjā, or charm—not, as here, distinguished as twofold—see *Dialogues*, i. 278. *Cf. Jat.*, iv. 498 *f.* The charm is here said to confer the power both of going through the air and of thought-reading. The identity of this Thera with the Pilinda-Vaccha of Rājagaha (*Vin. Texts*, ii. 61), is doubtful; yet *cf.* next p., *n.* 2.

concluded that Gotama the recluse knew the former, and he waited on him in the hope of acquiring it, asking if the chance might be granted him. The Exalted One answered: 'You must leave the world.' He, fancying that this was a preparation for the charm,[1] did so. To him the Exalted One taught the Norm, and gave him exercise in meditation, so that he, the conditions being ripe, attained arahantship.

Now one who, in consequence of Pilinda's guidance in a former birth, had gone to heaven as a deva, waited on him morning and evening out of gratitude. Hence the Brother was distinguished as one dear to the gods, and was ranked chief among the brethren who were such by the Exalted One.[2]

And Pilinda one day, sitting among the brethren, and reflecting on his success, declared to them how the charm had brought him to the Exalted One uttering this psalm:

O welcome this that came, nor came amiss!
O goodly was the counsel given to me!
'Mong divers doctrines mooted among men
Of all 'twas sure the Best I sought and found. (9)

X

Puṇṇamāsa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of Samiddhi, a brahmin of Sāvatthī, he left the world when a son was born to him, and entering the Order under the Exalted One, took the Four Truths as his exercise in meditation, and became an arahant. His former wife sought to seduce him from his faith, visiting him adorned, and with her

[1] This fresh renunciation (*pabbajjā*) must have meant entering the Order, although this is not stated. Contrast with Pilinda's mistaken view, *Dialogues*, i. 278, and iii., XXIV., § 4. *Cf.* Vaṅgīsa, CCLXIV.

[2] *Ang.*, i. 24, the Cy. on which quotes *Udānaṃ*, iii. 6.

child. But the Brother, showing his utter detachment, uttered this psalm :

All longings as to this or other life
Have I put far from me, as one who hath
Beta'en himself to truth, whose heart's at peace,
Who, self-subdued, in all things undefiled,
Discerns the world's incessant ebb and flow. (10)

Then the woman thinking, 'This holy man cares not for me nor for the child; I am not able to persuade him,' went away.[1]

PART II

XI

Gavaccha the Less.

REBORN as a brahmin at Kosambī, and hearing the Exalted One preach, he entered the Order. At that time the bhikkhus of Kosambī had become contentious.[2] Then Gavaccha the Less, not taking part with either side, remained steadfast in the Exalted One's admonition, and developing insight, attained to arahantship. And seeing in the bhikkhus' quarrelsome tastes what might have been the downfall of his own good, he reflected with joy and enthusiasm on his own contrasted state, saying:

Abundantly this brother doth rejoice,
For the blest truths the Buddha hath revealed
Are his, and he hath won the Path of Peace,
And his the bliss where worldly cares are stilled. (11)

[1] A curious feature about this story is the repetition of it, again as Puṇṇamāsa's, in Canto II., the Commentator taking no notice of the substantial identity in legend and authorship. See Ps. CXLVI.

[2] They seem to have been incorrigibly so, in spite of the Buddha's earnest and repeated exhortations (*Majjh.*, i. 320 *ff.*, 513).

XII

Gavaccha Major.

He was reborn in this Buddha's days as the son of Samiddhi, a brahmin of the village of Nàlaka in Magadha. And he entered the Order because Sãriputta[1] had done so, and he knew that Sãriputta was very wise. After he had attained arahantship, and was enjoying the bliss of emancipation, he uttered his psalm to encourage his fellow-disciples to make efforts:

In wisdom strong, guided by virtue's rule, intent,
To concentration's rapture given, yet vigilant;
Partaking of such fare as brings thee only good:
So in the faith,[2] with passions quenched, await the
hour. (12)

XIII

Vanavaccha.

In this Buddha-age he took rebirth at Kapilavatthu, in the brahmin clan of the Vaccha's. He was born in the forest, his mother being taken with travail while walking in the forest which she had yearned to see. He became one of the future Buddha's playmates in the sand. And because he loved the woods, he was known as Woodland-Vaccha.[3] Later on, when he had entered the Order, it

[1] His fellow-townsman. See CCLIX.; *Sisters*, p. 96.

[2] *Idha*; lit. 'here,' 'here below,' is technically used as above, and is so interpreted.

[3] As if the legend strove to link him closer to nature, the only two of his former lives mentioned in detail represent him as a tortoise or turtle, and as a dove. The stanza recurs, with others in a similar vein, in Kassapa's poem (CCXLIV.). Again, as with the two Puṇṇamāsa psalms, the Commentator takes no heed of the identity of name, nor of the substantial identity in story and verse. The verse is incorporated in the long poem (CCLXI.).

was in the forest that he strove for and won arahantship. And it was in praise of the forest life that he uttered his psalm, replying to the brethren who asked him: 'What comfort can you get in the forest?' 'Delightful, my friends, are forest and mountain!'—

Crags with the hue of heaven's blue clouds,
Where lies enbosomed many a shining tarn
Of crystal-clear, cool waters, and whose slopes
The 'herds of Indra'[1] cover and bedeck:
Those are the braes wherein my soul delights. (13)

XIV

Sīvaka.

(A Novice attending Brother Vanavaccha.)

In this Buddha-era he was born as the son of Vanavaccha's sister. When his mother heard that her eldest brother Vanavaccha had left the world, had graduated in the Order, and was dwelling in the forest, she said to her son: 'Dear Sīvaka, you should leave the world under the Elder, and wait on him; the Elder is getting old now.' He, at this sole bidding of his mother, and because of his previous aspirations, did so and, ministering to his uncle, dwelt in the forest. One day, when he had gone to the outskirts of the village on some

[1] *Indagopaka-sañchannā*, 'covered by Indra's *cow*herds.' According to the Commentary (*cf.* Childers, 'a crimson beetle noticeable after rain'), these are coral-red insects (*kimi*), alluded to in connexion with recent rain, but said by some to be a red grass, or by others the kaṇikāra trees (*Pterospermum acerifolium*). To come into a highland or upland picture, these crimson insects must swarm in vast numbers. The *cows* of Indra—*i.e.*, the clouds—would have filled the background far more easily. The Russians, however, Sir Charles Eliot informs me, call lady birds 'God's little cows' (*bozhya korovka*); and on upper Alpine pastures in late summer I have seen crimson (? Burnet) moths crowded on the heath. On the *colour*; *cf. Vin.*, iii. 42.

errand, he fell very ill. And when medicine did not cure him and he came not, the Elder, wondering at the reason, went and found him ill. Administering remedies and tending him the Elder, when dawn was nigh, said: 'Sīvaka, since the time when I left the world, I have not sojourned in the village. Let us go hence into the forest.' Sīvaka answered: 'Sir, even if my body stay now by the village, my heart is in the forest, wherefore though I lie here yet shall I go thither.' Then the Elder took hold of his arm, and led him to the forest exhorting him. He, made steadfast by that admonition, won arahantship.

Thereafter he uttered his psalm, combining his master's words and his own, expressing both his love of seclusion and his achievement, his obedience to his master and the winning of aññā:

> The teacher spake me thus: 'Sivaka, hence
> Let's go!'[1] Here in the town my body dwells;
> My thoughts are to the forest gone. So thus,
> Prostrated though I be, yet do I go.
> No bond is there for those who understand. (14)

XV

Kuṇḍa-Dhāna.[2]

In the age of our Exalted One, he was reborn at Sāvatthī as a brahmin's child, and called Dhāna.[3] Knowing the

[1] The text *gacchāmi*, 'I go,' is in the Commentary *gacchāma*, 'let us go.' The latter accords with the story, and with Vanavaccha's active care for his pupil, and the latter's devotion. The Commentary compares the youth's swift response to that of a spirited horse touched by the whip. A spirited horse is called *bhadro*, which = also auspicious, or lucky (*Sivaka*. *Cf.* Siva).

[2] In the Comy. Koṇḍa- Koṇṭha- Kuḍḍa Kuṇḍa-dhāna. He is mentioned in *Majjh.*, i. 462; *Udāna*, ii. 8; *Dhammapada Comy.*, iii. 52-58

[3] The Comy. deals at some length with the legend of this Brother's antecedents, the immediate object of which is to explain how Dhāna

three Vedas by heart, he when advanced in years heard the Master preach, and left the world. Now King Pasenadi of Kosala became interested in him and provided him with necessaries, so that he had not to go round for alms. But it was when the great Subhaddā invited the Master and his company to dine with her, that Kuṇḍa-Dhāna revealed his powers and attainments, as it is written in the Commentary on the Anguttara-Nikāya.[1] And it was to the brethren that he recited this verse:

Five cut thou off; Five leave behind, and Five beyond all cultivate!
He who the Fivefold Bond[2] transcends—a Brother Flood-crossed is he called. (15)

---

won the nickname of Kuṇḍa or Koṇḍa, a word which by the context would seem to mean 'gallant.' In a previous birth he appears as the victim of a fairy's practical joke, and the blame he attaches to an innocent fellow-monk in consequence is a karma, which pursues him in this life, causing him mortification. As the legend throws no light on the verse, it is not given here, nor is the account of his prior rank in receiving food-tickets (see *Ang.*, i. 24), and for the same reason. The verse might, in fact, have been spoken by any learned Thera (*cf.* CCXLII., verse 633). Subhaddā is presumably the daughter of Anāthapiṇḍika, living at Sāketa (*Milinda*, ii. 308). The way to her (from Sāvatthī) is described as being far; in *Majjh.*, i. 149, as seven express coaching stages.

[1] *I.e.*, on the Etad-agga-Vagga (*Ang.*, i. 23 *f.*), wherein the Thera's success is recorded. It is noticeable that, in citing this Commentary, Dhammapāla does not quote it as Buddhaghosa's *Manorathapūraṇī*.

[2] According to the Commentary, the first of these four pentads is the group of the five lower Fetters (*Bud. Psy.*, §§ 1113-1134; Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, p. 141 *ff.*). The second pentad is the remaining five Fetters, the liberation from the ten involving deliverance from rebirth. The third refers to the five moral powers or faculties (*Bud. Psy.*, §§ 305-311), and the fourth to the bonds of passion, hate, stupidity, pride, and opinion (*Vibhanga*, p. 377). The verse occurs in *Dhammapada*, v. 370, and *Saṃyutta Nik.*, i. 3, and below, 633, where this comment is repeated. The verse is a good example of the kind of holy riddle in which these Elders (like others nearer home) took special delight. (*Cf.* LXIV.)

XVI

Belaṭṭhasīsa.

In this Buddha-age he was reborn at Sāvatthī in a brahmin's family, and before the Exalted One became a Buddha he left the world to join the ascetic Order of Kassapa of Uruvelā, and tend the sacred fire. And when Kassapa was tamed by the Buddha,[1] he was one of the thousand ascetics who obtained arahantship on hearing the sermon on Burning.[2]

He thereafter became the tutor of the 'Treasurer of the Norm.[3] And one day, reflecting on the pure bliss of fruition and his own earlier discipline, in rapture he uttered a psalm:

E'en as the high-bred steer[4] with crested back[5]
Lightly the plough adown the furrow turns,
So lightly glide for me the nights and days
Now that this pure untainted bliss is won. (16)

XVII

Dasaka.

He, by his karma, was reborn in the age of our Exalted One at Sāvatthī, as the child of a slave of Anāthapiṇḍika,

[1] See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 118-134.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 134 *f.*

[3] A soubriquet of the Elder Ānanda. Belaṭṭhasīsa is also mentioned as a sufferer from eczema (*Vin. Texts*, ii. 48, 226), and as committing a minor offence in storing food (*Vin.*, iv. 86). The Commentarial tradition is that *Dhammapada* verse 92 refers to the last-named incident (*Dhp. Com.*, ii. 170).

[4] The text *bhaddo ājañño*, 'noble, or spirited thoroughbred,' is declared by the Commentary to imply, out of the three creatures to which this epithet is applied—bull, horse, elephant—the first named, as the only one used for ploughing.

[5] *Sikhī*, 'crested,' is applicable to either the horns or the hump of the zebu (Commentary).

and was by him appointed as gate-porter of the Vihāra.[1] Hearing of his virtuous conduct and his wishes, his master made him a freed man, and said, how happy it was to leave the life of the world. He was ordained accordingly; but from that time he grew slothful and slack of effort, taking no steps to roll back the round of rebirth, and sleeping much after meals. At sermon-time he would get into a corner on the outskirts of the congregation, and sit snoring. Now the Exalted One, contemplating his antecedents, spoke the following verse to him in order to stir up agitation:

> Who waxes slothful and in diet gross,
> Given to sleep and rolling as he lies,
> Like a great hog with provender replete—
> The dolt comes back again, again to birth. (17)

Hearing this, Dasaka grew agitated and, developing insight, not long after realized arahantship. Thereafter he thought 'the verse of the Exalted One became as a goad to me,' and he repeated the verse. Thus, though uttered as a protest concerning food, it became the declaration of his aññā.

XVIII

Singāla-Pitar.[2]

Reborn in this Buddha-age of wealthy parents at Sāvatthī, he married and named his son Singāla(ka), himself becoming known as Singāla's father. At a later time he threw off domestic ties, and left the world for the Order. The Exalted One, contemplating his inclinations, gave him the meditative exercise of the idea of a skeleton. Taking it he dwelt among the Sākiyans at Suŋsumāragira, in the

[1] Of the Jetavana. See *Sisters* for an illustration of the ruins of this famous institution, built by Anāthapiṇḍika. Dasaka = Decimus.

[2] In the Commentary Singālaka-pitā. The name means 'jackal.'

Bhesakalā Wood.[1] Now in that wood a woodland sprite, judging that the Thera would soon grasp the fruition he laboured after, uttered this verse :

Lo! in the forest of Bhesakaḷā
A brother dwells, heir of the Buddha's grace,
Suffusing through and through this earthy frame
With thought intent, austere, of skeleton.[2]
Beshrew me, if he do not swiftly drive
All passion of the senses clean away! (18)

Hearing that verse the brother thought 'this fairy said this to me to call forth effort,' and willing unfaltering endeavour, he developed insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter he recalled the fairy's words, and breathed forth that very verse as the confession of his aññā.

[1] This town (see Windisch, *Māra u. Buddha*, p. 150) and wood have hitherto been found in association, not with the Sākiyans, but with the Bhaggas (*JPTS*, 1888, pp. 63, 98). Either, therefore, there was more than one wood of this name, or the Bhaggas, whose locality seems doubtful, were a section of the Sākiyas. *Cf.* ver. 1208.

[2] *Kevalaŋ atthisaññāya aphari pathaviŋ imaŋ.* Dr. Neumann sees in this line an allusion to the passage in *Saŋy. Nik.*, ii 178 *ff.*, and referred to by Sumedhā (*Sisters*, p. 173):

'And bear in mind that tumulus of bones
By creatures piled who wander through the world.
Remember the great cairn of one man's bones
From one æon alone, equal to Vipula.'

Dhammapāla, on the other hand, ignores any such allusion, and interprets the line as referring to the mode of *asubha-saññā*, or the *kasiṇa* called 'meditative exercise of bones' (*atthika-bhāvanā*). *Pathavī*, usually applied to the extended world, he explains as *atta-bhāva-pathavī*, that extended or earthy attribute of the individual called, in the Nikāyas, *ajjhattika-pathavīdhātu* (personal extended element). That it is never called simply *pathavī* (the extended, or earth) may incline the critic to dissent from the Commentarial tradition. And yet why should the latter have let slip this good exegetical opportunity, had the mountain of bones been indeed implied? 'Having by the "bones-notion" wholly suffused his own or all beings' organism with the thought "'Tis bone!" and making that the basis of jhāna, he will put away all sensuous passion by the Non-Returner's Path . . .' so runs the Commentary.

XIX

Kula.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī of a brahmin family, he entered the Order, but from want of mental balance could not concentrate on a given idea.[1] Now one day going to the town for alms, he saw men conducting running water wherever they wished by digging channels. Within the town he marked out of the corner of his eye[2] how the fletcher fixed the arrow-shaft in his lathe, and leaving with full bowl he saw the chariot-makers planing axle and tire and hub. So entering the Vihāra he dined; then during siesta he pondered on these three modes of taming things, making them his goad, and applying them to his own need of self-mastery. So striving he not long after won arahantship. And connecting those object-lessons with his own heart's taming, he confessed aññā in this verse:

> The conduit-makers lead the stream,
> Fletchers coerce the arrow-shaft,
> The joiners mould the wooden plank;
> The self—'tis that the pious tame.[3] (19)

[1] *Visesaṃ nibbattetuṃ*. *Cf.* Childers, *s.v.* *Viseso*.

[2] See *Vin. Texts*, i. 59: 'With downcast eye.' Practically directed on to the ground about a plough's length in front of him (Commentary).

[3] This verse recurs in CCLV., and occurs twice in the *Dhammapada*, being assigned, in the Commentary on that work, to one Paṇḍita-sāmaṇera at verse 80, and to Sukha-sāmaṇera at verse 145. Both are of Sāvatthī also, and both are described as making object-lessons of human skill over matter in the crafts alluded to. But in the former instance the story is much expanded.

XX

Ajita.

He was reborn, when our Master was living, at Sāvatthī, as the son of the brahmin who was price-assessor[1] to the king of Kosala. He became an ascetic as follower of Bāvarī, the learned brahmin, who dwelt in the Kapiṭṭha park on the banks of the Godhāvarī. Now Bāvarī[2] sent him, together with Tissa and Metteyya, to the Master. And Ajita was so satisfied with the Master's answers to his questions, that he entered the Order. Choosing a form of mental exercise he developed insight, and attained arahantship. Thereupon he uttered his song of victory[3] in this verse:

All unafraid of death, nor fain to live,
I shall lay down this compound frame anon,[4]
With mind alert, with consciousness controlled. (20)

[1] In the *Jātaka* it appears that the purchase of goods by or for a king was effected by an officially regulated price. This was fixed without appeal by the court assessor or valuer, who stood between the two fires of offending the king if he valued the goods submitted too high, and of driving away tradesmen if he refused bribes and cheapened wares. See my 'Early Economic Conditions in Northern India,' *JRAS*, October, 1901.

[2] This episode forms part of the *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 976-1039 (*SBE*, x. 184 *ff.*).

[3] His 'lion's roar' (*sīhanāda*).

[4] *Cf. Saṃyutta*, iii. 25.

PART III

XXI

Nigrodha.

He in this Buddha-age was reborn in an eminent brahmin's family at Sāvatthī. And on the day when Jeta Grove was presented, he saw the majesty of the Buddha and was satisfied, so that he entered the Order. When he had stirred up insight, he soon became able to exercise the six forms of supernormal thought. And pondering, in the bliss of fruition, on the advantages of the doctrine which leads us away from rebirth, he uttered this verse as the expression of aññā :

No fear have I of fearsome things, for He,
Our Master, knoweth well th' ambrosial lore.[1]
The Path where fear nowise a footing finds,
Along that Path the brethren hold their way. (21)

XXII

Cittaka.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a brahmin of great possessions. And when the Master was staying in the Bamboo Grove, Cittaka[2] went to hear him, and found faith and so entered the Order. Choosing ethical conduct as his exercise, he entered a wooded spot, and there in devotional practice induced jhāna. Thereby developing insight he soon attained arahantship. Thereupon he went to salute the Master. Asked by the brethren,

[1] Lit., 'skilled, learned in ambrosia,' *amatā*, the most frequent synonym for Nibbāna. The Path is the Ariyan Eightfold Path (Commentary).

[2] Pronounced Chittăka. Sister Cittā was also of Rājagaha (*Sisters*, p. 27).

'Have you been strenuous, friend, in your forest sojourn?' he uttered his psalm, to show he had been so, and to declare aññā:

Peacocks of sapphire neck and comely crest
Calling, calling in Kāraṇviya woods;[1]
By cool and humid winds made musical:[2]
They wake the thinker from his noonday sleep. (22)

XXIII

Gosāla.

He was born in this Buddha-age in a wealthy Magadhese family. He came to know Soṇa-Kutikaṇṇa;[3] and when he heard that the latter had left the world, he grew agitated, and thought: 'If he who has so great an estate shall leave the world, why not rather I?' And entering the Order, he took for exercise the subject of ethical conduct,[4] and seeking a suitable haunt, dwelt on the uplands not far from his native village. Now one day his mother, who daily dispensed alms, gave him, on his round, rice-porridge prepared with honey and sugar. This he took and ate in the shade of that hill under a bamboo thicket. With bowl and hands washed, and refreshed by the appropriate fare offered him, he put forth insight without toil and, with mind intent on

[1] The Commentary, reading Karambhiya, states this word is the name of a species of tree, and possibly also the name of the wood.

[2] In the compound *sītavāta-kalitā* the Br. MS. of the Commentary reads *kiḷitā*, the S. MS. *kadditā*. In both the word denotes the musical call (*madhuravassitaŋ*) of the peacock (*mora* = *mayūra*). According to the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (137), the term *kalasaddo* is used to designate any inarticulate pleasant sound. The birds are described as crying their *ke-kā* call when they hear the thunder of the approaching clouds heralding the rains. *Mora*, a redundant foot, has crept in—from the Commentary perhaps. 'Humid,' the translator's gloss, from *meghavātena*, 'rain-cloud-breeze,' in the Commentary.

[3] See Ps. CCVIII. Soṇa was of Avanti far to the E.

[4] *Cariyānukūlaŋ kammaṭṭhānaŋ*.

the ebb and flow of all things, attained the topmost meditation of the Paths, winning arahantship, with mastery of the form and meaning of the doctrine. Desirous to go up to the hilly region that he might dwell in bliss while he lived, he made known his own experience in this verse:

Lo! I who in the bamboo thicket dined
Off rice and honey, who now comprehend,
Him worshipping,[1] the ebb and flux of all
These factors of my life, will hie me back
Up on my hill, to foster there the growth
Of heart's detachment, lone and separate.[2] (23)

XXIV

Sugandha.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age of wealthy parents at Sāvatthī. And because of his aspiration in the past, when he presented Kassapa Buddha with a Fragrant Chamber of sandal-wood, that he might in one life be reborn with a fragrant body, he, on the day of his birth—and his mother before that day—filled the house with fragrance. Then said his parents: 'Our son is come bringing his own name!' and they called him Sugandha (Aroma). When grown up, he was induced to leave the world by the preaching of the Thera Mahā-Sela.[3] And within seven

[1] *Padakkhiṇaŋ sammasanto.* The Commentary explains the former word as 'perfectly accepting the Master's admonition.' The Chronicle lays stress on the tonic effect of the food on his spiritual attainment, a characteristically anti-ascetic comment.

[2] *Vivekam anubrūhayan ti.* *Cf.* Childers under the latter word. In the Commentary *paṭipassaddhi-vivekaŋ phalasamāpattiŋ kāya-vivekañ ca paribrūhanto.* *Cf.* ver. 1246, *n.*

[3] This Thera ('Great-rock') is probably the brahmin teacher of the Sela-Sutta in the *Sutta-Nipāta*, who was converted by the Buddha, became an arahant, and would naturally continue to exercise his oratorical gifts. *Cf. Milinda*, i. 253; *Sum. V.*, i. 276.

days he attained arahantship. Confessing aññā he uttered this verse:

> Scarce have the rains gone by since I went forth,
> Yet see the seemly order of the Norm!
> The Threefold Wisdom[1] have I gotten now
> And done all that the Buddha bids us do.[2] (24)

XXV

Nandiya.

Born in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the house of a Sākiyan rāja, his parents said: He is born bringing us bliss; and they called him Nandiya (Beatus). Grown up, he went forth, when Anuruddha and the rest left the world under the Master. And because of his studies and his resolve made in the past, he soon attained arahantship. Thereafter he dwelt with Anuruddha the Thera[3] and his

[1] *Tevijjo*, lit., 'thrice-wise.' This brahminist phrase, referring to one who had learnt the three Vedas, was adopted by the Buddha, and transferred to one who had the three kinds of *paññā*, *vijjā*, or *abhiññā* (intuition, insight), entitled reminiscence of former lives, the heavenly eye, and the destruction of the āsava's, or intoxicants—sensuality, lust of life, opinions, ignorance (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 163-165). *Cf.* p. 14, *n.* 3.

[2] The phrase *anuvassika-pabbajito* is, according to the Commentary, capable of more than one interpretation. If it means 'renounced the world a year ago' (*vide* Neumann), it is curious that Dhammapāla does not paraphrase by the term *saŋvacchara.* Is it not perhaps permissible, in view of the strong emphasis on the order (lit., 'Normity') of the Norm, to see a parallel between two strands of the fivefold order (*niyama*) of the universe:—the seasons and the Norm (*utu-niyama, dhamma-niyama*)? (*Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii. 8, *n.* 3, and my *Buddhism*, 118 *f.*) The fruition—namely, of his moral and spiritual evolution—was as certain and inevitable as that 'seedtime and harvest, . . . summer and winter shall not cease' (Gen. viii. 22). The phrase, however, recurs frequently with no such point.

[3] On Anuruddha and his friends, see Ps. CXXXVIII.-CXXXIX., CCLVI. (*cf.* Ps. CXXXVIII.). The only passage where Nandiya is mentioned independently is *Saŋy.*, v. 403. *Dhammapada Com.*, on verses 219, 220, refers to a quite different Nandiya (verse 11, Nandika, Nanda) of Benares, a lay-adherent.

friends, in the Eastern Bamboo Wood. There Māra, the Evil One, wishing to frighten him, appeared in a terrifying shape. But the Thera drove him away with the words, 'O Evil One! what canst thou do with those that have transcended thy realm? 'Tis thou that thereby wilt meet with defeat and ruin':

To him whose thought is ever newly born
From splendour of the Path, and eke hath touched
The Fruit—if such a Brother thou assail'st,
Black-hearted sprite, to misery thou must go.[1] (25)

XXVI

Abhaya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of King Bimbisāra. The circumstances of his rebirth will be set forth later.[2] Nāṭaputta the Jain leader taught him a dilemma to set the 'Samaṇa Gotama,' but in the Master's reply he recognized the defeat of the Jain and the supreme enlightenment of the Exalted One. Thereafter, when the king died, Abhaya grew anxious and left the world for the Order. Through the preaching of the Sutta on the parable of the hole in the yoke, he reached the First Path; again, stirring up insight, he realized arahantship.[3] Thereupon, glorying in that which he had won, he confessed aññā saying:

Of him, the Buddha, kin o' th' sun, I heard
The word most eloquent, and hearing pierced
The subtle truth of things, as 'twere the tip
Of hair by cunning bowman's art transfixed.[4] (26)

[1] *Cf.* verse 1189.

[2] See *Sisters*, p. 30 (where the printer altered the name to Abhayā). The dilemma episode occupies the Abhayarājakumāra-Sutta (58) of the *Majjh. Nik.*

[3] *I.e.*, the fruition of the Fourth, or Topmost, Path. This Sutta is probably that of the turtle and the floating trap (*Saŋy.*, v. 455; *Majjh.* iii. 169).

[4] The typical test of skill with the bow (*Dhp. Com.*, i., p. 288).

XXVII

Lomasakangiya.

When Kassapa was Buddha, this brother left the world and followed him. Now after the Master had preached the Sutta on Happy-Lonely, a certain bhikkhu talked with Lomasakangiya about it. And our Thera, being unable to explain it, uttered the wish: 'May I in the future become able to teach thee the Happy-Lonely!' The other answered: 'May I ask thee!' Of these two the former, when our Buddha lived, was reborn at Kapilavatthu, in the house of a Sākiyan rāja. And he was very delicate, and covered with fine hair, and therefore he was called Lomasakangiya.[1] The other was reborn at that time among the gods, and named Candana.[2]

Now when Anuruddha and the other Sākiyan youths left the world, Lomasakangiya would not. Then Candana, to stir him up, came to him and asked concerning the Happy-Lonely. The other knew not what he meant. Then Candana reminded him. So Lomasakangiya went to the Exalted One and asked him if it was true that he had made that resolve in the past. 'Ay, youth,' replied the Exalted One; 'and the meaning of it is to be understood in more than fifty points of detail.' Then Lomasakangiya said: 'Wherefore, lord, let me be ordained.' And the Exalted One sent him to get his parents' permission. He asked his mother, but she feared for his health, saying: 'My dear, thou art delicate. How canst thou leave the world?' Then Lomasakangiya uttered this verse:

Nipunan, the subtle, is explained by Dhammapāla as implying the third of the 'Four Truths,' the understanding of the Nirodha Sacca, or the cessation of ill. It is interesting to note how the prince draws his similes from *race* and from *warlike sports*. *Cf.* Ps. CXXXIX., by the Buddha's stepbrother Nanda; also verse 1160.

[1] *I.e.*, downy limbs. Pronounced Lo'măsa Kang'iya.

[2] Pronounced Chand'ănă

Dabba and Kusa grass and pricking stems
And all that hurts in brush and underwood
Forth from my breast I'll push and thrust away,
And go where I the growth may cultivate
Of heart's detachment, lone and separate.[1] (27)

Thereupon his mother said, 'Well then, my dear, go forth.' And he gained the Master's consent to be ordained. After doing the preliminary exercises he went to enter the forest. And the bhikkhus said to him: 'Friend, you are delicate. What can you do here? 'Tis cold in the forest.' But he repeated his verse, and entering the forest, devoted himself to meditation, and soon acquired the six forms of supernormal thought.[2] When he won arahantship he confessed aññā in the same verse.

XXVIII

Jambugāmika's Son.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Campā as the son of a lay-adherent named Jambugāmika,[3] and became called

[1] *Cf.* XXIII., and see Ps. CLXXIV. The Commentary gives us the previous half of the legend, the latter half of which is told in the Lomasakangiya-Sutta of *Majjh.* (iii. 199). Here Candana is represented as teaching the Sutta in question to the Thera. No less than four Suttas of this Nikāya deal with the little poem called 'Bhaddekaratta,' or 'the happy-lonely one,' giving expositions by the Buddha, by Ānanda, by Kaccāna the Great, and by Candana in succession.

[2] '*The powers named Iddhi, the Celestial Ear,*
Discerning others' thoughts; reminiscence,
Of former births, and fifth, the Heavenly Eye.'
Compendium of Philosophy, p. 209.

The sixth, extirpation of the Āsavas, is tantamount to arahantship. The six are comprised in the term 'Abhiññā,' and are left untranslated as 'Abhiññā' in the following psalms.

[3] In the Commentary Jambugāmiya. The name refers to an office, and means syndic of the village of Rose-apple-trees, a place included by the Buddha on his last preaching tour (*Dialogues*, ii. 133), and which probably was a suburb of Campā (pronounced Champā), on the Ganges, the easternmost point of the Buddha's ministrations.

after his father. While studying as a novice in the Order, he dwelt at Sāketa, in the Añjana Grove.[1] Then his father, thinking, 'I wonder if my son remains devoted to his life in the Order or not?' wrote the following verse to examine him, and sent it to him:

And art thou then not gratified by gear?
And art thou then not charmed thyself t' adorn?
And is this fragrant odour, virtue-fraught,
Wafted by thee, and not by other folk? (28)

When he had read[2] this he thought: 'My father is suspicious that I want worldly vanities. Even to-day I have not got beyond the level of the common man!' Filled with anxiety, he strove and wrestled, so that he soon acquired the six abhiññās. And taking the verse his father sent him as a goad, he finally realized arahantship. And both to confess aññā and honour his father, he recited the verse.

XXIX

Hārita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, as the son of a wealthy brahmin,[3] his parents wedded him to a brahmin's daughter suitable in birth, beauty and every other respect. And he, enjoying his lot with her, was one day, while he contemplated the perfection of her beauty, admonished by

[1] *Cf. Sisters*, pp. 84, 158; *Bud. India*, pp. 39, 40; Neumann, *Majjh.* translation, iii. 361, *n.*

[2] *Taŋ vācetvā.* The legend, for us, dates from the Chronicler's day only, when the Piṭakas had long been committed to writing. But as recording even a legend of the committal, at its very birth, of what became a fraction of 'holy writ' to writing, it is of considerable interest. In the verse I read with the Commentary *Kacci na . . . kacci na.* The odour of saintliness is a common Indian metaphor.

[3] *Cf.* CLXXXIV. Hārita, one of the gods of the Brahma-heaven (*Dialogues*, ii. 292), was the name in the *Jātaka* of an erring bhikkhu, on whose account the Buddha related a birth-story of his own fallibility when Bodhisat (*Jāt.*, iii. 295).

the order of things,[1] that such beauty must needs ere long be crushed out by decay and death. Nay, when but a few days had passed by, his wife was bitten by a black snake and died. Overwhelmed by anguish he sought the Master and, hearing the Norm, severed his domestic ties and left the world. Now while he was training himself ethically, he could not make straight his heart.[2] And going for alms into the village,[3] he saw a fletcher applying his tools and making straight the shaft of an arrow. Then, he thought: 'These men make even a senseless thing straight; why do I not make straight my heart?' So he turned back and, seated for siesta, stirred up insight. And lo! the Exalted One, seated in the air above him, admonished him by this verse:

> Now bend aloft thyself; e'en as his bolt
> The fletcher, so do thou, O Hārita,
> Make straight thy heart and ignorance cut away. (29)

Hearing him, the Thera developed insight, and soon became an arahant. He thereupon confessed aññā with this same verse.

XXX

Uttiya.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, as the son of a brahmin, and leaving the world on the quest of the Ambrosial,[4] he became a Wanderer.[5] One day on his

[1] Lit., *dhammatā*, *cf.* p. 39, and my *Buddhism*, pp. 119, 241.

[2] *Cittaṃ* may be rendered by heart or mind, understood as synonymous, as in our New Testament.

[3] *Gāmo*, whether Sāvatthi, called elsewhere *nagaro*, 'town,' or a suburb, or other place, is not stated. *Cf.* Ps. XIX.

[4] *Amata*, the not-dead, a term applied to Nibbāna, or the Paths thereto; more generally, to the *Summum Bonum*.

[5] *Paribbājaka*—*i.e.*, an unattached *religieux*. It is very possible that the Uttiya paribbājaka of *Ang.*, v. 193, and the Uttiya bhikkhu of *Saṃy.*, v. 166, who asks for a lesson in brief, are identical with this Uttiya.

travels he came where the Exalted One was preaching, and entered the Order. From the impurity of his moral principles he could not win the goal. And seeing other bhikkhus who had won confessing to aññā, he asked the Master for a lesson in brief. The Master answered, 'It follows that *you*, Uttiya, must purify the rudiments,'[1] and he taught him them in brief. Uttiya, accepting the lesson, called up insight, but in the process he fell ill. In his anxiety he put forth every effort, and attained arahantship. Inasmuch as he won to perfect attainment in the face of such a condition, he confessed aññā with reference to his illness:

> Since sickness hath befallen me, O now
> Let there arise in me true mindfulness.
> Sickness hath now befallen me—'tis time
> For me no more to dally or delay.[2] (30)

PART IV

XXXI

Gahvaratīriya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, in a brahmin's family, and named Aggidatta.[3] When grown

[1] *Tvaŋ īdim eva visodhehīti.*

[2] The unique reiteration of the *me*, twice in the locative, twice in the dative, in the Pali (the word is identical in both languages), scarcely makes for elegant poetry; but, to be faithful, the translation was bound to reproduce it. It is very possible that there is here a suggestion of the harassed travail of the feverish and ailing, but unfaltering, indomitable brain. Under this aspect the verse becomes a very living document.

[3] *I.e.*, Fire-given. Even if Ratīriya mean Ratīra woodlander (see next page), it is not evident how to interpret Gahva. The name and the Thera are not met with elsewhere. The Brother's disposition and his simile occur in a Sutta comparing five qualities common to excellence in elephants and in bhikkhus (*Ang.*, iii. 161 *ff.*).

up he saw the Exalted One work the twin-miracle,[1] and, being convinced, he entered the Order. Taking a subject for meditation, he went to the Ratīra forest, and became known as Gahva-Ratīriya. Growing in insight, he in a short time attained arahantship. Thereupon he went to worship the Exalted One at Sāvatthī. His kinsfolk, hearing of his coming, bestowed liberal gifts upon him. And when he wished to go back to the forest, they said: 'Sir, the forest is full of peril through the gadflies and mosquitoes. Stay here!' But the Thera, devoted to detachment, replied, 'Life in the forest suits me,' and confessing aññā he uttered this verse:

In the great forest, in the mighty woods,
Touched though I be by gadfly and by gnat,
I yet would roam, like warrior-elephant,
In van of battle, mindful, vigilant.[2] (31)

XXXII

Suppiya.

He in this Buddha-age was reborn, in consequence of his actions,[3] in a despised class, as one of a clan of watchmen in a cemetery at Sāvatthī. Converted by the preaching of the Thera Sopāka[4] his friend, he entered the Order and attained to the highest, declaring this in his psalm while he yet was striving for arahantship:

[1] The power of emitting fire and water from any two opposed parts of the body respectively and simultaneously, also of conjuring up a figure moving differently from himself (*Paṭisambhidā*, i. 125). This the Buddha (in post-canonical works) is recorded to have done at Sāvatthī (*Milinda*, ii. 247; *Sumangala-Vil.*, i. 57; *Dham. Comy.*, iii. 213 *ff.*).

[2] Recurs CLXXVIII., verse 244.

[3] Through pride and conceit when a bhikkhu in the Order of Kassapa Buddha. Apparently not the detractor of *Dialogues*, i. 1.

[4] *Cf.* XXXIII., CCXXVII.

O would that I who hourly waste, might change[1]
For that which ne'er decays—who ever burn,
Might change for that cool bliss—e'en for the
Peace
That passeth all, Safety beyond compare![2] (32)

XXXIII

Sopāka.

(A Boy-Bhikkhu.)

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, of a very poor woman. In her travail his mother fell into a long deep swoon, so that her kinsfolk said 'She is dead!' And they bore her to the cemetery, and prepared to cremate the body. But a spirit prevented the fire burning by a storm of wind and rain, so they went away. Then was the child born hale while the mother died. And the spirit, in human shape, took the infant and placed it in the watchman's house, nourishing it for a time with suitable food. After that the watchman adopted it, and the child grew up with his own son Suppiya (Ps. XXXII.). And because of his birth in the cemetery, he became known as Sopāka, 'the Waif.'[3] When he was seven years old it came to pass that the Exalted One early in the morning spread out his Net of Insight to contemplate what folk might be brought in. And seeing what the net enclosed,

[1] The Commentary reads *nimiyaŋ*, and paraphrases by *parivatteyyaŋ cetāpeyyaŋ* (*cf. Vin.*, iii. 219), and concludes: 'Just as men, exchanging any goods for which they care not, are greatly taken by what they get, even so this Brother, caring not for body or life (*jīvitaŋ*), strove after Nibbāna till he won.' 'Cool bliss' is *nibbuta*, on which, and on the last clause, see *Sisters*, p. 19, *n.* 4, and p. 13, *n.* 2, and p. 14, *n.* 2, respectively. This is one of the very few psalms which resemble our own anthologies in having a burden of the quest not yet won.

[2] Ultimate, perfect (*anuttaro*).

[3] *Cf. Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 137.

he went to the cemetery. The boy, impelled by his antecedents, approached the Master with a gladdened mind and saluted him. The Master taught him, so that he asked to leave the world, and when bidden to gain his father's consent, fetched the latter to the Master. The father saluted, and asked the Master to admit the boy. And the Master had him admitted, and assigned to him the study of fraternal love.[1] He, taking this exercise and dwelling in the cemetery, soon acquired the corresponding jhāna. And making that his base,[2] he fostered insight and realized arahantship. As arahant he showed in his verse to the other bhikkhus dwelling there the principle of the love exercises, bidding them make no difference between those who were to them friendly, indifferent, or hostile. For all alike their love should be one and the same in its nature, and should include all realms, all beings, at all ages :

E'en as she would be very good
Towards her only child, her well-belovèd son,
So too ye should be very good
Towards all creatures everywhere and every-
one.[3] (33)

[1] *Cf. Dialogues*, ii. 219. It is a pretty touch that the boy, who as a waif owed everything to fraternal love and pity, should have been set this study. *Cf.* Ps. I.

[2] *Compendium*, p. 62.

[3] This simile is better known in the form given it in the *Sutta-Nipāta* (verse 149) and the *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, bringing in the loving mother more explicitly. Here the language is so simple that it really lends probability to the Commentator's story of the boy-bhikkhu, who as a 'waif' had never known a mother. I have therefore rendered it *as a child's attempt.* 'Ye' is lit. 'one.'

XXXIV

Posiya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, as the son of a very wealthy councillor,[1] and the younger brother of the Thera Sangāmaji.[2] When he was grown up he married; but when a son was born to him, he, being impelled by the order of things belonging to the last span of life, grew anxious concerning birth and the like. So he left the world and dwelt alone in the forest, exercising himself in the Four Truths. And soon after he won arahantship.

Then he went to Sāvatthī to worship the Exalted One, and came to his home. There his former wife entertained him and, unaware of his disposition, was desirous of drawing him back by her attractions. The Thera thinking 'Alas! the fool of desire has designs even on such as me,' said no word, but rose up and went away into the forest. And the bhikkhus there said to him: 'Why, friend, you are come back too quickly; have you not seen your people?' The Thera told them what had taken place, and recited a verse:

Best when not near, both now and evermore,
Are such as these for him who understands.
Forth from the township to the woods I went,
Thence to my home once more I came; but thence
Rising I gat me forth again, nor e'er
Did this same Posiya let fall a word. (34)

[1] On the term *seṭṭhi*, see *Sisters*, p. 192, *n*. 1. I have in this work decided to use 'councillor' as expressing, for us, a burgess of some official importance, head (*seṭṭhi*)—*e.g.*, of a guild, etc.

[2] See *Udāna*, i. 8; *Netti*, p. 150.

XXXV

Sāmaññakāni.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a Wanderer,[1] and was converted to the religious life when he saw the Exalted One perform the twin-miracle.[2] And through jhāna he attained arahantship.

Now a Wanderer named Kātiyāna, whom he had known as a layman, had lost all support from the laity since the Buddha had arisen, and was destitute. He came to the Thera and said: 'You of the Sākiyans, who have won much fame and support, live happily, but we are distressed and destitute. What should one do to compass happiness both in this life and the next?' The Thera said: 'Happiness not of the world:—this, for one who undergoes the suitable procedure to get it, and who gets it, is alone to be called unqualified happiness.' And to illustrate this by his own attainment, he uttered this verse:

Happiness he who seeks may win an he practise the
 seeking—
Honour he gaineth beside, and growth of renown
 shall befall him—
So he but practise the road called Straight,[3] even the
 Ariyan,
The Noble Eightfold Path whereby we may reach
 salvation.[4] (35)

[1] Paribbājaka—*i.e.*, an unattached *religieux*. Whether he was born before the father left the world, or after he had lapsed into it again (*cf. Sisters*, Ps. lxviii.), is not stated.

[2] *Cf.* p. 36, *n.* 1.

[3] 'Because one has put away all bodily and other crookedness,' explains the Commentary. I seem to discern an echo of the Nikāya verse: *Ujuko nāma so maggo* (*Saṃy.*, i. 14; *Sisters*, verse 361)—'Straight is the name that Way is called.' The Pāli is in Gāyatrī metre (Vedic).

[4] *Amata*. *Cf.* XXI.

XXXVI

Kumā's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the Avanti country,[1] at the town of Veḷukaṇḍa in the family of a housefather, he was called Nanda. But his mother's name was Kumā, whence he was known as Kumā's son. He entered the Order after hearing the venerable Sāriputta preach, and studied on the slope of the frontier hills; but it was only after he had gone to hear the Exalted One that he was able so to correct his exercises, as to realize arahantship. As arahant he saw that the other bhikkhus showed excess in bodily needs, and he admonished them in the doctrine, saying:

O goodly are the things our ears now hear!
O goodly is the life we here may lead!
O good it is always to lack a house![2]
Now questioning on things of high import,
Now showing all due thanks and reverence:
Such is the calling of the true recluse,
Of him who owneth naught of anything. (36)

[1] See *Buddhist India*, by Rhys Davids, p. 8 *f.* It is noteworthy that one of the principal lay-followers of the Buddha was a lady called the Veḷukaṇḍiyan or -kaṇṭikan, mother of Nanda. This, however, was probably Uttarā; she can scarcely be our Kumā, since she is represented as telling the chief Theras that her only son Nanda had been put to death as a boy by the rājas (*rājāno*), or oligarchs. Nanda was a common name, and it is possible, if we do not impatiently class all such references as purely legendary, that to call one Nanda Kumāputta was a convenient distinction among neighbours. It may, of course, have reference to bīna-marriage descent (*Saŋy.*, ii. 236; *Ang.*, i. 26, 88, 164; iii. 336; iv. 63; and *cf. Dialogues*, i. 193, § 5).

[2] An allusion to *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 844. This is discussed in *Saŋy.*, iii. 9 *ff.*; 'lacking a house' is symbolical of 'not being engrossed by objects and pleasures of sense.'

XXXVII

The Comrade of Kumā's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Veḷukaṇḍa, of a wealthy family, and named Sudanta—some say Vasuloki—he became the dear friend of Kumā's son. When the latter left the world, he thought: 'That can be no mean religion which Kumā's son has entered.' So he went and heard the Master preach. Thereupon he was filled with a much more fervent desire and entered the Order, dwelling with Kumā's son on the frontier hills devoted to religious exercises.

Now at that time many bhikkhus touring in various districts, going and coming, halted at that station, so that there was much noise. And Sudanta, disturbed in his concentration of mind, made his trouble the goad for the taming of his thoughts, and uttered this verse:

To divers regions back and forth they fare
Heedless of heart upon their rounds, and balk
The mind's due concentration. What, forsooth,
Shall all this vagabondage[1] bring to pass?
Hence is it meet that clamour be subdued,
Nor harass him who fain would meditate. (37)

XXXVIII

Gavampati.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as one of the four lay-companions of the Thera Yasa, who, when they heard of Yasa's renunciation, imitated him, and also won arahantship.[2] Thereafter he dwelt in the Añjana Grove at

[1] *Raṭṭhañcariya*, lit., kingdom-touring; not a bad predecessor of our 'globe-trotting.' It was part of a bhikkhu's duties, though liable to be abused or—at least, as here—mismanaged. *Raṭṭhaŋ* is metrically redundant, but the disturbance in rhythm may be intentional.

[2] See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 110, and below, CXXXII. On Gavampati, see also *Dialogues*, ii. 373; *Saŋy.*, v. 436; *Kathāvatthu*, p. 220.

Sâketa, experiencing the bliss of emancipation. Now at that time the Exalted One came also with a great company of bhikkhus to the Añjana Grove, and the accommodation was insufficient, many of the bhikkhus sleeping around the vihāra on the sandbanks of the River Sarabhū.[1] Then in the middle of the night the stream rose in flood, and a great cry arose from the younger brethren. The Exalted One hearing it, sent for the venerable Gavampati, and said: 'Go, Gavampati, arrest the rising stream, and put the bhikkhus at ease.' And the Thera by his mystic power did so, and stopped the stream afar so that it stood up like a mountain-peak. Thenceforth the might of the Thera became known. One day as the Master sat teaching in the midst of a great assembly he saw Gavampati, and in compassion for the world praised his virtues in this verse:

Who by his might[2] reared up the Sarabhū,
Who standeth self-reliant and unmoved,
Who hath transcended every tie, Gavampati,
Him mighty seer the very gods acclaim,
Surpasser of the coming back to be.[3] (38)

XXXIX

Tissa.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of the Exalted One's aunt, and named Tissa.[4] He left the world to follow the Exalted One, and dwelling in a woodland settlement, was proud because of his rank, being

[1] The present city of Ayodhyā stands on a corner of the site of what was once the great city, 24 miles in circumference, of Sâketa, about 100 miles north-north-east of Benares. The Sarabhū or Sarayū flows through it into the Gharghara, a tributary of the Ganges. *Cf.* XXVIII.

[2] The Commentary reads *vadanti* (they say), instead of *iddhiyā*.

[3] *Bhavassa pāraguŋ*. The former half of the gāthā is of the Triṣṭubh, the latter of the Jagati metre.

[4] *I.e.*, son of Amatā (Amritā), sister of Suddhodana.

irritable and captious in his conduct, so that he did not do his duties with zeal. Then the Master, surveying him one day with celestial vision from afar, while he was sleeping with open mouth at siesta, came over him above, shedding glory down upon him, and wakening him with these words:

As one downsmitten by impending sword,
As one whose hair and turban are aflame,[1]
So let the Brother, mindful and alert,
Go forth, all worldly passions left behind. (39)

When the Thera heard this, his heart was filled with anguish, and he abode intent on insight. Noting this, the Master taught him the 'Sutta of Thera Tissa,' which is in the Saŋyutta collection.[2] At the close of it Tissa was established in arahantship. And to confess aññā and honour the Master, he uttered that same verse.

XL

Vaḍḍhamāna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in the family of a Licchavi rāja, he became as a pious lad a servitor to the Order. Later, after he had been ordained, he also was subject to sloth and torpor, and was also aroused by the Master with this verse:

As one downsmitten by impending sword,
As one whose hair and turban are aflame,
So let the Brother, mindful and alert,
Go forth, all lust of living[3] left behind. (40)

[1] On this metaphor, see *Sisters*, p. 172, verse 7. The Commentary has a note on various sword-wounds, but the moral is simply the need of instant action, whether to heal or to extinguish. See verse 1,162 *f.*

[2] *Saŋy.*, iii. 106. Tissa confesses to the brethren his mental sluggishness and distaste for religion. They bring him to the Master. The Homily, with catechism, is in keeping with the above. In the *Dhammapada Comy.* (i. 37) he is called Thulla-Tissa (Fat Tissa). *Cf. Saṃy.*, i. 13.

[3] Lit., of becoming. For *satto* read *sato*.

PART V

XLI

Sirivaḍḍha.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in the house of a prosperous brahmin. Previous causes induced him, when King Bimbisāra met the Master, to take orders, and he went to a certain forest near the hills Vebhāra and Paṇḍava, and there dwelt devoted to religious exercises. And there arose once a great storm, and the lightnings entered the cave. But the wind from the pregnant clouds assuaged the heat and fever oppressing the Thera, so that by the more suitable temperature his heart grew concentrated, and he was able to exercise such insight that he won arahantship. So he, with aññā as a pretext, broke forth into this utterance touching himself:

> The lightnings flash e'en in the rocky cave,
> Smiting Vebhāra's crest and Paṇḍava,[1]
> And, in the mountain-bosom hid, a child
> Of that incomparable Master sits
> Ardent in contemplative ecstasy. (41)

XLII

Khadira-Vaniya.

(Revata.)

He was reborn, in this Buddha-age, in the kingdom of Magadha, at the village of Nālaka, as the son of Rūpasārī, the brahminee. When he was grown up his mother desired

[1] Two of the five crests in the group of hill-ranges rising above Rājagaha (Rājgir). The former name persists as Baibhāra or Vaibhāra (see illustration), which rises to the East. The last line expands the one word *jhāyati*, a word meaning, in Pali, both 'burns' and 'meditates in jhāna.' *Cf.* verse 1,167.

he should marry, but he heard of Sāriputta's[1] renunciation, and said: 'If my elder brother Upatissa has laid aside this wealth, I too will vomit back his vomit,' and he went to the bhikkhus and, announcing himself as the younger brother of the 'General of the Norm,'[2] he asked for ordination. When he had won arahantship in the Acacia Wood,[3] he went to Sāvatthī to salute the Exalted One and his brother, staying a few days at the Jeta Grove. Then the Master, seated in the conclave of the Ariyans, assigned 'Revata the Acacia-woodlander the first place among forest bhikkhus.'[4]

At another time he went to his native village and fetched away his three nephews, the sons of his three sisters, Cālā, Upacālā, and Sīsūpacālā,[5] named respectively, Cāla, Upacāla, and Sīsūpacālā, and ordained them. One day the Thera was ill, and Sāriputta heard of it, and said: 'I will make inquiry after Revata's state and treatment.' And seeing him coming far off, Revata admonished the three novices to be heedful, saying:

> Come, Cāla, and you, Upacāla too,
> Sīsūpacālā also, take good heed,
> Be on your guard, for he who comes to you
> Is as a wondrous archer splitting hairs. (43)

And when they heard him the novices went forth to meet the General of the Norm, and while he conversed with their uncle, sat near composed and intent. When he approached them, they rose up, bowed, and remained standing. The Thera asked them at which vihāra they were

[1] Rūpasārī's relation to Upatissa Sāriputta (*i.e.*, son of Sārī), the chief Thera, is given in *Dhp. Com.*, i. 88, and below CCLIX.

[2] The usual title of Sāriputta.

[3] Khadira; Acacia Catechu, according to Childers.

[4] *Ang.*, i. 24. For Revata's longer poem see CCXLIV.

[5] See *Sisters*, Ps. lix., lx., lxi. In the absence of the Commentary, Dr. Neumann has assumed that the three masculine vocatives in the text are feminine, and that Revata is addressing his sisters. Pronounce Cāl- as Chāl- in all these names.

each dwelling, and they replied: 'At such an one.' Then, instructing the boys, he said: 'My little brother has indeed taught the lesser duties belonging to the Norm,' and thus praising Revata, he departed.

XLIII

Sumangala.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at a hamlet near Sāvatthī, in a poor family. Grown up, he earned his living in the fields, furnished with a little sickle, plough, and spade. Now one day when King Pasenadi of Kosala was bestowing a great offering on the Exalted One and the Order, he went, taking milk and butter, along with men who were taking woodwork. Seeing the attentions and honours paid to the Brethren and Sisters, he thought: 'These Sākiyan recluses live in sheltered lodgings and in delicate robes—what if I too were now to leave the world?' And he approached a certain great Thera and made known his intention. The Thera out of compassion admitted him, and sent him into the forest with an exercise. But in solitude he pined and wavered, and departed to his native village. Then as he went along he saw the peasants ploughing the fields in soiled garments, covered with dust blown by hot winds. And he thought: 'Truly these fellows earn their living in great misery!' And feeling anxious, his insight approaching maturity, he set himself to do the exercises that had been given him, going to the roots of a tree, and biding in seclusion. Thus he finally won arahantship. Thereafter, to celebrate his own emancipation from the ills of life, he broke forth into this psalm:

> Well rid, well rid, O excellently rid
> Am I from these three crooked tasks and tools,
> Rid o' my reaping with your sickles, rid
> Of trudging after ploughs, and rid's my back
> Of bending o'er these wretched little spades.

Though they be ever here, ay, ever here,
Enough of them, I say, for me, enough!
Go meditate, Sumangala, ay, go
And meditate, Sumangala, and bide
Earnest and diligent, Sumangala![1] (43)

XLIV

Sānu.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, in the family of a lay-follower, after the father had left his home. The mother, naming him Sānu, brought him when he was seven years old to the bhikkhus for ordination, deeming she would thus ensure for him supreme happiness. Now Sānu the Novice became very learned, a teacher of doctrine, and practised in the jhāna of love, being beloved by gods and men. And as we know from the Sānu-Sutta (*Saŋyutta Nikāya*, i. 208) his mother, in his previous birth, was a Yakkha.[2] Now as time went on Sānu lost his intellectual discernment and grew distraught, and longed to go a-roaming. Then his previous mother perceived this, and warned his human mother saying: 'Your son has a fancy to roam, wherefore bid him rouse himself. Tell him what the Yakkhas say:

Do nought of evil, open or concealed,
If evil thou now doest or wilt do,
Thou'lt not escape from ill, e'en though thou flee.[3]

[1] This curious and racy verse runs into four lines of text, is of no assignable metre or symmetry, and would seem to represent a Walt-Whitmanesque effort of a *peasant bhikkhu* to turn out rough-hewn the utterance of his emotions. As such, it is of striking interest, and is paralleled in homeliness and verve by the verse of Muttā (*Sisters*, Ps. xi.), herself of humble circumstances, rejoicing to be rid of her special trio of crooked things—husband, quern, and churn

[2] The Yakkhas, denizens of the jungle, and man-eaters; conceivably the legendary survivors of aboriginals, but, as here, invested with more than human intuition.

[3] *Saŋy.*, i. 209; *Udāna*, v. 4; *Sisters*, verses 246, 247.

Thus saying, the Yakkha-mother disappeared. But when the human mother heard, she was overwhelmed with grief. Then Sānu the novice, taking his robe and bowl, set out early and came to his mother. At sight of her sorrow he said: 'Mother, why do you weep?' When she told him why, he said this verse:

Mother, they weep for the dead, or the living they may
not see.
But for him, O mother, who lives, who is here, why
mournest thou me? (44)

His mother answered him from the Suttas, "This is death, O bhikkhus, that one should reject the training and turn again to lower things,'[1] and with this verse:

They mourn for son who lieth dead, or him
Who is alive but whom they no more see,
And him they mourn, who though he did renounce
The world, my son, doth hither come again,
For though he live again, yet is he dead.
Drawn forth from burning embers, O my dear,
Dost thou on embers wish to fall again?

When he heard her, anguish seized on Sānu the Novice, and making firm his insight, he soon won arahantship. And thereupon thinking, 'My victory is due to that verse,' he repeated it as his psalm.[2]

XLV

Ramaṇīyavihārin.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a leading citizen, he lived in youthful wantonness. One day he saw the king's officers arresting an adulterer, and grow-

[1] *Saṃy.*, ii. 271; *Sisters*, verses 246, 247; the verse is from *Saṃy.* i. 209.

[2] The *Dhammapada Commentary*, discussing verse 326, has, as its subject, Sānu and his mother. His own question was the penultimate, though not the proximate, cause of his victory.

ing agitated, he listened to the Master teaching, and left the world. As a bhikkhu, but still susceptible to fleshly lusts, he made himself a well-garnished chamber,[1] well furnished as to food and drink, seat and couch; and so he ever dwelt. For this reason he was known as Ramaṇīya-vihārin (Pleasant-lodge Brother). But his previous indulgence making the recluse's life too hard for him, he felt unworthy to accept the offerings of the faithful and said: 'I will roam.' On his way he sat down beneath a tree. And as carts were passing by on the road, one ox being weary stumbled at a rough place and fell. The carter loosened its yoke, gave it hay and water and so allayed its fatigue; then he harnessed it again and they went on. And the Thera thought: 'Even as this ox having stumbled has arisen and draws his own load, so doth it behove me, who once have stumbled in the forest of vice, to arise and carry out the duty of a recluse.' And thoughtfully turning back, he told what he had done and seen to Thera Upāli,[2] was by him absolved from his fault, and helped back into right ways. And not long after he attained arahantship. Thereafter enjoying the bliss of freedom, he set forth his lapse and return in this verse:

E'en though he trip and fall, the mettled brute
Of noble breed will steadfast stand once more.
So look on me as one who having learned
Of Him, the All-Enlightened One, have gained
True insight, am become of noble breed,
And of the Very Buddha very child.[3] (45)

[1] Or well polished, *susamaṭṭhaṃ*.

[2] See Ps. CLXXX. As the greatest expert in Vinaya, or the discipline of the Order, Upāli (if it be this Upāli who is meant) was eminently qualified to judge respecting his lapse, and to counsel him.

[3] As this verse stands in the PTS version, it is incomplete. The Commentary leads us to suppose that it should be completed, as is the case, in verse 174, *q.v.*

XLVI

Samiddhi.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in a clansman's family.[1] From the time he was born the wealth of his family increased, and he himself, handsome and virtuous, became known as Samiddhi (Prospero). He saw the power of the Buddha when the latter was met by Bimbisāra,[2] won faith in him, and left the world, abiding devoted to meditation. When the Exalted One was staying at the Tapoda Park,[3] Samiddhi one day was musing in exquisite joy on his good fortune as a bhikkhu. Then Māra the Evil One, unable to bear it, made a fearful noise near him, as if the very earth were splitting. The Thera told this to the Exalted One. The latter bade him persist where he was and think no more about it. He obeyed, and soon after won arahantship. Māra, unaware of it, once more created a fearful noise. But the Thera felt no fear: 'Undaunted by all such Māras, not once have I turned a hair!' And confessing aññā, he uttered this verse:

In trust and hope forth from my home I came
Into the homeless life. And there in me
Have mindfulness and insight grown, and tense
And well composed my heart and mind. Make thou
Whatever shams thou list, thou'lt harm me not. (46)

And Māra, thus rebuked, said, 'The recluse knows me,' and vanished from that place.

[1] *Kulagehe*. *Cf.* Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 17-22.

[2] *Vinaya Texts*, i. 136.

[3] This episode is related in nearly the same words, and with the same gāthā, in the Māra-Saṃyutta (*Saṃy.*, i. 119 *f.*, p. 91), but the geography is a little halting. In the Nikāya the locality is Silāvatī of the Sākiyans; the Tapoda Park was on the river of that name at Rājagaha. Samiddhi, in the double rôle of Adonis and Galahad, is the subject of the 'Samiddhi-jātaka' (*Jātaka*. ii., No. 167).

XLVII

Ujjaya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a brahmin graduate.[1] Grown up and proficient in the Three Vedas, he saw no kernel in them, and being urged by maturity of conditions, he went to the Bamboo Grove, and when he had heard the Master preach, he left the world. Meditating in the forest on ethical conduct, he was not long in winning arahantship. Thereupon he approached the Master, saluted him, seated himself on one side and, by praising the Exalted One, confessed aññā in this verse:

> Buddha the Wake, the Hero hail! all hail![2]
> Thou who from every bond art wholly free!
> Strong in the lore I learnt of thee, I live[3]
> From fourfold venom cleansèd, sane, immune.[4] (47)

XLVIII

Sañjaya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age, at Rājagaha, as the son of a wealthy brahmin. Grown up, he followed the example of Brahmāyu, Pokkharasāti and other well-known brahmins, who found faith in the Master and reached the First Path. Later he entered the Order and acquired the

[1] *Sotthiya brāhmaṇa* (Sansk. *śrotriya*), 'one who had graduated in the sacred tradition.'

[2] See *Sisters*, verse 157.

[3] More literally, 'In thy lore a liver I live.'

[4] *I.e.*, from the four Āsavas, or poisons or intoxicants—sensuality, (love of) rebirth, opinion or speculation, ignorance (*Compendium* p. 227).

six abhiññās. Then, confessing aññā, he uttered this verse:

> Since I went forth from home to homeless life,
> Ne'er have I harboured conscious wish or plan
> Un-Ariyan, or linked with enmity.[1] (48)

XLIX

Rāmaṇeyyaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in a wealthy family, his heart was moved when the Jeta Grove was presented,[2] and he left the world. Dwelling in the forest he meditated on ethical conduct, and, because of his attainments and charm, he became called Rāmaṇeyyaka (Gratus, Gratulus).

Now one day Māra the Evil One, wishing to disturb him, made a fearful noise. The Thera, hearing it, was with his habitual courage unafraid, and knew it was Māra. And to show his contempt he uttered this verse:

> Not all the clitter-clatter of your noise,
> No more than chirp and squeal of forest sounds,[3]
> Avail to make pulse throb or mind distraught,
> For *one* the aim to which my heart is given. (49)

This verse became the Thera's confession of aññā.

[1] *Cf.* verses 603, 645. Pokkharāsāti and other brahmins are named as adherents in the Vāseṭṭha Sutta (*Sutta-Nipāta*, iii. 9), but Sañjāyā is not mentioned. This is not the teacher of Sāriputta (CCLIX.).

[2] *Cf.* p. 4; *Sisters*, p. 60.

[3] The limited range, as yet, of Pali lexicography makes it difficult to follow the Commentary's elucidation of *sippika*. But that the Thera contemptuously likens Māra's 'fearful noise' to minor forest sounds, such as those emitted by monkeys and squirrels, is obvious. The gāthā, barely stated, is thus: As to the *x y* noise and the *z* sounds, *that* does not make 'throb my heart, for devotion to unity is mine.'

L

Vimala.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, of a wealthy family, and (because of a wish he had uttered over a pious act when Kassapa was Buddha) his body was as pure as a dewdrop on a lotus-leaf, or as that of the Bodhisat in his last birth. Wherefore he was named Vimala (Immaculatus). When grown up he was filled with faith on seeing the Buddha at Rājagaha,[1] and leaving the world, took a form of study and went to dwell in a mountain cave in Kosala.

Now one day a vast storm-cloud spread over the firmament and the rain fell, allaying heat and feverishness, so that the Thera was able to concentrate till he had won arahantship. Thereupon rejoicing over his accomplished task, he broke forth in this psalm:

The burdened earth is sprinkled by the rain,
The winds blow cool, the lightnings roam on high.
Eased and allayed th' obsessions of the mind,
And in my heart the spirit's mastery.[2] (50)

This verse was the Thera's confession of aññā.

PART VI

LI-LIV

Godhika, Subāhu, Valliya, Uttiya.

In the time of our Buddha, these four, companions in a former birth when Kassapa Buddha was on earth, were reborn at Pava[3] as the sons of four Malla rājas,[4] and there

[1] *Cf.* Pss. XLI., XLVI.
[2] Lit., 'the heart (consciousness) of me is well composed.'
[3] See *Dialogues*, ii. 136 *ff.*
[4] Among Mallas, Koliyans, Licchavis, Sākiyans, every clansman was called a rāja.

was whole-hearted friendship between them. They went on some embassy to the King at Kapilavatthu. At that time the Master too had gone thither, and was staying in the Banyan Park, where he convinced the Sākiyan rājas by his twin-miracle[1] Then the four saw the same and believed. They entered the Order, and not long after attained arahantship with thorough mastery of the letter and spirit of the Norm. Now after they had received much honour and support from the King and his ministers, they dwelt in the forest. Then King Bimbisāra, when they went to Rājagaha, called on them and invited them to spend the rains, building for each of them a *châlet*, but carelessly omitting to have the huts roofed. So the Theras dwelt in those huts unsheltered. But at the time of the rains, the god rained not.[2] And the king, wondering thereat, remembered his neglect, and had the *châlets* thatched with plaster and painted, and held an opening festival, besides giving gifts to the Order. The Theras did the King the favour of entering, and forthwith attained to the suffusion of universal love. Then from the north and the east arose a great storm-cloud, and just as the Theras emerged from their ecstasy, the rain fell. Then Godhika, aroused by the thunder of the storm, uttered this verse:

> God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
> Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
> The heart of me is steadfast and at peace.
> Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain! (51)

And Subāhu:

> God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
> Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed,
> Well hath my mind the body's nature grasped.[3]
> Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain! (52)

[1] See p. 36, *n*. 1.

[2] The usual idiom for 'it rained' (*cf*. I.). The Commentary again paraphrases 'deva' by rain-cloud (*megha*), without Pajjunna. The metre of these rain-verses is of a peculiar rippling rhythm. I cannot allocate it.

[3] Lit.: 'Well composed is the mind with respect to the senses.'

And Valliya:

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
Herein earnest and strenuous I dwell.
Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain! (53)

And Uttiya:

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
Herein I dwell unmated and alone.[1]
Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain! (54)

LV

Añjana-vaniya.[2]

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, of the family of a rāja[3] of the Vajjians. When he was grown up, a threefold panic had arisen in the Vajjian territory—to wit, the fear of drought, of sickness, and of non-human foes. This is all told in the Commentary on the Ratana-Sutta.[4] When the Exalted One quieted the panic at Vesālī, and a great concourse heard him preach, this rāja's son heard him also, and winning faith, left the world.

When he had fulfilled the preliminary training, he dwelt in the Añjana Wood at Sāketa. And when the rains drew near, he procured a worn castaway couch, and placing it on four stones and enclosing it above and around with grasses, he set up a door to it, and so got a sheltered

[1] *Adutiyo* can mean this, or else 'free from craving.' *Cf.* verse 896, *n.*

[2] The Commentary has Añjanavanira.

[3] On rājas, see above, LI.

[4] Or Jewel Discourse, *Sutta-Nipāta* and *Khuddaka-Pāṭha;* an interesting remark, if the Commentary he refers to is the *Paramattha-jotikā.* I have found no canonical account of this panic.

retreat for the rainy season. After only one month his strenuous study won for him arahantship. Thereafter, feeling the bliss of emancipation, he roused himself, and contemplating his victory with rapture uttered this verse:

> Deep in the leafy glades of Añjana
> My couch into a little hut I made.
> The threefold wisdom have I made my own,
> And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.[1] (55)

LVI

Kuṭivihārin.[2]

His story (in this life) is like that of Añjana-vaniya, with this difference: while striving for insight he was walking by the fields, and took shelter from the rain in the little empty hut of the field-watchman, and there won arahantship. Thereupon the watchman came and said: 'Who is in the hut?' The answer was: 'A bhikkhu is in the hut,' and the rest of the verse:

> Who's in my little hut? A brother 'tis,
> Who in thy little hut, all passions tamed,
> Hath throughly set his mind. Know this, O friend,
> 'Twas not for naught thou mad'st thy little hut! (56)

Then the watchman said: 'Luck indeed for me, good luck indeed is mine, that your honour should have come into my little hut and be sitting there!'

And the Exalted One heard their converse by his celestial

[1] Verse 24, *n.* 3.

[2] *I.e.*, hut-dweller; in the Commentary Kuṭivihāriya.

hearing, and discerned the watchman's pleasure. And he addressed these verses to him:

Within the hut a brother dwells, peace in his heart, purged of all taint.
Fruit of this deed shall be to thee: lord of the gods thou'lt come to be
Six times, ay, seven, lord of the gods, ruler over celestial realms,
Thereafter all thy passions tamed, a Silent Buddha[1] *thou shalt be.*

From that time the Thera began to be called Kuṭivihārin.

LVII

Kuṭivihārin (2).

His story resembles that of the Añjana Wood Thera, with this difference: When he had left the world under similar circumstances, he pursued his religious studies in a very old hut. And he thought: 'This old hut is now rotten; I ought to make another.' So he turned his mind to new action.[2] Then a spirit, seeking salvation, sought to agitate him by uttering this verse, simple in words but profound in meaning:

This was an ancient hut, say'st thou? To build
Another hut, a new one, is thy wish?
O cast away the longing for a hut!
New hut will bring new pain, brother, to thee.[3] (57)

When he heard these words, the Thera grew anxious, and with effort and endeavour establishing insight, soon won arahantship. Thereupon he repeated the verse as that which had spurred him on to victory, and as the confession of his aññā. Because he had attained while in the hut, he, too, became known as Kuṭivihārin.

[1] Pacceka-buddha. See *Sisters*, p. 11, *n.* 4.
[2] *Kamma*, karma.
[3] *Cf.* Sarabhanga, CCXXVIII. 'New hut' symbolizes rebirth.

LVIII

Ramaṇīyakuṭika.

His story resembles that of the Añjana-Woodlander, with this difference: he dwelt in a hut beside a hamlet in the Vajjian territory. It was a pretty pleasing little *châlet*, with floor and walls well prepared, surrounded by park and tank, and with its enclosure of smooth pearly sand. And the Thera's excellent virtues enhanced its attractiveness. He there won arahantship, and there continued to dwell. Now when people came to see the vihāra (settlement), they could see the hut. One day a few fast women came by, and seeing the attractiveness of the hut said: 'The recluse living there might be a youth we could fascinate.' So they accosted him, saying: 'Delightful, sir, is your dwelling-place. We too are delightful to see, just in the prime of our youth,' and they began to show off their raiment and so forth. But the Thera set forth his passionless state in this verse:

Delightful is my little hut, the gift
Most fair of faithful, pious folk.
What need of maidens then have I? Nay, go
Thither to them, ye women, who have need of
you. (58)

By this 'not needing' saying, the declaration of the Thera's arahantship is implied.

LIX

Kosalavihārin.

His story resembles that of the Añjana-Woodlander, with this difference: after his novitiate, he dwelt in the forest by a village in the kingdom of Kosala, near the dwelling of a lay adherent. The latter, seeing him camped under a

tree, made a little hut and gave it him. There the Thera attained arahantship. Then filled with rapture at his emancipation, he uttered this psalm:

> Strong in my faith[1] I left the world. Now here
> Within the woods a hut is made for me;
> And I with zeal and ardour meditate,
> With watchful wit and clarity of mind. (59)

This was his confession of aññā, and because he dwelt so long in Kosala, he became known as the Kosala settler.

LX

Sīvali.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of Suppavāsā, the king's daughter.[2] When his mother was not able to bring forth and lay seven days in great suffering, she said to her husband: 'Before I die I will give a gift.' And she sent him to the Master, saying: 'Go tell of my state to the Master, and invite him; and what he says, mark well and come and tell it me.' He did her bidding, and the Master said: 'May Suppavāsā, daughter of the Koliyas, be happy. May she, happy and healthy, give birth to a healthy child.' The rāja heard, saluted the Exalted One and set out for the village. Even before he came, Suppavāsā was delivered of a son. The persons

[1] 'When I saw the might of the Exalted One at Vesālī, I thought: "Absolutely able to guide is this doctrine and ordinance; therefore shall I verily through this attainment be set free from old age and death." And because of the faith thus arisen, I went forth' (Commentary). The last two lines in the stanza are an expansion of four adjectives, the sentence lacking expressed subject and predicate.

[2] King of Koliya. The story is told in the introduction to the 100th Jātaka (i. 242), in *Udāna* (II. 8), and in *Dhp. Com.* on verse 414 (*cf. Ang.*, ii. 62). The mother, in the legend, was unable for seven years and seven days to bring forth her child.

who had surrounded her with tearful faces went forth delighted to tell the rāja. He saw them coming and thought: 'That which He of the Ten Powers told me has been fulfilled.' And he went to the princess and told her what the Master had pronounced. Then she bade him show hospitality to the Buddha and the Order for seven days. And saying, 'The child is born, bringing gladness of heart to all our kin,' they named him Sīvali (Auspicious).

By the seventh day from his birth he was able to do anything. Sāriputta, General of the Norm, conversed with him on that day,[1] and said: 'Does it not behove one who has overcome such suffering as you have done to leave the world?' 'Sir,' babbled the infant, 'I would leave the world.' Suppavāsā saw them talking, and asked the Thera what he had said. 'We spoke of the long suffering he has overcome. With your leave I will ordain him.' She replied: 'It is well, sir; ordain him.' And Sāriputta, ordaining him, said: 'Sīvali, you want no other exhortation than the cause of the long suffering you have overcome. Think on that.' 'Sir,' replied the child, 'yours was the burden of ordaining me; but I will find out what I am capable of doing.' At the moment when the first lock of his hair was cut off, he was established in the fruition of the First Path, when the second was cut, in that of the Second Path, and so for the third and fourth. . . .[2]

Other teachers say that after Sāriputta had ordained him, he went the same day, and taking up his abode in a secluded hut, meditated on his woefully delayed birth, and so, his knowledge attaining maturity, descended into the avenue of insight, casting out all the intoxicants (of the mind)[3] and thus attaining arahantship. Thereupon ex-

[1] The verse in the *Dhammapada* (414) is here quoted, and the episode narrated in the Commentary (PTS edition, vol. iii.).

[2] Here follows the episode dealt with by the Commentary on *Ang.*, i. 24, where Sīvali's eminence as recipient of offerings is stated.

[3] See p. 52, *n*. 4.

periencing the bliss of emancipation, he in emotional rapture uttered this psalm:

Now have they prospered, all my highest aims,
To compass which I sought this still retreat.
The holy lore and liberty, my quest,
All lurking vain conceits I cast away. (60)

PART VII

LXI

Vappa.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of a brahmin Vāsettha. Now when Asita the seer[1] had declared that the young noble Siddhattha would become omniscient, Vappa with four other sons of brahmins, Kondañña at their head,[2] became recluses. When Asita's prophecy had been fulfilled, Vappa heard the Buddha preach and thought: 'I will win salvation.' He was present during the six years when the Great Being made his ascetic struggles; thereupon disgusted when the latter again took solid food, he went to Isipatana, and there met the Master then starting the Wheel of the Norm a-rolling and was converted. On the fifth day he and his four mates won arahantship. Thereupon reflecting on the might of the Master and the blindness of the world, and how the Ariyan state bestowed vision, he said this verse:

He who doth see can see another seer,
Him too who hath no eyes wherewith to see,
He who himself sees not, can ne'er discern
Either the eye that sees not, or the seer.[3] (61)

[1] *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 128 *ff.*; *Vinaya Texts*, i. 90, *n.* 1; *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 118.

[2] See CCXLVI.

[3] There is here an allusion to the undiscerning attitude of the five recluses over against the spiritual evolution of the Buddha, recorded by the books referred to. *Cf. A.* ii. 179 *f.*

LXII

Vajji-putta.[1]

He was born in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in the family of a councillor,[2] and was named Vajji-son. He saw the majesty of the Exalted One when the latter came to Vesālī, believed, entered the Order, and after his novitiate dwelt in a wood near Vesālī. Now a festival took place at Vesālī, and there was dancing, singing and reciting, all the people happily enjoying the festival. And the sound thereof distracted the bhikkhu, so that he quitted his solitude, gave up his exercise, and showed forth his disgust in this verse:

Each by himself we in the forest dwell,
Like logs rejected by the woodman's craft.
So flit the days one like another by,
Who more unlucky in their lot than we?

Now a woodland sprite heard him, and had compassion on the bhikkhu, and thus upbraided him, 'Even though you, bhikkhu, speak scornfully of forest life, the wise desiring solitude think much of it,' and to show him the advantage of it spoke *this* verse:

Each by himself we in the forest dwell,
Like logs rejected by the woodman's craft.
And many a one doth envy me my lot,
E'en as the hell-bound him who fares to heaven. (62)

Then the bhikkhu, stirred like a thoroughbred horse by the spur, went down into the avenue of insight, and striving soon won arahantship. Thereupon he thought, 'The fairy's verse has been my goad!' and he recited it himself.

[1] The son of the Vajjians, or simply, the Vajjian. See CXIX.
[2] The Vajjians were a republic.

LXIII

Pakkha.

(The Cripple.)

Reborn in this Buddha-age among the Sākiyans, in the township of Devadaha, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Young[1] Saŋmoda. But inasmuch as, when a boy, he suffered from rheumatism,[2] and at times walked like a cripple, he grew to be called Pakkha (= cripple), and retained the name after his recovery. He was present when the Exalted One visited his kinsfolk,[3] won faith in him, entered the Order, and dwelt in the forest. Going one day to the village for alms, he sat down beneath a tree. Then a kite, seizing some flesh, flew up into the sky. Him many kites attacked, making him drop the meat. Another kite grabbed the fallen flesh, and was plundered by another. And the bhikkhu thought: 'Just like that meat are worldly desires, common to all, full of pain and woe.' And reflecting hereon, and how they were impermanent and so on, he carried out his mission, sat down for his afternoon rest, and expanding insight won arahantship. Thereupon making the base of his emotion his goad, he confessed aññā in this verse:

> They fly at what is fall'n, and as it lies,
> Swooping in greed they come again, again. . . .
> But what 'twas meet to do, that have I done,
> And what is verily delectable,
> Therein was my delight: thus happily
> Has happiness been sought after and won.[4] (63)

[1] *Kumāra*, which means simply 'youth,' is a distinctive title of a young noble, as *māṇava* is of a young brahmin. We have no suitable word. *Cf.* the Greek *kouros*.

[2] *Vātarogo*, lit., 'wind-illness.' On the synonym *vātabādho*, see *Milinda*, i. 191, and below, CLIII.

[3] See *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 121 *ff.*

[4] *I.e.*, says the Commentary: 'By the happiness of the *attainment* of fruition has Nibbāna, which is beyond happiness (or is exceeding

LXIV

Vimala-Kondañña.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of Ambapālī, his father being King Bimbisāra.[1] She named the child Vimala, but afterwards he was known as Vimala-Kondañña.[2] He was convinced by the Buddha-majesty of the Exalted One at Vesālī, left the world for the Order, and attained arahantship. He declared his aññā in this verse:

> By the bright Banner came I here to birth
> In her called of the Tree. And by the FLAG
> That smites the flag, is the great Flag o'er-
> thrown.[3] (64)

---

great happiness, *accanta-sukhaŋ*), been won, and by that happiness of insight, which has become a happy mode of *procedure*, has the bliss of Fruition, of Nibbāna, been reached.' The latter interpretation, as Dr. Neumann has pointed out—winning happiness by happiness—is, in the *Majjhima-Nikāya* (i. 93 *f.*), contrasted with the Jain point of view: 'Nay, friend Gotama, happiness is not to be got at by happiness, but by suffering'—the ascetic standpoint. *Cf.* CLXXI.

[1] *Cf. Sisters*, Ps. lxvi., where he is said to have converted his mother.

[2] Vimala = spotless. There is no apparent clue to his acquiring the brahmin clan-name of Kondañña. *Cf.* CCXLVI.

[3] This verse is one of the allusion-riddles dear to ancient poets. The one word *ketu* (banner, flag) is symbolical (1) of Bimbisāra's kingship; (2) of the Dhamma: 'For the Norm is the banner of the seers,' quotes the Commentary (*Ang.*, ii. 51; iii. 150); (3) of the vice of conceit (*māna*: 'flaunting a flag . . . desire of the heart for self-advertisement') (*Dhs.*, 1116; *Bud. Psy.*, p. 298, *n.* 3; (4) of the hosts of evil. Hence the fourfold iteration of *ketu* may be thus paraphrased: 'By me, son of a king (1), through the aid of the Dhamma (2), smiting down evil (4), is conceit (3), with all soul-illusion involved therein, overthrown.' The Tree is the Mango (*amba*), beneath which, in her legend, Ambapālī was found as an infant.

LXV

Ukkhepakata-Vaccha.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, as the son of a brahmin of the Vaccha family. He heard the Master preach, entered the Order, and went to dwell at a village settlement in Kosala. Through the bhikkhus who came there from time to time he mastered the doctrine, although he did not know how to distinguish what was Vinaya, what Suttanta, and what Abhidhamma. This too, however, he learnt from questioning Sāriputta, so that, whereas other bhikkhus were versed in Vinaya, or in some other part of doctrine, he had learnt the Piṭakas by heart, even before the Council, when they were recited.[1] And soon after attaining this proficiency, he won arahantship. Thereafter he became a teacher, and one day, addressing himself as another person, he uttered this verse:

> That heapèd wealth by Vaccha's toil thrown up[3]
> By steady increment these many years,
> *That* doth he to the laity declare,
> Seated in honour, filled with splendid joy. (65)

[1] See *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 373 *ff*. It is a fixed tenet with Dhammapāla (*pace* other commentators) that the doctrines and discipline of his faith had existed in the infinite past in the *form* of three Piṭakas, revived under each Buddha. Councils had but to decide on the subject-matter to be included in that form, and to 'recite' the wording of the same. *Cf*. *Mahāvaṃsa*, Geiger's translation; P.T.S, 1912, chapters iii.-v.

[2] The soubriquet by which he is called means Throwing-up made-Vaccha, Vaccha the Pile-maker, to emphasize his eminent repertory of orally-learnt doctrine. The Vaccha family contributed many Theras; hence, no doubt, the need of distinguishing. *Cf*. IX., XIII., LXXI., CXII., CXIII.

LXVI

Meghiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Meghiya.[1] When grown up, he entered the Order and ministered to the Exalted One while he was residing at Cālikā on the River Kimikālā. And seeing a pleasant mango-wood he desired to dwell there. Twice the Exalted One refused, but at his third request, let him go. There, however, being consumed by evil thoughts as by flies, he got no concentration of mind, so he returned and told the Master. The latter said, 'When the heart, Meghiya, is not ripe for emancipation, five things conduce thereto,' and admonished him. Whereupon Meghiya attained arahantship, and announced his aññā in this verse:

He, the great Hero, counselled me, whose mind
Hath all transcended that our minds may know.
And I, hearing the Norm, held close to Him
In loving pupillage and piety.[2]
The threefold wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (66)

LXVII

Ekadhamma Savanīya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Setavyā,[3] in the family of a councillor. When the Exalted One visited Setavyā, and stayed in the Singsapa Wood, he went to listen

[1] Meaning 'cloudy,' 'cloud-like,' a name of happier augury in India than in more humid climates. Told more fully in *Udāna*, IV., i.

[2] More literally, 'dwelt near him having loved, or being devoted to.' But the idiom, to leave the world dwelling 'near' a Teacher implies the relation of pupillage.

[3] In Kosala. *Cf. Dialogues*, ii. 349; *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 1012; *Ang.*, ii. 37.

to him, saluting, and sitting down at one side. The Master contemplated his inclinations, and taught him the Norm in the verse:

Impermanent indeed are all component things.[1]

And he, influenced by his past resolve (to leave the world when the Norm was revived), discerned the truth more plainly, left the world, and studying the notions of ill and of the absence of soul, acquired insight and won arahantship. And because, by one hearing of the Norm alone, his destiny was fulfilled, he acquired the name of Once-Norm-hearer (Ekadhammasavanīya). His aññā he confessed in this verse:

Burnt up in me is all that doth defile,
And rooted out all life's continuance;
Slain utterly the cycle of re-birth:
Now is there no more coming back to be.[2] (67)

LXVIII

Ekudāniya.[3]

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, as the son of a wealthy councillor. Come to years of discretion, he was convinced by the majesty of the Buddha, at the presentation of the Jeta Grove, and left the world. Fulfilling his novitiate, and dwelling in the forest, he came to the Master to learn. And at that time the Master, seeing

[1] See *Dialogues*, ii. 175: 'They're transient all,' etc.

[2] This phrase and that of 'life's continuance' are in the Pali both *bhava*, first plural, then singular with prefix of *puna*, 'again'; lit., 'becomings' and 'becoming-again.' By the plural form the three chief modes of rebirth are understood—*kāma-*, *rūpa-*, and *arūpa-bhava* —as well as both *kammabhava*, or that continuity of action or character which determines future *bhava*, and the *uppatti-bhava*, or resultant rebirth itself (so the Commentary). This doctrine is explained in the *Compendium of Philosophy*, especially pp. 262-264.

[3] So the Commentary; in the text Ekuddāniya.

Sāriputta rapt in contemplation near him, broke forth into this psalm :

He who doth dwell on highest plane of thought, etc.[1]

And the brother hearing him, even when once more far away, and for a long time in the forest, kept repeating the psalm ever and anon, so that it became customary to call him 'Ekudāniya,' 'One-Psalm-er.'

Now one day he got unity and concentration of mind, and so, insight expanding, he won arahantship. And dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he was once invited by the Treasurer of the Norm[2] to be tested in exposition, with the words: 'Friend, expound the doctrine to me.' And from long dwelling in mind over that verse, he uttered it then again :

He who doth dwell on highest plane of thought,
With zeal unfaltering, Sage, Arahant,
In wisdom's branches[3] trained :—such as he is,
No sorrows may beset him, who with mind
Calm and serene and clear abideth aye. (68)

This became the confession of his aññā.

[1] Narrated in *Udāna*, iv. 7. *Dhammapada*, verse 259, is; by the Commentator, ascribed to the Buddha, who was commending 'Ekuddāna's' fruitful use of his one stanza.

[2] A title given to Ānanda. See Ps. CCLX.

[3] The Commentary emphasizes the mutual equivalence of *muni* (sage) and *arahā*. It also specifies the thirty-seven 'wings of wisdom' (see *Compendium*, p. 179), and the three *sikkhās*, or trainings—viz., in morals, in jhāna or mental control, and in insight or doctrine (*Ang.* i. 235). In the *Sutta-Vibhanga* of the Vinaya-Piṭaka this psalm is put into the mouth of Panthaka the Less, to whom in the present work Ps. CCXXXVI. is ascribed. The Sisters at the Sāvatthī College are represented as expecting no effective lesson when it is Panthaka's turn to teach them, since he always repeated one and the same stanza—namely, that here attributed to Ekudāniya. The Thera hears of their remarks, and forthwith gives an exhibition both of his magical power and of his knowledge of much else of the 'Buddha-word.' Whereupon he reaps the Sisters' tribute of admiration.

LXIX

Channa.

Reborn when our Exalted One was alive in the house of King Suddhodana, of a slave, he was called Channa. A contemporary of the future Buddha, he found faith in the Master when the latter returned to meet his kinsfolk. He thereupon entered the Order. Out of his affection for Him, egoistic pride in 'our Buddha, our Doctrine' arose, and he could not conquer this fondness, nor perform his duty as novice. When the Master had passed away, and his injunction that the higher penalty be imposed on Channa was carried out,[1] the latter suffered anguish, extirpated his fondness, and soon after attained arahantship. Thereafter, blissful in his emancipation, he expressed his rapture in this psalm :

I heard the Truth which that Great One had taught,
And felt its mighty virtues, known by Him
Who all things with supernal insight knew.[2]
The Path for winning things ambrosial
I found. Past-master He in sooth to guide
Into the way of blest security. (69)

LXX

Puṇṇa.

Reborn in this Buddha age in the Sunāparanta country, at the port of Suppāraka,[3] in the family of a burgess, he was named Puṇṇa. Arrived at years of discretion, he went with a great caravan of merchandise to Sāvatthī, when the

[1] *Dialogues*, ii. 171 ; *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 381-384.
[2] Lit., 'by supreme knowledge which has understood everything.
[3] *Cf. Mahāvaṃsa* (Geiger's translation), 54, *n* 8.

Exalted One happened to be there. And he went to hear the Master at the Vihara with the local lay-followers. There he believed, and left the world. And for a time he won favour among the teachers and preceptors by his skill in dialectic. Then one day he went to the Master, and asked for a lesson, so that he, hearing propositions pair-wise, might therewith go to dwell in Sunāparanta. To him the Exalted One uttered a 'Lion's Roar' of a lesson, to wit: 'Now there are objects, Puṇṇa, cognizable by the eye, etc.'[1] So Puṇṇa departed, and studying concentration and insight, acquired the three forms of higher cognition.

When he won arahantship he won over many people to the faith, even 500 lay-brethren and as many lay-sisters.

And as he lay near final death he confessed aññā in this verse:

> Only virtue here is highest; but the wise
> man is supreme.
> He who wisdom hath and virtue,
> He 'mong men and gods is victor.[2] (70)

[1] This is told in the Sutta on Puṇṇa's lesson (*Majjh.*, iii. 267 *ff.*; *Saṃy.*, iv. 60; also *Divyāvadāna*, 37-39). 'Pair-wise' in the text is *yamaka*. Judging by the context in the 'lesson,' compared with the method used throughout the book of the *Yamakas* (*Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*), this means that the thesis is stated, and is then followed by either its converse or other logically contrasted form.

[2] This forms a verse in Sīlavā's poem (CCXLI., verse 619). There is a greater simplicity in this stanza, about the diction and the ideas, as of a man who had spent his life giving simple teaching in ethics to rough rustic audiences, such, as one gathers, he would meet in Sunāparanta. The Master led him to expect rough treatment at their hands (*Majjh.*, *loc. cit.*). The rhythm above almost parallels the Pali: *Sīlaṃ eva idha aggaṃ, paññavā pana uttamo*, etc.

PART VIII

LXXI

Vacchapāla.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a rich brahmin, and was named Vacchapāla (calf-herd). He saw when the Master met Bimbisāra, the self-submission of Uruvela-Kassapa to the Exalted One,[1] and believing, entered the Order. In a week he had so developed insight as to have acquired sixfold abhiññā.

As arahant he extolled in sheer happiness his attainment of Nibbāna in this verse:

Is there a man who can the truth discern
Tho' it be very subtle and refined,
Who, skilled to measure spiritual growth,
Is yet of lowly and of gentle mind,
Who shapes his life by rule of Them that Wake:[2]
For him Nibbāna is not hard to find. (71)

And this was the Brother's confession of aññā.

LXXII

Ātuma.

Now he was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, as the son of a councillor, and was named Ātuma. When he was adolescent his mother proposed to find him a wife, and consulted with kinsfolk. But he, being impelled by the fulness of conditions, said: 'What have I to do with house-ways? Now will I leave the world.' But though he went

[1] See CCX.; also *Vinaya Texts*, i. 136 *ff.*; *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 114 *ff.*

[2] *Saṃsevita-buddha-sīlinā.* 'Spiritual growth' is from the Commentary. 'Truth' or true meaning = *attha*.

to the Brethren and was ordained, yet did his mother seek to corrupt his pious wish. Then he declared his inclination in this verse:

As the new bamboo-stem, even when grown
To its full knotted height, can scarce emerge,
So I by all this bringing home of brides——
Give me your leave! Gone forth e'en now am I. (72)

And even as he stood speaking to his mother, insight grew in him, and casting off the defilements,[1] he became an arahant.

LXXIII

Māṇava.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, in the house of a brahmin grandee. For seven years he was reared within the precincts of home, and when at seven years old he was taken out on the estate, he saw an aged person, a diseased person, and a corpse for the first time. When he was told about these things, he was filled with dread, went to the Vihāra, heard the doctrine, and gained his parents' consent to enter the Order. Thereupon he won insight and arahantship.

Him thus having arrived thereat the Brethren asked: 'How is it you were stirred to come forth at so tender an age?' He thereupon, confessing aññā, signalized his going forth in this verse:

I saw an aged one, and one afflicted with disease,
And then I saw one dead, with all his span of life
 consumed.
Thence I forth going left the world to live the other
 life,
And from me put away the enticing sweets of sense-
 desire. (73)

[1] *Kilesā*. This is as general a term, especially in the Commentaries, as is, in Christian writings, the word 'sin.' See *Bud. Psy.*, p. 327, *n.*

Now, because he left the world while so young, the Thera was always called Boy (Māṇava).[1]

LXXIV

Suyāmana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sālī, as the son of a certain brahmin, he grew up expert in the Three Vedas.[2] Feeling repelled by domestic life, and inclined to jhāna, he met the Exalted One at Sālī, believed, was ordained, and attained arahantship as soon as his head was shaved.

Thereupon he signalized his putting away the hindrances, and confessed aññā in this verse :

With sensuous desires, with enmity,
With sloth of mind and torpor of the flesh
A brother hath no truck, and in his heart
Turmoil of any kind and doubt are dead. (74)

LXXV

Susārada.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāriputta's native place,[3] in a brahmin's family, and was called Susārada

[1] One is tempted to see here no individual sharing the experiences of the Buddha, but a *type* of the earnest youthful religious mind gripped by life's realities.

[2] It is noteworthy that whereas there were in Dhammapāla's day Four Vedas (including the later Atharva-veda), the Buddhist schools of Eastern India—*e.g.*, Conjevaram—either did not know of this increment in brahmin literature, or observed sufficient historical accuracy to associate these original Theras with three Vedas only (see *Dialogues*, i. 109, *n.* 2). Sāla, or Sālaŋ, a brahmin village in Kosala, is twice mentioned as visited by the Buddha in the *Majjhima* (Suttas 41, 62 ; *cf. Saŋy.*, v. 144) ; but Sālī has, so far, not been met with elsewhere.

[3] Nālaka-village in Magadha.

(Dullard), because he was slow in growing.[1] He was converted by the teaching of that Thera and in due time, as a bhikkhu, became an arahant, and confessed his aññā in this verse:

O goodly is the sight of cultured minds![2]
Doubt is cut off, and wisdom grows apace.
E'en of a fool they make an able man;
Hence goodly is the intercourse with saints. (75)

LXXVI

Piyañjaha.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in the family of a Licchavi noble (rāja). When grown up he was ever mad for war and an unconquered fighter, ever sacrificing what was near and dear, so that he became known as Piyañjaha—Love-renouncing. But when the Master came to Vesālī, Piyañjaha found faith in him, entered the Order, dwelt in the forest, developed insight and won arahantship. As arahant he thought, 'How different is worldly success from Ariyan success!' and by this insight confessing aññā, he uttered this verse:

Where men are arrogant, see thou lie low.[3]
Where they are low in mind, lift up the heart.
Dwell thou where other folk care not to dwell,
Wherein men find delight, take thou no joy. (76)

[1] *Susārada* means 'very autumnal'—*i.e.*, as it were, 'having undeveloped seed or growth,' and corresponding therefore to early spring-time in our climate. *Cf. JPTS*, 1909, p. 150; and the contrary, *visārada*, below, CCII., verse 338.

[2] It is a detail of interest that on the word *suvihitāna*, rendered by 'cultured' (lit., well-disposed, ordered, or practised), the Commentary remarks *anusvāralopo kato;* the terminal ŋ has been cut off, *gāthā-sukhatthaŋ*, for prosodical reasons. With line 3, *cf. Sisters*, verse 213.

[3] In the text the inflexion used is the third person singular of the older optative in *e:* he, one, should lie low.

LXXVII

Hatthāroha-Putta.

(**Elephant-rider's Son.**)

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, in the family of an elephant-driver, as he grew up, he became proficient in managing elephants. One day, as he was training an elephant by the river, he was impelled by maturing conditions to think: 'What is all this elephant-taming to me? Better is it to tame one's self.' So he went to the Exalted One, heard the Norm, believed, entered the Order, and exercised himself in insight on a basis of ethical meditation. And as a skilful elephant-trainer restrains savage ways by his hook, so he by meditation suffered not his thoughts to wander away from his exercise, saying this verse:

Once roamed this heart a-field, a wanderer
Wherever will, or whim, or pleasure led.
To-day that heart I'll hold in thorough check,
As trainer's hook the savage elephant.[1] (77)

And so acting, his insight expanded, and he realized arahantship.

LXXVIII

Meṇḍasīra.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāketa, in the family of a burgess. Because his head resembled that of a ram, he acquired the nickname of Meṇḍasīra (= ram's head). While the Exalted One was staying at Sāketa in the Añjana Wood, Meṇḍasīra came to believe in him, entered the Order, and practising calm and insight,

[1] This goes to form one verse in the interesting poem ascribed to Tālapuṭa (CCLXII., 1130). 'Trainer's hook,' more accurately 'grasper of the hook.'

acquired sixfold abhiññā. He could thus recall former births, and concerning these he uttered this verse:

Full many a round of rebirth have I run
Nor found a clue.[1] Lo! now from me who sore
Have suffered is the load of ill withdrawn. (78)

And this was his confession of aññā.

LXXIX

Rakkhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the township of Devadaha, in the family of a Sākiyan noble (rāja), he was named Rakkhita (Guarded). He was one of those five hundred young nobles who, as having renounced the world, were given by the Sākiyan and Koliyan rājas as escort to the Exalted One. The latter had converted these youths by the lesson of the Kuṇāla-jātaka[2]—a lesson against the danger of sensuality. And connecting this lesson with his exercises, he developed insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter, reflecting on his own renunciation of the corruptions,[3] he uttered his verse confessing aññā:

All passion have I put away, and all
Ill will for ever have I rooted out;
Illusion utterly has passed from me;
Cool am I now. Gone out all fire within. (79)

[1] In the text, 'I found not'; Commentary, 'Not getting the knowledge how to turn or roll back' (*nivattakañāṇaṃ*)—*i.e.*, the unending course of rebirth.

[2] *Jātaka*, vol. v., No. 536. The introduction relates the giving of the escort.

[3] *Kilesā*. See above, LXXII., *n.* 1.

LXXX

Ugga.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in Kosala, at the town of Ugga, as the son of a councillor, he was named Ugga. When he had attained to years of discretion, he went to hear the Master, who had come to that town, found faith in him, entered the Order and finally won arahantship. He thereupon set forth his severance of the round of rebirth, confessing aññā in this verse:

All action wrought by me and bringing birth,
Whether 'twas of great potency or small,
Shattered and ended is it utterly.
Now is there no more coming back to be. (80)

PART IX

LXXXI

Samitigutta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, as the son of a brahmin, he was named Samitigutta.[1] Hearing the Master preach, he entered the Order and attained entire purity of conduct. As the consequence of his action in a former life, he was attacked by leprosy and his limbs crumbled off piece by piece. He dwelt in the infirmary.[2] And one day the General of the Norm went on his round of inquiry, asking after this and that sick bhikkhu. Seeing Samitigutta, he gave him an exercise on the contemplation

[1] 'Guarded-by-concord, or by-union.'

[2] He is represented as having said of a Silent Buddha, 'This leprous shaveling is concealing something, methinks,' and spitting; again, as a Wanderer, he loses his temper with a lay-adherent, saying, 'May you become a leper!' That Sāvatthī College should include an infirmary (*gilānasālā*) is interesting, if. to be expected. The visitor is Sāriputta. *Cf.* verses 1054-1056.

of feeling, saying : 'My friend, in so far as there is what we call process of the five constituents, the whole of suffering is a matter of feeling. But if just the constituents be absent, suffering is absent.' So saying, he went on; but the patient, set up by the lesson, developed insight and realized sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he remembered the evil action in former births for which he was now overcome by disease. And extolling the fact that all was now done with, he uttered this verse:

> Whatso of evil wrought in bygone days,
> In former births by me, just here and now,
> 'Tis that whereby I lie and suffer sore—
> But other ground for ill exists no more! (81)

LXXXII

Kassapa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, as the son of a brahmin of north-western origin,[1] he was named Kassapa. His father died while he was a child, and his mother brought him up. When one day he heard the Exalted One preach at the Jeta Grove, he was then and there impelled by maturing conditions to enter the First Path. And going to his mother, he asked her permission for his ordination.

Now when the Master had ended the rainy season with the Parivāra festival and was starting on his country tour, Kassapa was anxious to go with him. And first he went to take leave of his mother. She let him go with this admonition:

> To any place where alms are easy got,
> Where'er 'tis safe and free from peril, there
> Go thou, my boy; vex not thy life with care. (82)

[1] *Udicca-brāhmaṇassa. Cf. Jāt.*, i. 324; *Milinda*, ii. 45, *n.* 1.

Then the Thera thought: 'My mother wants me to go where I shall be free from care. Come then, for me 'tis right to win a place entirely and absolutely free from care.' And, striving, he set up insight and soon won arahantship. Thereupon, inasmuch as his mother's words had been his spur in winning it, he repeated that very verse.

LXXXIII

Sīha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Mallas, in the family of a rāja, he was named Sīha (Leo). Seeing the Exalted One, he was attracted by him, saluted him and sat down at one side. The Master discerned the trend of his mind and taught him the Norm, so that he believed, entered the Order, and, taking his exercise, dwelt in the forest. His thoughts were distracted by many objects and he could not concentrate.[1] The Master saw this and, standing over him, uttered this verse:

> O Sīha! persevere in earnestness;
> By night and day abide unfaltering.
> Engender the good Norm within thy heart.
> Swiftly renounce that piled up base of birth.[2] (83)

Hereby the Thera was able to expand insight and win arahantship. And, confessing aññā, he repeated the verse.

[1] Lit., 'to him one-point-ness comes not'; the usual psychological term, to which we can only approximate in our 'concentration.' *Cf. Compendium*, pp. 237, 240 *f.*

[2] *Samussayo*, lit., 'accumulation.' Commentary = 'the passions binding to personal existence.' Used for the body, or whole living aggregate. *Cf. Sisters*, verse 22.

LXXXIV

Nīta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī as the son of a brahmin, he was called Nīta. When grown up he thought: 'These Sākiyan recluses are very lucky in that they are well provided with all necessaries. It is a happy life, that of a member of the Order.' So he entered it to get pleasure from it, paid scant attention to his exercise, ate his fill, spent the day in idle talk, and slept all night long. But the Master discerned the ripeness of his antecedents, and gave him this verse in admonition:

Thou all the night to slumber given o'er,
Who lov'st the day 'mid chattering crowds to
  spend:—
Dost deem that thou this way at any time,
Poor silly fool, of Ill shalt make an end?[1] (84)

Agitated by the Master's words, he settled to develop insight, and not long after attained arahantship. He then confessed aññā in repeating this verse.

LXXXV

Sunāga.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age in the village of Nālaka as the son of a brahmin, and was a friend of Sāriputta before the latter left the world. Hearing the General of the Norm preach, he too left the world, being established on the plane of insight.[2] Anon he won arahantship. Thereupon, in course of teaching the bhikkhus, he confessed aññā in this verse:

Expert to grasp the image conjured up,[3]
Versed in the secret of the life detached,
Practised in contemplation, clear in mind:—
Well may he win to rapture unalloyed. (85)

[1] *Dummedha dukkhass' antaṃ karissasīti pi Pāli.* Cy.

[2] *Dassanabhūmiyaṃ patiṭṭhito*, a divergence from the usual phrases.

[3] In the self-hypnosis of jhāna. See *Compendium*, p. 54.

LXXXVI

Nāgita.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, and named Nāgita. When the Exalted One was staying in that place, he preached the Lump of Sweetness discourse.[1] Thereby Nāgita was induced to enter the Order, whereupon he attained arahantship. Then, thrilled with rapture over the truth of the Master's teaching and the effective guidance of the Norm, he burst out in this psalm:

Outside our Order many others be, who teach
A path never, like this one, to Nibbāna leading.
But us the Exalted One, the blessed Master's self
Instructs as 'twere by just the palm o' th' hand out-
spreading.[2] (86)

LXXXVII

Paviṭṭha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, in a brahmin's family, and being naturally inclined to the life of a recluse, he became a Wanderer. His training ended, he wandered forth, and heard of Upatissa and Kolita (= Sāriputta and Moggallāna) joining the Buddha's Order. And he thought: 'That methinks must be a

[1] *Majjhima Nikāya*, 18th Sutta, outlined (at Kapilavatthu) by the Master, and expounded by Maha-Kaccāna (see Ps. CCXXIX.), on the self-mastery of the arahant. This is apparently not the bhikkhu of the Kassapa clan (*Dialogues*, i. 193 *ff.*; *Ang*. iii. 31, 341; iv. 341). Perhaps the latter was known as N. Kassapa, to distinguish.

[2] The Commentary has: 'Our Master *sayaŋ*'—that is, *sayaŋbhū ñāṇena ñātaŋ*, 'self-taught' knower by knowledge, or, 'himself'—urged by great compassion, teaches his own doctrine, like one who, to make sport (? *vilāsapattiyā*), shows *āmalaka*-seed in the palm of his hand. Is an ancient game like *morrà* alluded to?

better Order since such great sages enter it.' And he went and heard the Master, believed, and was ordained. Soon after he realized arahantship, and thus confessed aññā :

The factors of the self are throughly seen ;
All bases of new being broken down.
Slain utterly the cycle of rebirth.
Now is there no more coming back to be.[1] (87)

LXXXVIII

Ajjuna.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, in the family of a councillor, and named Ajjuna. When grown up he came into contact with the Jains, and entered their Order very young, thinking among them to win salvation.[2] But finding there nothing to satisfy him,[3] he met the Master, believed, entered his Order, and anon won arahantship. Then in rapture at his attainment, he burst forth in this verse :

O wonder that I found the power to draw
Myself forth from the waters on dry land.
Borne drifting on the awful flood I learnt
To know the Truths, their truth to understand. (88)

LXXXIX

Devasabha.[4]

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the rāja of a district,[5] he succeeded to his title when quite young. But

[1] *Cf.* LXVII. [2] Lit., Ambrosia, *Amata*, or Nibbāna.

[3] Lit., no pith or kernel, the usual metaphor for no truth or genuineness.

[4] Ps. C. is by another Devasabha.

[5] *Maṇḍalika-rāja.* This term occurs in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 47. I have no evidence of the comparative rank attaching to the title.

when being awakened (*buddho*) he went to hear the Master teach, he resigned his title, entered the Order, and anon won arahantship. Then joy arose in him when he reflected on the corrupting things he had put away, and he burst forth in this psalm:

Transcended is the miry bog of lusts.
Past doom infernal am I safely come
From flood and fetter dire to liberty,
And shed is every form of self conceit.[1] (89)

XC

Sāmidatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of a brahmin, he was called Sāmidatta. When arrived at years of discretion, he heard of the Buddha's puissance, and went with laymen to the Vihāra to hear him. He believed and entered the Order, but from the immaturity of his knowledge he continued for a little while without application. Finally, on again hearing the Master teach, he became devoted and intent, and won arahantship.

Later on the bhikkhus asked him: 'How now, friend, have you reached the state of the elect?'[2] And he, showing the guiding efficacy of the doctrine, and his own attainment in the Norm and minor doctrines (*dhammā-nudhamma*), confessed aññā in this verse:

The factors of my life well understood
Stand yet a little while with severed root.
Slain is the round of living aye renewed.
Now is there no more coming back to be.[3] (90)

[1] *Māna.* Nine forms are distinguished (*Vibh.*, p. 389). *Cf. Bud. Psy.*, p. 299, which gives the first three only.

[2] *Uttari-manussadhammo*, or, of the 'supermen.'

[3] *Cf.* LXXX. and LXXXVII.

PART X

XCI

Paripuṇṇaka.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja. And because of the completeness of his gifts and fortune he became known as Paripuṇṇaka.[1] His means allowed him to enjoy at all times food of a hundred essences. But he, hearing that the Master partook of mixed scraps, said: 'Though he be delicately bred, the Exalted One lives thus, contemplating the bliss of Nibbāna. Why should we in our greed become epicures? Let us, too, seek for that bliss of Nibbāna!' Thus agitated he renounced his home, entered the Order, and, taking his exercise of meditation on the body from the Exalted One, he in due course attained arahantship. Thereupon he burst forth into this psalm:[2]

> Never as 't were some dish of hundred essences,
> Could I o'errate what I partook to-day,
> When He, the all-seeing Gotama,[3] the Buddha blest,
> Himself revealed to me the holy Norm. (91)

XCII

Vijaya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, in a brahmin's family, and named Vijaya. When he had learnt the brahmin wisdom, he left the world as an ascetic,

[1] Meaning 'fulfilled' or 'perfected,' with *ka*, agent-noun affix.

[2] The metre is here not that of the usual śloka.

[3] Note the frank but infrequent mention of the Master's name, a usage not countenanced by later Buddhists. In this work it occurs eight times, in the *Sisters* twice (*cf. Vinaya Texts*, i. 228). *Cf.* the corresponding reticence among many Episcopalian Christians.

and dwelt in the forest practising jhāna. Then he heard of the Buddha's mission and was glad, and went to salute and hear him. Thereupon he entered the Order and soon won arahantship, confessing aññā in this verse:

In whom the intoxicants are drièd up;
Whose happiness dependeth not on food;
Whose range is in the Void and the Unmarked
And Liberty:—as flight of birds in air
So hard is it to track the trail of him.[1] (92)

XCIII

Eraka.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, as the son of an eminent person, and was named Eraka.[2] He had beauty and charm, so that in all that he had to do he was in the most highly favoured position for doing it. His parents wedded him to a maiden suitable for beauty, virtue, years, and accomplishments. But anon, because it was his final life, he grew agitated at continued being, and sought

[1] Intoxicants = *āsavā* (see Ps. XLVII.). Food (*āhāro*), represents all the four necessaries provided by the laity (food, clothing, lodging, medicine). Commentary. 'Liberty' represents the Third Sign of 'Freedom from Hankerings,' or Content. As an arahant, his mind dwells only on ideas and desires void of, and unmarked by, the three features—Ill, Impermanence, Soul-delusion. By 'trail' (*padaṃ*) is meant destiny—namely, rebirth. Part of this gāthā, and approximately the same Commentary, occur in *Dhammapada*, verse 92 (Commentary, ii. 171-173), ascribed to the Master when addressing Belaṭṭhasīsa (*cf.* Ps. XVI.). The Commentary cited enumerates all forms of rebirth; Dhammapāla gives only 'destiny' in purgatory, and the rest. Both say only, it is as impossible to declare what is his destiny, as to say where, or how, birds will alight.

[2] *Erăkă* seems to have been a kind of plant, perhaps a grass, woven into blankets or mats (*Vinaya Texts*, ii. 35, *n.* 8; *Jātaka*, iii. 91; *Sisters*, lxii. 435). A town is called Eraka-grass in *Majjh.*, i. 87= *Milinda*, i. 276. *Cf.* also *Dhp. Com.*, iii. 231.

the Master. After hearing him teach the Norm, Eraka left the world. And the Master gave him an exercise, but for some days he remained mastered by evil thoughts. Then the Master, knowing the course of his thoughts, admonished him in a verse. And he, on hearing it, thought: 'Unfitly have I acted; I, fool, that I should have continued full of bad thoughts when learning from such a Master.' And in distress he devoted himself to gaining insight, and soon won arahantship. Thereupon he confessed aññā by repeating that verse:

Woeful are worldly wishes, Eraka!
No weal in worldly wishes, Eraka!
Whoso desireth joys of sense desireth ill.
Whoso desires not joys of sense desires no ill.[1] (93)

XCIV

Mettaji.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha as the son of a brahmin, he was named Mettaji.[2] Grown up, he saw the evil of worldly desire, and became an ascetic dwelling in the forest. Hearing of the Buddha's advent, and impelled by antecedent causes, he sought the Master and asked him concerning his progress and regress. The answer given convinced him that he should enter the Order,

[1] The austere jejune simplicity of this gāthā is not poetic, and is closely followed in the translation. *Kāmā* (worldly wishes; joys of sense) is not easy to equate. Buddhism defines this plane of life, and animal life, and the lower heavens, too, as all 'sphere of Kāma.' 'Unregenerate desire' is perhaps the nearest rendering. 'Desire' alone is not correct, for there is the *dhamma-chanda*, or desire for higher things, also characterizing life on the *kāmāvacara* plane. Dr. Neumann has 'Lust'; our word 'lust' is degraded by specialization. 'Pleasure' should not be so degraded, for there is pleasure (*sukha*) not entailing woe.

[2] Conqueror by affection.

whereupon he won arahantship. And in this verse he extolled the Master:

> All glory to the Exalted One,
> Our splendid Lord, the Sākiyas' son!
> For he the topmost height hath won,
> And well the Norm supreme hath shown. (94)

XCV

Cakkhupāla.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, as the son of a landed proprietor named Mahā-suvaṇṇa, and received the name of Pāla.[1] He was also called Pāla major, because his younger brother was called Pāla minor. And the parents bound the sons in domestic bonds. But the Master came to the Jeta Grove, and there Pāla major heard him, and leaving his brother to manage the property entered the Order. After five years of novitiate, he went with sixty bhikkhus to perfect his studies. And they chose a woodland spot near a border village, where the villagers were lay-followers, and he, dwelling in a leaf-hut, practised the duties of a recluse.

He was attacked by ophthalmia, and a doctor prescribed for him. But he did not follow the advice, and the disease grew worse. 'Better,' he thought, 'is the allaying of the moral torments (*kilesā*) than that of eye-disease.' Thus he neglected the latter and worked at his insight. so that eyes and torments perished at the same time. And he became a 'dry-visioned' arahant.[2]

Now the village patrons asked the bhikkhus what had become of the Thera, and, hearing of his blindness, they

[1] The full name means Eye-guardian, the father's Great-golden. The story is given in somewhat ampler detail and slightly varied diction in the *Dhammapada Commentary* on the opening verses of that anthology. Pronounced Chakkhu-.

[2] See *Compendium*, p. 75.

ministered to his wants full of compunction. Then those bhikkhus having also won arahantship, they proposed that they should return to Sāvatthī to salute the Master; but the Thera said: 'I am weak and blind, and the journey is not without risk. I should hinder you. Do ye go first and salute for me the Master and the great Theras, and tell Pāla minor of my state that he may send a servant to me.' At length they consented to go, after taking leave of their patrons and providing him with a lodging. And they carried out his bidding, and Pāla minor sent his nephew Pālika. And the bhikkhus ordained Pālika, because the road was not safe for a solitary layman. He went and announced himself to the Thera, and set out with him. Midway, near a village in the forest, a woodcutter's wife was singing. And the novice was smitten by the sound, and, bidding his uncle wait, went and dallied with her. The Thera thought: 'Now I heard a woman singing, and my novice stays long. Is he not evilly employed?' The youth returned, saying: 'Let us go, sir.' And the Thera said: 'What! hast thou been vile?' The novice at length confessed, and the Thera said: 'One so evil shall hold no staff for me. Get thee hence!' 'But the way is perilous, and you are blind. How will you go?' 'Fool! even if I lie down and die, yet will I get on, but not with such as thee.' Then he uttered this verse:

> All blind am I and perished are mine eyes
> And through the jungle's wilderness I fare.
> E'en then I'll go, and were it lying down,
> But not with child of evil as my mate. (95)

Then the other, conscious of his evil action, weeping with outstretched arms, plunged into the forest. But the efficacy of the Thera's virtue made Sakka's throne hot, and the god, in the shape of a man journeying to Sāvatthī, took his staff and brought him that evening to Sāvatthī to the Jeta Grove. And Pāla minor ministered to him all his days.

XCVI

Khaṇḍasumana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Pāvā in the family of a Malla rāja,[1] he was named Khaṇḍasumana (Jasmine), because on his birthday the jasmine was in bloom.[2] He heard the Exalted One while the latter was staying in Cunda's mango grove at Pāvā,[3] entered the Order, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he remembered his own former births: how he had offered a plant of jasmine at the tope of Kassapa Buddha when all the plucked flowers went to form the king's own offering; and, discerning how this act had guided him to Nibbāna now, he said this verse:

One flower in pious offering brought
Did win me years on years of pleasant life
In heavenly worlds; the balance hath availed
To bring me perfect peace and purity.[4] (96)

XCVII

Tissa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Roguva in a rāja's family, at his father's death he succeeded to the title. As an absent ally of King Bimbisāra, he sent him presents of jewels, pearls, and robes. The king sent him in return the life of the Buddha on a painted panel, and the Conditioned Genesis on a gold plate specially inscribed.[5]

[1] See p. 10, *n*. 8.

[2] *Sumāna* is jasmine; *Khaṇḍa* is broken, fragmentary. The jasmine is called *khaṇḍa-sakkara*, broken-sugar.

[3] See *Dialogues*, ii. 137. Pronounced Chunda.

[4] Lit., 'by the remainder am I *nibbuto*'—*i.e.*, 'I have *parinibbāna* of the kilesa's,' entire going out or quieting away of the ten kinds of moral corruption or torment. See above, LXXII., *n*.

[5] Early historians were not over-careful in the matter of attributing civilization of their own day to an earlier age; nevertheless, writing

When he saw these, because he had resolved under former Buddhas and because it was his last birth, he pondered on going forward and turning back, setting the order of the doctrine in his heart and growing uneasy till he came to this conclusion: 'Now have I seen the likeness of the Exalted One, and have learnt the order of his doctrine at the same time. Full of ill are worldly desires. What have I to do with the life in houses?' And he abdicated, entered the Order, and, taking his earthen bowl and followed, as was Prince Pukkusāti,[1] by a lamenting populace, he left the town and went to Rājagaha. There he dwelt in the Sabbasoṇḍika Cave, and visited the Exalted One. And learning of him, he won arahantship. Thereupon alluding to his experiences, he uttered this psalm:

> Renouncing costly vessels wrought in bronze,
> In gold, I grasped this earthen bowl.
> The second time was I anointed then. (97)

---

was certainly known in India in early Buddhist days, even though the use of it might (through lack of suitable book-material) be limited to the brief contents of tablets. As to the contents written, the historical critic should bear in mind that a ministry, growing in public esteem and success for forty years, may well have seen its founder's life and leading doctrines written and circulated, even without the printing press.

[1] Tissa's story is, indeed, so like a brief résumé of the full and pleasant chronicle of the friendship between Pukkusāti, king of Takkasilā and Bimbisāra, recorded by Buddhaghosa in the Commentary on *Majjh.*, iii. 237 *ff.*, that it seems not unlikely the two accounts bifurcated out of one. Pukkusāti was gored by a fierce cow on the eve of his entering the Order, and so is not inscribed among the Theras. Bimbisāra's gifts differ a little in either story. To Pukkusāti he sent a description of the 'Three Gems'—Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha—and on the gold plate he had inscribed various tenets, Satipaṭṭhānas, Eightfold Path, thirty-seven Wisdom Factors, but *not* the *Paṭicca-samuppāda*. There is no commoner name in Indian literature than Tissa, but this ex-king of Roguva is not identifiable with any other of the known Tissas. The verse recurs in Ps. CCLIV.

XCVIII

Abhaya (2).

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in a brahmin family, he was called Abhaya. After he had heard the Master teach and had entered the Order, he went one day for alms into the village,[1] and saw a woman attractively dressed. This disturbed his mental composure, so that he returned to the Vihāra thinking: 'Looking on a visible object has corrupted me. I have done amiss.' Thus repudiating that consciousness, hè so developed insight as to win arahantship.

Thereupon he reviewed his moral slip and his recovery in this verse:

Sight of fair shape bewildering self-control,[2]
If one but heed the image sweet and dear,
The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow
And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
The deadly taints[3] that bring new living near. (98)

XCIX

Uttiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Uttiya.[4] Come to years of discretion, he witnessed the power of the Buddha when the latter came to visit his kin,[5] believed in him, and entered the Order. As a student he visited the village one day for alms, and on the way he heard a woman singing, and his concentration gave way, desire and passion arising in him. Checking himself by the power of reflection, he

[1] So in XIX. and XXIX. This is clearly not the Abhaya of XXVI.
[2] *Sati* = mindfulness, heedfulness, control of thought.
[3] *Āsavā*. *Cf.* verses 794 *ff.*; *Saŋy.*, iv. 73.
[4] The Commentary (Br.) has both Uttiya and Uttariya.
[5] See above, LXIII.

entered the Vihāra much agitated, and seating himself for siesta-meditation, he so developed insight that he won arahantship. Thereupon he mentioned his release from the ills of rebirth, through disgust at the corruptions, in this verse:

Sound of sweet voice bewildering self-control,
If one but think upon the image dear,
The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow
And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
The deadly taints that bring Saŋsāra[1] near. (99)

C

Devasabha (2).[2]

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Devasabha. When grown up he believed when he saw the Master appeasing the quarrel between Sākiyans and Koliyans,[3] and was established in the Refuges. Again, he went when the Master was staying at the Banyan Park, this time entering the Order. He won arahantship, and dwelling on the bliss of his emancipation, he burst forth in rapture with this psalm:

Whoso supreme endeavour doth put forth,
Whose range is in the fourfold heedfulness,[4]
He with fair flowers of Liberty enwreathed,
Sane and immune, will reach the perfect peace.[5] (100)

Thus the Thera confessed aññā

[1] Pronounced Sangsāra, 'continual going'; the stream or cycle of rebirth, new life and death.

[2] See LXXXIX.

[3] See Kuṇāla-Jātaka, Introduction, *Jātaka*, v. 412 *ff.*, and above, LXXIX.

[4] See *Compendium*, p. 179; *Dialogues*, ii. 327 *ff.*

[5] Lit., will *parinibbān*-ate void of *āsava's*. The Commentary says, perfected by both *sa-upādisesa* and *anupādisesa* Nibbāna (*cf. Compendium*, p. 153, *n.* 5). 'Sane and immune' is used throughout these verses to express the awkward term *an-āsavo*.

PART XI

CI

Belaṭṭhakāni.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in a brahmin's family, he was named Belaṭṭhakāni. When after hearing the Master teach he had entered the Order, and was practising calm and insight in a forest of Kosala, he grew very slothful and was also rough of speech. Hence he did not evoke the right state of mind for his exercises. Now the Exalted One considered his maturing insight, and stirred his heart by this admonitory verse:

Though layman's life be left, yet if the task
Remain undone, the mouth harsh furrows plough,
The paunch be full, the mind all slack with sloth:—
Like a great hog with provender replete,
He cometh back, again, again to birth.[1] (101)

Then he, seeing the Master as if seated before him, was thrilled with agitation at his discourse, and establishing insight, was not long in winning arahantship. And through the divers expressions of the psalm, he declared his aññā.

CII

Setuccha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the rāja of a district,[2] he was unable to maintain his country's independence, and lost his throne. Wandering about the land unhappy, he saw and heard the Exalted One, entered the

[1] See XVII. [2] *Maṇḍala-rājā*. See p. 83, *n*. 5.

Order, and won arahantship. And inveighing in his psalm against worldliness, he thus in divers ways confessed aññā:

> By vain conceits deluded, and their wits
> Corrupted by the varied things of sense;
> Flushed by their gains, by dearth thereof upset,
> They fail to win the concentrated mind. (102)

CIII

Bandhura.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Sīlāvatī[1] as the son of a councillor, he was named Bandhura.[2] And going one day on some business to Sāvatthī, he went with the laity to the Vihāra, heard the Master, believed and entered the Order, and in due time won arahantship. Now to render service to his rāja and so show his gratitude for his success, he went to Sīlāvatī and preached the Norm to the rāja, declaring to him the Four Truths. The rāja became a convert, built a great Vihāra in the township, calling it Sudassana, and bestowed it on the Thera with many honours and offerings. The latter handed over everything to the Order, and going on his rounds as before, conceived the wish to go to Sāvatthī. The bhikkhus said: 'Sir, stay with us. If you lack in what you require, we will make it good.' He replied: 'I have no need, friends, of anything out of the way; I keep going on anything I get. I am content with the savour of the Norm,' and uttered this psalm:

> Nay, 'tis not this I need, who live in bliss,
> Regaled by sweetest nectar of the Norm.
> Drinking those drops peerless, supreme, shall I
> Forsooth my tongue with poison now acquaint? (103)

[1] A town of the Sākiyas (*Saṃy.*, i. 117 *ff.*).

[2] The Burmese Commentary calls him Bandhana and Sandhaya. One Singhalese MS. calls him Sandhava.

CIV

Khitaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in a brahmin's family, he heard, when grown up, of the great supernormal powers of Moggallāna the Great.[1] And he thought: 'I, too, will become so gifted.' And impelled by prior causes he entered the Order under the Exalted One, and by exercising himself in the training for calm and insight, acquired in due course sixfold abhiññā. Then he, enjoying the various forms of supernormal movement, continued to bestow favour on beings by the wonder of those acts and by the wonder of training.[2] When the bhikkhus asked him: 'Khitaka, friend, do you employ supernormal power?' he uttered this verse:

Buoyant in sooth my body, every pulse
Throbbing in wondrous bliss and ecstasy.
Even as cotton-down blown on the breeze,
So floats and hovers this my body light. (104)

CV

Malitavambha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the town of Kurukaccha as a brahmin's son, he was converted by the preaching of Pacchabhu, the great Thera,[3] and entered the Order. Working at exercises for insight, he abode in any place where, of the four necessaries of life,[4] only suitable food was hard to get; but where such food was easily got and

[1] *Cf.* Moggallāna's poem, CCLXIII.

[2] These are the first and third of the three sorts of wonders which the Buddha claimed to know (*Dialogues*, i. 277, *cf.* 88). The second was the 'wonder of manifestation'—*i.e.*, thought-reading.

[3] A name not met with elsewhere. The episode may be of later date. The name itself—lit., Epigonus—is possibly significant.

[4] The four necessaries (*paccayā*) for a bhikkhu were food, raiment, lodging, and medicine. Not too little ease nor too much comfort for the holy life is the maxim. The subject, as Dr. Neumann reminds us, is expanded in *Majjh.*, 18th Sutta.

the rest difficult to find, he went away. So continuing, because he had the antecedents, and was of the nature of the Great Men,[1] he expanded insight, and in due course became an arahant. Thereupon, reflecting on his attainment, he broke forth in this verse:

Where I am straitened let me never dwell,[2]
Let me go thence, if life too pleasant prove.
Ne'er will the man with eyes to see abide
Where aught may hinder in the quest supreme. (105)

CVI

Suhemanta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the Border country as the son of a wealthy brahmin, he went to hear the Exalted One teach the Norm in the deer park at the town of Sankassa.[3] Leaving the world he joined the Order, and became a reciter of the Three Piṭakas,[4] becoming in due course possessor of sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he thought: 'I have won all that a disciple may win. What if I were now to do a service to the brethren?' So he lectured to them and solved their difficulties. And one day he addressed them and other intelligent persons concerning himself in this verse:

A hundred tokens show, a hundred marks
Betray wherein the hidden meaning[5] lies.
Whoso hath eyes to see but one, a dullard is,
Who can discern the hundred, he is wise. (106)

Thus the Thera magnified before the Brethren his attainment of analytic knowledge that was so excellent.

[1] *Mahāpurisajātikatāya.* This is the only instance where this expression occurs. I do not see the special bearing of it in Malitavambha's case. A 'Great Man' was either a Buddha or a great emperor.

[2] The tense throughout is the optative. 'Quest,' *or* 'welfare' (*attha*).

[3] Mentioned by Fa-Hien as a thriving Buddhist centre. The name exists to this day, the village being 45 miles north-east of Kanūj (Legge's *Travels of Fa-Hien*, 1886). [4] *Cf.* LXV., *n.* 2.

[5] *Attha*=*ñeyya*, Cy.

NOTE.—On previous page, *n.* 4, read 17*th* Sutta.

CVII

Dhammasava.

Reborn in the kingdom of Magadha in a brahmin's family, and impelled by maturity of conditions, he preferred the religious to the household life. Seeking the Exalted One on the South Hill,[1] he heard him teach the Norm, whereupon he entered the Order, and in due course became an arahant. And reflecting with joy upon his career, he broke forth in this psalm, confessing aññā :

I pondered well, then sought the life that lay
Beyond the walls and bonds of household life.
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.[2] (107)

CVIII

Dhammasava's Father.

He followed his son's example, saying: 'My son left the world when he was young; why should not I leave it?' So he, too, sought the Master, and in due course realized arahantship and uttered his psalm :

A hundred years was I and eke a score,
When forth I went and knew my home no more.
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (108)

CIX

Sangha-Rakkhita.[3]

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family at Sāvatthī, he found faith, and entering the Order took an exercise, and joined another bhikkhu, both dwelling in the forest. Not far from where they abode, a doe in the thicket had

[1] Dakkhiṇagiri (*Vinaya Texts*, ii. 207, *n.* 2).
[2] Ps. XXIV. [3] = Guarded by the Order.

given birth to a fawn. Tending it, her love kept her from going far from it, and lacking grass and water close by she was famished. Seeing her the Thera said: 'Ah, surely this world bound in the bonds of craving suffers sore, unable to cut them!' And taking this feeling as a goad, he developed insight and won arahantship. Thereupon, discerning that his companion was cherishing many wrong thoughts, he admonished him through the parable of the doe, and uttered this verse:

Not yet doth he, though in retreat he dwell,
Con o'er the system by that Blest One (planned)
Who showed compassion for our highest good.
Still are his powers relaxed and uncontrolled,
Like woodland doe all tender grown and weak.[1] (109)

Now hearing these words that bhikkhu grew agitated, and expanding insight, in due course won arahantship.

CX

Usabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family, in the kingdom of Kosala, he found faith in the Master when the latter accepted the gift of the Jeta Grove. Finishing his novitiate, he dwelt in the forest at the foot of the mountain. Now at the time of the rains, the clouds had emptied themselves in the crests of the hills and trees; bushes and creepers became filled with dense foliage. Then the Thera, going forth one day from his cave, saw the loveliness of the woods and the mountains, and considered seriously: 'These trees and creepers are unconscious, yet by the season's fulfilment they have won growth. Why should not

[1] This stanza is a notable example, among others, of the extraordinary difficulty attending translation in the absence of the Commentary. Lack of the simple little narrative has landed Dr. Neumann in a very different interpretation, with a strained use of the word *pākatindriyo*. *Pākata* = *asaṃvuta* (Commentary). *Cf. Milinda*, ii. 72.

I who have attained a suitable season win growth by good qualities?'[1] And he uttered this verse, which became his confession of aññā, for he forthwith strove and won arahantship:

The trees on high by towering cloud refreshed
With the new rain break forth in verdant growth.
To Usabha who for detachment longs,
And hath the forest sense of things,[2] doth come
[From this responsive spring] abundant good. (110)

PART XII

CXI

Jenta.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha at the village of Jenta, as the son of the rāja of a district.[3] While still young, his mind, impelled by maturity of conditions, inclined to leaving the world, and he turned the matter over and wondered what he should do. So doubting he heard the Master preach. From that day he became devoted to the religious life, and entered the Order. Happily working and with swift insight, he realized arahantship; then reflecting on his attainment and how he had been perplexed, he joyously uttered this verse:

Hard is the life without the world, and hard
In sooth to bear house life. Deep is the Norm;
Hard too is wealth to win. Thus difficult
The choice of one or other how to live.
Behoves me bear unceasingly in mind
[And see in everything] Impermanence. (111)

[1] *Cf.* Keble's autumnal pendant to this mood:

'Yet stay awhile and see the calm leaves float
Each to its rest beneath their parent shade,' etc.

[2] = *araññasaññino.*

[3] *Maṇḍalikarājassa.* *Cf.* p. 83, *n.* 5.

CXII

Vacchagotta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of a wealthy brahmin, and because there were four Theras named Vaccha, he was called Vacchagotta.[1] Come to years of discretion, and expert in brahmin learning, he, as a seeker after emancipation, found no pith in those studies, and became a wandering recluse. As such he met and questioned the Master. Satisfied with the answers, he entered the Order, and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.[2] Reflecting with joy upon his career, he uttered this psalm:

> The Threefold Lore is mine, and I excel
> In Jhāna-ecstasy, adept in calm
> Of balanced mind. Salvation have I won,
> And all the Buddha-ordinance is done. (112)

CXIII

Vanavaccha (2).

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a wealthy brahmin at Rājagaha and named Vaccha, he found faith when King Bimbisāra conferred with the Master. And entering the Order he attained arahantship. As arahant he dwelt in the woods devoted to detachment; hence he came to be called Woodland Vaccha (Vanavaccha). Now it happened that the Thera, in order to do a kindness to his kinsfolk, went to Rājagaha, and dwelt there a little

[1] The others were called, one, Pilinda-Vaccha (IX.) and two, Vana-Vaccha (XIV. and CXIII.).

[2] The two conversations occur in *Majjh.*, i., 72nd and 73rd Suttas. Vacchagotta's ordination is also mentioned, and how the Buddha tells him to proceed to the study of Calm and Insight, whereby sixfold abhiññā might be acquired. *Cf. Compendium*, part ix.

space, telling them of his mode of life. They begged him, saying: 'Sir, do us the kindness of dwelling in the near Vihāra, and we will wait upon you.' The Thera showed them in this verse both his love of the mountains and the life of detachment:

Crags where clear waters lie, a rocky world,
Haunted by black-faced apes and timid deer,
Where 'neath bright blossoms run the silver streams:
Those are the highlands of my heart's delight.[1] (113)

This verse became the Thera's confession of aññā.

CXIV

Adhimutta.[2]

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin family at Sāvatthī and named Adhimutta, he became discontented at finding no pith in the brahmin wisdom, and while he was seeking to escape during his last span of life, he saw the majesty of the Buddha at the presentation of the Jeta Grove. Entering the Order, he in due course won arahantship. Thereupon he admonished those bhikkhus dwelling with him who were very corpulent, in this verse:

If ye to this gross body give such heed,
Greedy its pleasures to enjoy, the while
Life's energies do ebb away, O whence
Shall come perfection in the holy life? (114)

[1] The only bond between the two Vacchas seems to be their common brahmin stock and their love of nature. The poem goes to make up those ascribed to Sankicca and Kassapa the Great (CCXI., CCLXI.). *Cf.* also that by the Kapilavatthu Vaccha of the Woods (XIII.). It is doubtful whether the two legends do not derive from an identical source. But *cf.* CXII.

[2] *Cf.* CCXLVIII., also ascribed to an Adhimutta of Sāvatthī.

CXV

Mahanāma.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in a brahmin family, and named Mahanāma,[1] he heard the Exalted One teaching the Norm, and gaining faith, entered the Order. Taking an exercise, he dwelt on the hill called Nesādaka. Unable to prevent the rising up of evil thoughts and desires, he exclaimed: 'Of what worth is life to me with this corrupted mind?' And disgusted with himself he climbed a steep crag of the mountain, and made as if he would throw himself down, saying, 'I will kill him,' speaking to himself as to another and uttering this verse:

Lo thou! how to a wretched end art come
By this steep crag, this famous Hunter's Hill,
Its many crests begirt by sāl-tree woods,
[And all its glens with tangled verdure] clothed! (115)

In the act of upbraiding himself thus, the Thera evoked insight and won arahantship. And this verse became his confession of aññā.

CXVI

Pārāpariya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin family at Rājagaha, he became proficient in the three Vedas. And being of the Pārāpara clan, he was called the Pārāpariyan,

[1] Another instance where the Chronicle makes clear lines otherwise inexplicable. There is no hint given that this Thera (whose name means 'Great-Name') is identical with Mahā-Nāma the Sākiyan, one of the Buddha's first (lay) converts, or with the Licchavi of *Ang.*, iii. 76. The hill in question has not been met with in other books as yet, but, judging from the Commentary, it seems to have been a most charming resort, well supplied with shade, water, and medicinal herbs. With his desperate mood, *cf.* Vakkali (CCV.), Sappadāsa (CCXV.), and Sīhā (*Sisters*, Ps. xi.).

and taught mantras.[1] He saw the wisdom and majesty of the Master at the Rājagaha Conference, and entered the Order, in due course winning arahantship. Reflecting on his career, he broke forth in joy with this psalm:

> Avoiding truck with contact's sixfold field,
> Guarding the gates of sense, master of self,
> The general root of misery vomiting,
> From every poison-taint am I immune. (116)

This verse became his confession of aññā.

CXVII

Yasa.

Reborn in this time of our Exalted One as the son of a very wealthy councillor at Benares, he was exceedingly delicately nurtured, and had three mansions for the different seasons, all of which is told in the Khandaka.[2] Impelled by antecedent conditions, he saw one night the indecorum in his sleeping attendants and, greatly distressed, put on his gold slippers and left both house and town, gods opening the doors for him. So he went towards Isipatana, exclaiming: 'Alas! what distress! Alas! what danger!' Now at that hour the Exalted One, who was staying at Isipatana in order to do him kindness, was walking to and fro out of doors, and said: 'Come, Yasa, here is there neither distress nor danger.' Yasa filled with joy put off his slippers, and sat down beside the Exalted One. The Master talked to him by a graduated discourse, and when he had finished teaching the Truths, Yasa became a convert. And while the Exalted One taught the Truths to his father who had come to seek him, Yasa realized arahantship.

Then the Exalted One held out his right arm to Yasa, saying, 'COME, BHIKKHU!' And at his merely saying the words, Yasa's hair was shorn two fingers' length, and he

[1] *Cf.* CCXLIX., CCLVII. [2] *Vinaya Texts*, i. 102 *ff*.

was equipped with the eight necessaries.[1] Reflecting on his career, he rejoiced over those words calling him to his present state, 'Come, bhikkhu!'[2] and uttered this psalm:

With perfumed skin and delicately clad
And head ablaze with gems, natheless my way
I found and made the Threefold Lore my own;[3]
And now the Buddha-ordinance is done. (117)

CXVIII

Kimbila.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, and named Kimbila,[4] he inherited immense wealth. The Master saw the maturity of his insight while staying at Anupiyā, and in order to arouse him, conjured up a beautiful woman in her prime, and showed her to him passing to old age. Then Kimbila greatly shaken uttered this verse:

As bidden by some power age o'er her falls.
Her shape is as another, yet the same.
Now this my self, who ne'er have left myself,
Seems other than the self I recollect. (118)

[1] This is a mythical elaboration of the older tale in the *Vinaya*. In the Order the learner or pupil had to remove his shoes when waiting on his teacher (*ibid.*, i. 66 (62), 154).

[2] *Cf.* Bhaddā's joy at these words, a special honour to a candidate (*Sisters*, Ps. xlvi., also CCXXVI. below and others).

[3] The point lies in his swift attainment, *as a layman.*

[4] Also spelt (Br.) Kimila and Kimmila. He was converted, with five other young Sākiyan nobles, in the first week of the Buddha's mission, according to the *Vinaya* narrative. There the method adopted for his conversion is not given. Kimbila is represented in the *Majjhima* as maintaining his early friendship with the senior Thera Anuruddha, dwelling with him, and a third, Nandiya (Ps. XXV.), now in this wood or park, now in that (*Vinaya Texts*, ii. 309, iii. 228; *Majjh.*, i. 205, iii. 155; see also CXXXVIII.). Anupiyā was a town in the Malla republic (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. 224).

He thus, considering the fact of impermanence, was yet more strongly agitated, and going to the Master heard the Norm, believed, entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereupon he emphasized how he had formerly looked on things as permanent by repeating the verse, thereby confessing aññā.

CXIX

Vajji-putta (2).

(The Vajjian.)

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a Licchavi rāja at Vesālī, he became known as the Vajjian's son, because his father was one of the Vajjians.[1] While yet a youth and engaged in training elephants, he, inclined by fulness of cause to seek Release, went to the Vihāra at the hour when the Master was to preach, and having heard, entered the Order, and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.

At a later time, shortly after the Master had passed away, Vajjiputta formed an agreement with the chief Theras to preserve the Dhamma intact, and travelled with them from place to place. One day he saw the Venerable Ānanda, who was still a student only, surrounded by a large congregation, teaching them the Norm. And to call forth endeavour in him to reach the higher Paths, he uttered this verse:

> Come thou and plunge in leafy lair of trees,
> Suffer Nibbāna in thy heart to sink!
> Study and dally not, thou Gotamid!
> What doth this fingle-fangle mean to thee?[2] (119)

[1] This is apparently not the Vajji-putta of LXII., who was not of noble rank.

[2] For this late attainment of the goal by Ānanda, the Buddha's chief attendant, see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 373. The verse occurs also in *Saṃy*, i. 199, where woodland sprites note Ānanda's preoccupation with worldly interests—a tendency that was entirely amiable in itself, and

Hearing this and speech of others, dispelling poisonous odours, Ānanda grew agitated, and most of the night walked to and fro meditating. Then, with insight worked up, he entered his dwelling, and in the act of lying down on his couch, he won arahantship.

CXX

Isidatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Avanti at Veḷugāma,[1] as the son of a caravan guide, he became (by correspondence) the unseen friend of Citta, a house-father at Macchikasaṇḍa. The latter wrote to him on the excellence of the Buddha, and sent him a copy of the system. This so moved him that he sought ordination under the Thera Kaccāna the Great. In due course he acquired six-fold abhiññā. Thereupon he had a mind to visit the Buddha, and taking leave of the Thera, came in course of time to the Middle Country,[2] and had an interview with the Master. The latter asked him the question, 'How goes

---

which is noticeable in the many episodes related of him. To those other admonishers the Chronicle refers. Ānanda was of the Gotama clan, cousin to the Buddha. The quaint term *biḷibiḷikā* is thus paraphrased *viḷiviḷikriyā* (lit., sticky-sticky-action ?), the reiteration being intended as a deprecation of his preoccupation with the interests of the many to his own spiritual hindrance. For Ānanda's psalm, see CCLX.; *cf.* also CLXXV.

[1] Avanti lay north of the Vindhya Mountains, north-east of Bombay. It was one of the four chief monarchies in India when Buddhism arose, and was later absorbed into the Moriyan Empire. Its capital was Ujjenī. Veḷugāma (Bamboo-village) is not, so far, met with in other works (see *Buddhist India*, p. 1 *ff.*). Citta, whose home lay near Sāvatthī, was one of the most eminent lay-supporters of the Buddha. On this further instance, in the later tradition, of the doctrine being propagated by writing, *cf.* XCVII. On Kaccāna, see CXXIX. Pronounced Chitta, Kacchāna.

[2] The Ganges Valley (Rhys Davids, 'The Middle Country,' *JRAS*, 1904, p. 83 *ff.*).

it with you, bhikkhu? Are you prospering?' And he replied: 'Exalted One, from the time when I was admitted into your Rule, all sorrow and pain left me, all sense of peril was calmed.' And he declared aññā in making that confession, uttering this verse:

The factors of my life well understood
Stand yet a little while with severed root.[1]
Sorrow is slain! that quest I've won, and won
Is purity from fourfold Venom's stain.[2] (120)

[1] = verse 90, first half.
[2] *Āsavas.*

CANTO II

PSALMS OF TWO VERSES

PART I

CXXI

Uttara.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of an eminent brahmin and named Uttara, he graduated in brahmin lore, and became renowned for his breeding, beauty, wisdom and virtue. Vassakāra, a leading minister of Magadha, seeing his attainments, was desirous of marrying him to his daughter. But he with heart set on release declined, and he attended the teaching of the General of the Norm.[1] Winning faith, he entered the Order and fulfilled his novitiate, waiting upon Sāriputta.

Now the Thera fell ill, and Uttara set out in the morning to seek a physician. On his round he set down his bowl on the banks of a lake and went to the water to wash out his mouth. Then a certain thief, pursued by the police, escaped from the town by the chief gate, and running by, dropped his stolen jewels into the novice's bowl, and fled. Then, as the latter came back to his bowl, the king's men passed in pursuit, and seeing the bowl, said: 'This is the thief! He has done the burglary!' And binding his arms behind, they brought him before Vassakāra, the brahmin, and punished him.

Then the Exalted One, contemplating the ripeness of his insight, went thither, and placing a gentle hand, like dropping of crimson gold, on Uttara's head, spake thus: 'Uttara, this is the fruit of previous action. Come here to pass, it

[1] Sāriputta, chief of the disciples till his death.

is to be accepted by thee through the power of reflection,' and so taught him the Norm according to his need. Uttara, thus ambrosially anointed by the touch of the Master's hand, was transported with joy and rapture, and through the ripeness of his insight and the charm of his Master's teaching, so cast off all impurity that he attained sixfold abhiññā. Rising clear of the stake,[1] he stood in the air, performing a miracle out of compassion for others. To the amazement of all, his wound was healed. When asked by the bhikkhus, 'Brother, how were you able, suffering such pain, to apply insight?' he said, 'Since I clearly saw, Brothers, the evil of rebirths and the nature of the conditioned, it was not the lesser evil of present pain that could hinder me from increasing insight, and achieving attainment':[2]

There is no life that lasteth evermore,
Nor permanence in things from causes come.
They are reborn, the factors of our life,
Thereafter they dissolve and die away. (121)
Since *this* the evil claiming all my thought,
Sooth am I one who doth not seek to be.
Detached from all that worldly aims commend,
Of th' intoxicants have I now made an end.[3] (122)

CXXII

Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the chaplain to king Udena of Kosambī, he was named Bhāradvāja.[4]

[1] *Sūlato uṭṭhahitvā.* He was presumably bound or impaled, or otherwise suffering punishment.

[2] *Viseso.*

[3] *I.e.*, 'I have won nibbāna and arahantship.' Commentary. —verse 458.

[4] Bhāradvāja seems to have been the name of a brahmin clan, though here given as a personal name (*S. Vibh.*, p. 6; *Saṃy.*, i. 160). Hence either Piṇḍola is the personal name, or it is a soubriquet, analogous to our 'chunks,' associated with his earlier greedy habits.

Having learnt the three Vedas, and teaching the hymns with great success to a school of brahmin youths, the work became distasteful. And leaving them, he went to Rājagaha. Seeing there the gifts and favours bestowed on the Order of the Exalted One, he entered the same. He overcame intemperance in diet by the Teacher's methods, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

He thereupon announced before the Exalted One that he would answer the questions of any Brethren in doubt concerning path or fruit, thus uttering his 'lion's roar.'[1] Wherefore the Exalted One said of him: 'The chief among my disciples who are lion-roarers is Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja.'

Now there came to him a former friend, a brahmin of a miserly nature. And the Thera persuaded him to make an offering, handing it over to the Order. And because the brahmin believed the Thera was greedy and self-seeking, the latter set himself to instruct him in the privileges of religious gifts, saying:

Not without rule and method must we live.
But food as such is never near my heart.
'By nutriment the body is sustained':[2]
This do I know, and hence my quest for alms. (123)
'A [treacherous] bog' it is:—the wise know well:
These bows and gifts and treats from wealthy folk.
'Tis like steel splinter bedded in the flesh,
For foolish brethren hard to extricate.[3] (124)

His perfected self-mastery is the theme in *Udāna*, iv. 6. He is persecuted for preaching by King Udena (*Jāt.*, iv. 375), but is subsequently consulted by the latter, who reforms his ways (*Saṃy.*, iv. 110). He is rebuked for cheaply performing a miracle (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. 78). Two untraced stanzas of his are quoted (*Milinda*, ii. 335, 345).

[1] The usual idiom for an affirmation of competence or readiness to act (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 23).

[2] Included in the orthodox dictum: 'All beings are sustained by nutriment' (*Dīgha Nik.*, iii. 211; *Khuddaka Pāṭha*).

[3] See verses 495, 1053. *Cf.* *Jātaka*, iv. 222 (text).

CXXIII

Valliya.[1]

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī as the son of an eminent brahmin, he was named Valliya. While adolescent and in the power of the senses, he formed virtuous friendships, whereby he came to the Exalted One, found faith and entered the Order, soon thereafter establishing insight and winning arahantship. Reflecting on the past with its worldly objects and desires, and on how, by the Ariyan Path, he now had turned from all that, he thus declared aññā :

Within the little five-doored hut an ape[2]
Doth prowl, and round and round from door to door
He hies, rattling with blows again, again. (125)
Halt, ape! run thou not forth! for thee
'Tis not herein as it was wont to be.
Reason doth hold thee captive. Never more
Shalt roam far hence [in freedom as of yore]. (126)

CXXIV

Gangātīriya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī as a citizen's son, he was named Datta.[3] And when, in his domestic

[1] *Cf.*, LIII., and CXLIV.

[2] *Chitta* (consciousness), is, in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (ii. 9), pictured as the restless, varying leaps of a tree-monkey. The Commentary applies this simile to the present one of the ape under control. The ape is found in Tibetan drawings of the stages of (past, present, and future) life as the symbol of *viññāṇa*, the synonym for consciousness, or sense-cognition (see *JRAS*, 1894, p. 367 *ff*. Apparently the Tibetan lamas had forgotten the tradition, or gave an explanation *which they knew would interest* their medical interlocutor, Major Waddell, or the latter evolved a Western interpretation out of their imperfectly understood descriptions). *Cf.* verse 1111 in Ps. CCLXII.

[3] = Donatus. His story—how he came to take his mother and his sister as his wives, not knowing his relation to either—is told in the

life, he transgressed through ignorance, then discovered his offence, anguish seized him so that he left the world. Distressed at his deeds, he adopted a course of austerity, and dwelt on the bank of the Ganges, making himself a tent of palm-leaves. Hence he became known as Gangātīriya (Ganges-sider). And he resolved to speak to no one. So he kept silence for a whole year. In the second year, a woman of the village where he sought alms, wishing to find out whether he was dumb, spilt milk as she filled his bowl. And he let fall the words: 'Enough, sister.' But in the third year, after strenuous effort, he won arahantship. Thereupon he declared aññā by word of mouth, extolling his past procedure in these verses:

On Gangā's shore three palm-tree leaves I took
And made my hut; my bowl like funeral pot
Wherewith men sprinkle milk upon a corpse;
My cloak from refuse of the dust-heap culled.[1] (127)
Two years, from one rain-season till the next,
I [there abode], nor spake a word save once.
So till the third year passed—then the long night
Of gloom asunder burst [and broke in light]. (128)

Chronicle to the Sisters' Psalms, pp. 112, 115. The allusion here to his incest is so delicately or vaguely worded that it needs the explanation afforded by the Sister-chronicle. The Pali is as follows: *Gharāvāsaŋ vasanto agamaniyaṭṭhānabhāvaŋ ajānitvā vītikkamaŋ katvā puna āgamaniyaṭṭhānabhāvaŋ ñatvā.*

[1] On such austerities, see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 89. The bowl here is not a skull (*chavasīsaŋ*), but is described in the Commentary as *matānaŋ khīrāsecanakuṇḍa-sadiso*, 'like a milk-sprinkling pot for the dead'—a sort of *memento mori* (*cf.* Neumann). It is just possible that the text was originally *chavasīsena me patto*, as the idiom runs in the Vinaya, but such skull-bowls were forbidden. There is greater sobriety and dignity in the austerities of this Indian Œdipus than in the brutal self-mutilation of the Greek king.

CXXV

Ajina.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, in the family of a certain poor brahmin, he was wrapt at birth in an antelope's skin, and was hence named Antelope (Ajina). Growing up in poverty, he saw the Jeta Grove presented, and the power and majesty of the Buddha. And gaining faith he left the world, and not long after acquired supernormal thought. When he had moreover won arahantship, he, in consequence of past deeds, remained unhonoured and unknown. And some worldly novices among the bhikkhus despised him for this. Then the Thera agitated them with these verses:

E'en though a man have gained the Triple Lore,
Have vanquished death and purged th' intoxicants,
Yet, let him be to fame unknown, poor fools
May in their ignorance look down on him. (129)
But let him get the good things of this world,
Then though he be of evil breed, natheless
Service and honour will they render him. (130)

CXXVI

Melajina.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Benares, in a nobleman's family, and named Meḷajina, he became distinguished for learning and accomplishments, and renowned in all the country. When the Exalted One stayed at Benares, in Isipatana, Meḷajina went to hear him preach the Norm; and gaining faith, he entered the Order and won arahantship.

And when the bhikkhus asked how far he had acquired supernormal qualities, he uttered a 'lion's roar':

When I had heard the Master preach the Norm,
No doubts my mind could thenceforth entertain
In him all-knowing and invincible. (131)
Nor in a mighty hero like to him,
Lord of the caravan,[1] driver of men,
Peerless and grand, nor in the Path, the Rule,[2]
Can ever want of faith disturb my soul. (132)

CXXVII

Rādha.

Reborn in the time of our Exalted One at Rājagaha, as a brahmin, he was in his old age unable to perform his various duties. Being passed over,[3] he went to the Master and revealed his needs. The Master, contemplating his graduation in essential conditions, ordered Sāriputta to admit him. Soon after that he won arahantship. And thereafter, keeping near the Master, he became pre-eminent among those who, deriving from the Master's teaching,[4] could speak impromptu.

[1] *Cf. Dialogues*, ii. 32. *Satthavāhe*, there rendered 'lord of the pilgrim band,' is here more literally reproduced.

[2] *Magge, paṭipadāyaŋ vā—i.e.*, 'the Ariyan [Eightfold] Path, and the Precepts, and so on' (Commentary). The verses may not seem an apposite reply; but if the *Compendium of Philosophy* (pp. 65, 210, 213) be consulted, it will be seen that the expulsion of all forms of doubt was held to be a very essential preliminary to transcending normal experience.

[3] *Paṭikkhitto.*

[4] The passage assigning him pre-eminence is then quoted from *Ang.*, i. 25. *Cf.* with Vangīsa's similar but not identical pre-eminence, Ps. CCLXIV. This Thera is possibly identical with the 'venerable Rādha' addressed in many short discourses of the *Saŋyutta* (iii. 79, 188 *ff.*; iv. 48 *f.*).

Now one day seeing how want of self-training occasioned governance by the passions, he exhorted thus:

E'en as into an ill-roofed house the rain
Doth pierce and penetrate continually,
So into mind by exercise untrained
Doth passion ever pierce and penetrate. (133)
And as into a well-roofed house no rain
Doth pierce and penetrate continually,
So into mind by calm and insight trained
Doth passion never pierce and penetrate.[1] (134)

CXXVIII

Surādha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the younger brother of the aforesaid Rādha, he followed his elder brother's example, and became an arahant also. To show the saving guidance of the Rule, he declared aññā thus:

All coming back to birth is now destroyed.
The Conqueror's Rule hath guided all my ways.[2]
That which we call the Net have I put off;[3]
The lust that leads to life is rooted out. (135)
And the great quest, for which I left the world,
Forsaking home a homeless life to lead,
Even that quest and high reward I've won,
For I am he whose bonds are riven in twain.[4] (136)

[1] 'Exercise,' 'calm and insight'—in the text *bhāvanā*—the collective name for the systematized effort in self-training of the disciple who seeks perfection (*Bud. Psy.*, p. 261, *n.* 2). Specified as 'calm and insight' in the Commentary. *Cf. Compendium*, p. 202 *ff.*

[2] 'The holy life of the Path has been lived by me' (Commentary).

[3] *Cf. Dhammapada*, verse 251; *Saṃy.*, iii. 83. Commentary, 'net = error, ignorance.' More usually it = craving, or sense. Surādha is possibly the listener in one discourse of the *Saṃyutta* (iii. 79)

[4] CCX., 380.

CXXIX

Gotama.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in a brahmin family,[1] and named Gotama, he fell, when still a youth, into bad company, and gave all that he had to a courtesan. Repenting thereafter of his vicious ways, he beheld a vision of the Master seated—of Him who had discerned the progress of his mind and his attainment of the conditions. He with heart assured went to the Master, was taught, and believed. Entering the Order, he won arahantship, even as the razor touched his hair. And while he was pondering the bliss of jhāna and of fruition, a lay-companion asked him concerning his property. He confessed how he had lived unchastely, and declaring aññā by his present purity from passion, said :

At ease they sleep, the wise and pure, who ne'er
Are bound to womankind, for these must aye
Be kept 'neath watch and ward, and among them
'Tis ever hard to learn the truth of things.[2] (137)
War to the knife with thee, O lust, we've waged.
Now are we quit and free of debt to thee.
Now fare we onward to that Going-out,[3]
Where at our journey's end we weep no more. (138)

[1] Not identical with the other Gotama Theras of CLXXXIII., CCXXXIX.

[2] There is a nice, discriminating touch about the Commentary's remark: 'Now to him [the friend] who is still bound to *such women*, the Thera, to show his own complete extirpation of that lust, says the second verse.' The use of the first person *plural* is a rare feature in Buddhist hymns. It must refer to a sodality of freed minds, and not to the speaker and his quondam friend, since the latter had still his worldly ties.

[3] Nibbāna in the original. Since the Thera is an arahant, this can only refer to his Parinibbāna, the complete extinction of his life spatially figured—his *anupādisesa-nibbāna*, says the Commentary, however that was conceived.

CXXX

Vasabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, as the son of a Licchavi rāja,[1] he was won over by the majesty of the Buddha when the latter went to Vesālī, and left the world. In due course he won arahantship, and thereafter, gracious to his patrons, he did not reject the necessaries they provided, but enjoyed what he received. The common-minded deemed him self-indulgent, but he continued taking no account of them.

But near him dwelt a fraudulent bhikkhu, who deceived the people by pretending to lead the simple life, content with little, and was honoured by them. Then Sakka, ruler of the devas, discerned this, and came to Vasabha Thera and asked: 'Your reverence, what is it that an impostor does?' The Thera, in rebuke to that evil-doer, replied:

He erst doth work destruction to himself;
Thereafter doth he ruin other men.
Most throughly works he mischief to himself,
E'en as decoy-bird[2] by its own deceit. (139)
No brahmin he, by outward colour judged.
By inner hue shall ye the brahmin know.
He in whom deeds show evil, even he
Is swarth of face, O consort of Sujā.[3] (140)

PART II

CXXXI

Cunda the Great.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, at Nālaka village, as the son of the brahminee Rūpasārī,

[1] See above, p. 54, *n.* 4.

[2] *Cf.* *vītaŋsa-kakkaro*, the decoy jungle-cock in *Jāt.*, ii. 161.

[3] Sujampati, a title given to Sakka, whose consort-goddess was Sujā. On the spiritual complexion, *cf.* *Dīgha-Nikāya*, Suttantas iii., iv., and xxvii; *Sutta Nipāta*, Vāseṭṭha-Sutta.

and younger brother of Sāriputta,[1] he followed the latter into the Order, and after arduous, strenuous effort won arahantship. And glorying in his attainment and in solitude of life, he uttered this psalm :

The will to learn maketh of learning growth ;
Learning[2] makes insight grow, and by insight
We know the Good ; known Good brings bliss
along. (141)
Seek ye the lonely haunts remote from men.[3]
Practise the life of liberty from Bonds.
If there ye come not by your heart's desire,
Dwell with the Brethren, mindful and controlled. (142)

CXXXII

Jotidāsa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a wealthy brahmin, in the Pādiyattha country, he was named Jotidāsa.[4] When come of age he saw Kassapa the Great one day going his round for alms, and entertained him in his house, and heard him discourse. On the hill near the village he himself had a great vihāra built for the Thera, and supplied him with the four requisites. Moved thereafter by the Thera's teaching he left the world, and not long after won the sixfold abhiññā. After ten years, during which he learnt

[1] *Cf. Saṃy.*, iv. 251 ; v. 161 ; *Psalms*, I., p. 96. With his brother he visits Channa (*Majjh.*, iii. 263 ; *Saṃy.*, iv. 55). He was one of the nine or ten chief Theras. Three discourses are ascribed to him in the *Anguttara Nikāya*, addressed to the bhikkhus, and preaching modesty and mutual tolerance, especially between the erudite and the more mystically inclined (iii. 355).

[2] Lit., *hearing*, significant of an era of *oral* instruction and mnemonic recording.

[3] The Master's own advice to him (*Majjh.*, i. 46).

[4] Mahā-Kassapa lived near Rājagaha (CCLXI.), but neither Jotidāsa nor Pādiyattha-janapada have been met with in other works.

the three Piṭakas, with special proficiency in the Vinaya-Piṭaka,[1] and waited on the fraternity, he set out with many bhikkhus to salute the Exalted One at Sāvatthī. On the way he entered a theologian's park, and seeing a brahmin practising the fivefold austerity,[2] he asked: 'Why, brahmin, do you not burn otherwise in a different heat?' The brahmin annoyed, answered: 'Master shaveling, what other heat is there?' The Thera replied:

Anger, and envy, and all cruel deeds,
And pride, and arrogance, and wanton strife,
Craving, and ignorance, and lust of life:
These burn away and let thy body be![3]

and therewith taught him the Norm. And all those theologians besought him for ordination.

On leaving Sāvatthī he went to his former home, and admonished his relatives in these verses:

They who in divers ways by deeds of force
And violence,[4] rude and rough-mannered folk,
Do work their fellow-creatures injury,
Thereby they too themselves are overthrown,[5]
For never is th' effect of action lost. (143)
The deed a man doth, be it good or ill,
To all his doing is he verily the heir. (144)

[1] *Cf.* Puṇṇā, who learnt them in a former birth (*Sisters*, p. 116; again above, LXV.). We may concede thus much to the plausibility of the Commentator's statement—that a threefold body of doctrine would be taking shape during the founder's long ministry.

[2] *I.e.*, surrounded by four fires, with the sun beating on him above.

[3] I have not traced these lines.

[4] On the word *veghamissena*, etc. (*cf. Dialogues*, ii. 107, *n.* 8), the Commentary has: 'Tugging the head, etc., by rein, strap, etc.; blows given by hand, foot, etc.'

[5] *Kīranti.* Dr. Neumann has *säen*, sow, as if scattering seed. The Commentary ignores any such metaphor, and has: as they have made suffering for others, so by others are they made to suffer—*tath' eva aññehi kiriyanti dukkhaŋ pāpīyanti. Cf. abhikīranti* in verse 598.

CXXXIII

Herañnakāni.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of one who was a tenant-in-chief of the King of Kosala, and in command of bandits,[1] he succeeded to his father's position at the latter's death. Converted on seeing the Buddha accept the Jeta Grove, he put his younger brother in his place, left the world, and soon after won arahantship. He thereupon sought to turn his brother to a better life, and on seeing him attached to it, urged him in these verses :

The days, the nights flit by and pass away.
Life is arrested, and the span
To mortals given is consumed and fails,
Like water in the shallow mountain streams. (145)
But evil actions still the fool commits,
Nor understands how dire the aftermath,
Till comes the bitter hour of action's fruit. (146)

Hearing the Thera's homily, the brother besought the king's leave, and left the world, and not long after found salvation.

CXXXIV

Somamitta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Benares, in a brahmin's family and named Somamitta, he became an expert in the three Vedas, but was converted by the Thera Vimala[2] and took orders. He dwelt near the Thera, fulfilling his duties. But the latter was given to sloth and torpor. And Somamitta, thinking 'Who can be virtuous near a sluggard?'

[1] *Cora-vosāsako*, one having highwaymen or dacoits at his bidding, whether to employ, or to suppress, is doubtful.

[2] *Cf.* the Vimala of CLXXXV., who was also of Benares.

went to Kassapa the Great,[1] and attending his lectures, established insight, aud soon after attained arahantship. Thereupon he rebuked Vimala in these verses:

As one who, mounted on a puny plank,
Is in mid-ocean whelm'd beneath the waves,
So even he of blameless life doth sink,
When thrown together with the man of sloth;
Wherefore from such an one keep well apart
The sluggard and the poor in energy. (147)
Dwell thou with them who live aloof,
With wise, with noble souls who have renounced,
Who in rapt contemplation ever strive.[2] (148)

Hearing him, Thera Vimala was deeply moved, and establishing insight, bestirred himself to win salvation, the which he will be seen hereafter to attain.

CXXXV

Sabbamitta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a brahmin of Sāvatthī, and named Sabbamitta, he saw, at the presentation of the Jeta Grove, the wondrous power of the Buddha, and entering the Order he obtained a subject for exercise and dwelt in the forest. After the rains he went into Sāvatthī to salute the Buddha, and on his way there lay a fawn caught in a trapper's net. The doe, though not in the net, kept near from love for her young, yet dared not come close to the snare. The fawn, turning hither and thither, bleated for pity. Then the Thera: 'Alas! the suffering that love brings to creatures!' Going further he saw many bandits wrapping a man they had captured alive in straw, and

[1] *I.e.*, to Rājagaha (CCLXI.).
[2] Repeated in CLXXXV.

about to set fire to it. Hearing his cries, the Thera, out of his distress at both these things, uttered a verse within hearing of the bandits.

Folk are bound up with folk and cling to folk.
Folk suffer scathe from folk and wreak the same. (149)
What boots thee then this folk, and brood of folk?
Let the folk go and get thee gone from them,
Who as they go injure so many folk.[1] (150)

So saying, he forced his way to insight, and won arahantship. But the brigands, listening to his teaching, were moved in heart and renounced the world, practising the Norm in principle and in detail.

CXXXVI

Mahākāḷa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Setavyā, in the family of a merchant, he was named Mahākāḷa.[2] When come of age and dwelling at home, he took five hundred carts of merchandise to trade with to Sāvatthī. While resting there with his men in the evening, he saw the laity going with perfumes and garlands to the Jeta Grove, and went with them. There he heard the Master preach the Norm, believed, and entered the Order. Deciding on cemetery-contemplation, he dwelt in the charnel-field. And one day a woman named Kāḷī, employed as crematrix,[3] in order to give the Thera an object-study, cut off from a recently cremated body both thighs and both arms, and breaking the head into the semblance of a milk-bowl, arranged all

[1] I read *gacchantaŋ*.

[2] So the Commentary; not °kāla. The name thus means 'big dark one,' or, in the convenient Italian nomenclature, Neraccio. Kāḷī, too, is 'brunette.'

[3] In *Jāt.*, v. 449, we meet with a man pursuing this trade.

the members together, placed them where the Thera studied for him to look at, and sat down at the side. The Thera seeing this exhorted himself in these verses:

Kāḷī, woman broad and swart of hue as blackbird,
Now hath broken off a thighbone, now another;
Now hath broken off an arm, and now another;
Now the skull hath broken off as 'twere a milk bowl,
Made them ready and is seated. (151)

He who witless doth not understand, but maketh
Cause for life renewed, comes back again to sorrow.
Wherefore he who knows creates no more new causes.
May I ne'er so lie again with scattered members![1] (152)

Thus wholly self-mastered, the Thera brought forth insight and won arahantship.

[1] The account of Kāḷī's activity closes with an odd half line, as if to mark, by a pause, the abrupt transition from the Thera's half-amused notice of her grisly service, to the solemn quest of the End of Sorrow on which he is bent. This is a good instance of a poem which is scarcely intelligible without the Commentary's help. *With* that help, the more literal the translation, the more intelligible is the verse. Without it we have but to look at Dr. Neumann's guessing and forced rendering, making Kāḷī a wanton, and the good bhikkhu a prurient-minded fellow, to realize how relatively sane and simple even a scholastic exegesis may be. The practice of Asubha-jhāna, or meditation on a base of some unlovely object, was recommended from the early days of the Sangha, and, to judge by the accompanying illustration of a Ceylonese bhikkhu of to-day, is still practised. *Cf. Bud. Psy.*, p. 69, *n.* 2.

CXXXVII

Tissa.[1]

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in a brahmin's family, and named Tissa, he became an expert in the Vedas, teaching the mantras to five hundred brahmin boys, and winning the highest praise and renown. When the Master came to Rājagaha, Tissa saw the Buddha-majesty, and believed and entered the Order, thereafter winning arahantship through established insight. So also he won praise and renown.

Now certain worldly-minded bhikkhus noting the attention paid to the Thera were unable to endure it. The Thera knew this, and declared the evil in such attentions and his own detachment therefrom in these verses:

Many the foes he gets, the bhikkhu shorn,
Wrapt in his robe, to whom the world gives gifts
Of food and drink, raiment and where to lodge. (153)
Let him then, knowing all the bane herefrom,
The fearsome peril in the world's regard,
Taking but little, free from lusting's taint,
Wary and mindful, hold his onward way. (154)

Then those bhikkhus straightway sought the Thera's forgiveness.

CXXXVIII

Kimbila.

His meeting with the Buddha, his emotion and his leaving the world are told in Canto I., the verse beginning, 'As bidden by some power.'[2] Here the Thera tells how he dwelt

[1] Clearly quite a different Tissa from either of the foregoing Theras so named. *Cf.* Ps. XXXIX., XCVII.

[2] His story having been given in Ps. CXVIII., the Chronicle begins at once with the circumstances resulting in the gāthā.

fraternally with his comrades, the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Bhaddiya, Sākiyan rājas:

Where lies the Eastern Bamboo Grove we dwell,
Sons of the Sākiyans, comrades [all and true].
No little wealth have we renounced for this,
Contented with whatever fills our bowl. (155)
Quickened and ardent is our energy,
Earnest and resolute [our heart's intent],
Ever we boldly press toward [our goal].
Love of the Norm our [sure and sole] delight,
All worldly loves by us forsworn outright. (156)

CXXXIX

Nanda.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of Rāja Suddhodana and of Great Pajāpatī,[1] and a joy to his kin, on his naming day he was named Nanda. When Nanda was of age, the Master, rolling the Wheel of the Norm, came out of compassion to Kapilavatthu. Making a shower of rain the occasion, he told the Vessantara Jātaka.[2] On the second day, by the verse 'Rise up,' he established his father as a Stream-winner; Pajāpatī also by the verse, 'Follow after a holy life,' and the rāja further, as a Once-returner. On the third day, when seeking alms at the coronation-hall where congratulations were being offered to Prince Nanda on his wedding, the Master handed the prince his bowl and wished him luck. And he, taking the bowl, followed the Master to the Vihāra, who there ordained him, though Nanda wished it not.

[1] See Ps. I., p. 6 *f.* Nanda is called Nandiya above (Ps. XXV.). This single verse may have been incorporated from some such collection of Māra anecdotes as those in the Bhikkhunī-Saṃyutta (see Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, p. 134), and the form for his name used there left unaltered. The difference is only that between, *e.g.*, Joy, Joyous.

[2] *Jāt.*, vi., No. 547; *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 124.

From that time, knowing that Nanda was oppressed by his distaste, the Master trained it away, so that Nanda, by thoroughgoing meditation, established insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter, enjoying the bliss of liberty, he said: 'O excellent method of the Master, whereby I was drawn out of the bog of rebirth and set on Nibbāna's strand!' And joying in his reflections he uttered these verses:

Heedless and shallow once my thoughts were set
On all the bravery of outward show;
Fickle was I and frivolous; all my days
Were worn with wanton sensuality. (157)
But by the Buddha's skilful art benign,
Who of sun's lineage cometh, was I brought
To live by deeper thought, whereby my heart
From (the great swamp of endless) life[1] I drew. (158)

And the Exalted One, discerning how eminently he was trained in self-control, declared him before the Order to be chief therein among his disciples,[2] even therein conferring that distinction to which the Thera, in past ages, had once aspired.

CXL

Sirimat.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, in a burgess's family, he was named Sirimat (Faustus) because of his family's good fortune and constant success. His younger brother, as increaser of that good fortune, was named Sirivaḍḍha (growth of luck).[3] They both saw the majesty of the Buddha when the Jeta Grove was presented, believed, and entered the Order. Sirivaḍḍha, though at first he won no abnormal powers, was honoured and fêted by laity and

[1] *Bhava*, becoming. *Saṃsārapanke nimuggaṃ.* Cy.
[2] He is so distinguished in *Ang. Nik.*, i. 25.
[3] Evidently not the Thera of Ps. XLI.

recluses. But Sirimat, through defective karma, was little honoured; nevertheless, exercising himself in calm and insight, he soon won the sixfold abhiññā.

Now the ordinary bhikkhus and novices, not knowing Sirimat was an Ariyan, continued to disparage him and to honour his brother. Then the Thera, blaming their faulty judgment, said:

Others may laud and honour him
Whose self is uncontrolled.
Surely amiss their praise is given,
Since self is uncontrolled. (159)
Others may chide and censure him
Whose self is well controlled.
Surely amiss their blame is given,
Since self is well controlled. (160)

Then Sirivaddha, hearing him, was agitated, and establishing insight, not long after he also completed his salvation. And they who had blamed the Thera sought his forgiveness.

PART III

CXLI

Uttara.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāketa,[1] in a brahmin's family, he was named Uttara. Convinced by the twin-miracle at the Gaṇḍamba tree at Sāvatthī,[2] whither some business had taken him, he was induced to leave the world when the Master, at Sāketa, preached the Kālaka Park discourse.[3] Going with the Master to Rājagaha, he there developed insight and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Returning again to Sāvatthī to wait on the Buddha, the bhikkhus asked him: 'What, Brother, have you already accomplished your

[1] See XXVIII. [2] Wrought by the Buddha (*Sum. V.*, 57).
[3] *Ang.*, ii. 24, on a Tathāgata's clarity of knowledge and integrity.

religious duties?' He, declaring aññā, replied in these verses:

Well do I understand the factors five,
And well is craving rooted out in me,
Developed are the seven wisdom-chords,
And all the poison-fumes are shrunk to nought. (161)
And since the factors now are understood,
I—look you![1]—casting out the Huntress fell
[Who sets her netted snare for every thought],[2]
And cultivating wisdom's harmony,[3]
Sane and immune, in peace shall pass away.[4] (162)

CXLII

Bhaddaji.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Bhaddīya,[5] as the only child of a councillor whose fortune was worth eighty crores,[6] he was named Bhaddaji, and was brought up in luxury, like that attending the Bodhisat in his last rebirth. . . . (The Commentary then relates the story of his sudden

[1] *So 'haṃ*, *lit.* 'this [self-same] I.'

[2] Expansion of the one word *jālinī*, 'she who lays a net'—*i.e.*, craving—'by the suffusion of which the manifold web of the senses becomes as a net' (*Atthasālinī*, p. 363; *Bud. Psy.*, p. 278, *n.* 2). *Cittacittasantānato uddharitvā* (Commentary).

[3] *Bojjhangā*, as in verse 161. *Cf. Compendium*, pp. 66, 180 *f.* The Commentary calls the seven 'the concord of the Norm.'

[4] *Nibbāyissaṃ anāsavo*, 'by the expiry of the last (moment of) consciousness, like a fire without fuel, I shall *parinibbān*-ate without danger (of rebirth)' (Commentary).

[5] In the Angas' country, east of Magadha. Koṭigāma was near Patna. The Bodhisat is, of course, Gotama, before he became a Buddha. The Commentary differs from the Jātaka version (see next page) only in a few small details, and uses independent phraseology.

[6] *I.e.*, 800,000,000. The unit seems to have been a copper coin, termed *kahāpana*. See *Bud. India*, p. 100 *ff.*

realization of arahantship while listening for the first time to the Buddha, the latter having come from Sāvatthī purposely to seek him out; together with his following the Master and his company, the week after, to Koṭigāma, and retiring to the bank of the Ganges to become absorbed in jhāna. Thence he emerges only when the Master came by, not heeding the preceding chief Theras. To vindicate his new supreme attainments, the Buddha invites him on to his own ferry-boat, and bids him work a wonder. Bhaddaji thereupon raises the submerged palace he dwelt in when he was King Panāda, all being told in the 'Mahā-panāda-Jātaka,' ii., No. 264.) Then the Thera described the golden mansion in which he had once lived, speaking of himself, that self having passed away,[1] as of another:

Panāda was that king by name
  Whose palace was of gold;
Sixteen apartments deep it stood,
  Aloft a thousandfold. (163)

A thousand flights it rose on high,
  Its walls with scroll-work dight,
With many a flaunting banner hung,
  With emeralds glittering bright.
'Twas there they danced, Gandharvas danced,
  Six thousand in seven bands. (164)

[1] On this mythical king see also *Dīgha*, iii. 76; *Jāt.*, iv., No. 489. *Dīpavaŋsa*, iii. 7; *Mahāvaŋsa* (translation), xxxi. 7 *ff.* *Jāt.* No. 264 gives a fuller account of Bhaddaji's performance. The text versions are uncertain in some of the descriptive terms, and the Commentary's authorities are equally divided. Hence the attempt at ballad form above does not claim to have selected an absolutely correct rendering. The last two lines refer to the vain efforts of mimes or musicians, collected by Panāda's father to make the prince smile. He, reminiscent of celestial art, was only moved to a slight smile when Sakka, the god, sent a celestial harlequin (*Jāt.*, *op. cit.*). *Cf. Mil.* 130.

CXLIII

Sobhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, in a brahmin's family, he was named Sobhita. And after he had heard the Master teach, had left the world and acquired sixfold abhiññā, he practised recollecting his former lives with such success that the Master ranked him foremost among those who could so remember.[1] And he, reflecting on his pre-eminence in attainment, was filled with joy, and breathed forth this psalm:

> A bhikkhu mindful, gifted with insight,
> With strenuous effort strongly set to work,
> Have I [the infinite past] recalled to mind:
> Five hundred ages in a single night. (165)
>
> O let the Onsets Four of mindfulness[2]
> My study be, the Seven,[3] the (noble) Eight![4]
> For I [the infinite past] have called to mind:
> Five hundred ages in a single night. (166)

CXLIV

'Valliya.'

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in a brahmin's family, he was named Kaṇhamitta. Come of age, he saw the majesty of the Buddha when the latter came to Vesālī,

[1] *Ang.*, i. 25. Sister Bhaddā Kapilāni was also thus distinguished (*Sisters*, p. 47). Sobhita Thera (possibly this man) was the third in the apostolic succession of thirteen Abhidhammikas, who handed down this teaching till Mahinda conveyed it to Ceylon. Bhaddaji Thera was second. (*Atthasālinī*, p. 32).

[2] See *Dialogues*, ii. 327 *ff.*; *Compendium*, p. 179. *Bhāvayaṃ* = *bhāvanā hotu* (Commentary).

[3] Factors of Enlightenment, Wings of Wisdom (*Compendium*, p. 180).

[4] The Eightfold Path (*ibid.*).

and believing, he took orders under Mahā-Kaccāna. Dull of insight, and beginning to make effort, he was so long dependent upon the wisdom of his co-religionists that they called him Valliya (Creeperling), saying, 'Like ivy and such plants, that cannot grow leaning on nothing, so he cannot get on without leaning on someone who is wise.'[1]

And it came to pass that he went to hear Thera Veṇudatta preach, and becoming thereby heedful and intelligent and ripe in knowledge, he asked that proficient teacher, saying:

All that by earnest work has to be done,
All that one fain to wake to truth must do,
All that shall be my work nor shall I fail.
O see my forward strides in energy! (167)
And do thou show me how and where to go—
The Path that's founded on Ambrosia—[2]
So I in silent study pondering
Shall to the silence of the seers attain,
As glides great Gangā's river to the main.[3] (168)

Then Venudatta gave him an exercise for study, and he, working at it, not long after won arahantship. Declaring aññā, he uttered those same verses.

[1] Apparently a different Thera from the Valliyas of LIII. and CXXIII., in whose case Valliya would seem to be no nickname. I have called *valli* (creeper) 'ivy,' because of its typically representing for us such a character. On Mahā-Kaccāna, see CCXXIX. Veṇudatta is not met with elsewhere.

[2] *Nibbāne patiṭṭhitattā* (Commentary).

[3] The quarter verse *ahaṃ monena monissaṃ* has been perhaps unduly expanded, but it was to do justice to the association, for classic Indian literature, between the seer or sage (*muni*) and silence (*cf. Chāndogya Upanishad*, viii. 5, 2). The simile of the Ganges illustrates both silent progress and attainment. Nevertheless, the Commentary will have nothing to do with silence; for it, *monena* is 'by wisdom or insight,' and *monissaṃ* is 'I shall know or discern (Nibbāna).'

CXLV

Vītasoka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age, in the two hundred and eighteenth year thereof, as the younger brother of King Dhammāsoka, he was named Vītasoka.[1] Come of age, he acquired the accomplishments befitting noble youths, and then as a lay-pupil of Thera Giridatta became highly proficient in the Sutta- and Abhidhamma-Piṭakas.

Now one day when his hair was being dressed, he took the mirror from the barber's hand, and contemplating his body, saw some grey hairs. In agitation he sent down insight into his mind, and exerting himself to meditate, he became, as he there sat, a Stream-winner. Taking Orders under Giridatta, he not long after won arahantship. Thereupon he thus declared aññā:

'Now let him shave me!'—so the barber came.
From him I took the mirror and, therein
Reflected, on myself I gazed and thought: (169)
'Futile for lasting is this body shown.'
[Thus thinking on the source that blinds our sight
My spirit's] darkness melted into light.
Stripped are the swathing vestments utterly![2]
Now is there no more coming back to be? (170)

[1] According to the Commentary, Vītasoka (one who has ended grief) is none other than the younger brother of Emperor Asoka, whose career forms an episode in the Divyāvadāna (translated by Burnouf in *Buddhisme Indien*, 1844), in which Vītasoka is impelled to leave the world through the arahant Yasa. Neither Giridatta nor the barber episode is alluded to, which shows how different was the tradition handed on by Dhammapāla. The grey hair episode is a very old tale, told in *Majjh.*, ii. 83; *Jāt.*, i., No. 9.

[2] The barber was also bathman and head-dresser; hence *coḷā* (vestments), which means any napery, may be an allusion to the muslin folds of the turban, or to bath robes and towels, or to dress. The Commentary only expands the altered scale of values in the prince's life. *Paccavekkhisaŋ* has the double sense of our 'reflected.'

CXLVI

Puṇṇamāsa.[1]

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in the family of a landed proprietor, he left the world after the birth of his firstborn. And dwelling near a village, he strove and worked till he acquired sixfold abhiññā. Going thereupon to Sāvatthi and saluting the Master, he dwelt in a charnel-field. Now his son died, and his wife, desirous that their property, having no heirs, should not be taken over by the rājas, went with a large following to greet her husband, and induce him to leave the religious life. But the Thera, to show his passionless state and to vindicate his attainment, stood in the air and said:

All the five Hindrances that bar the way[2]
Against the safe, sure peace[3] I put aside.
The mirror of the holy Norm I grasped:—[4]
The knowing and the seeing what we are— (171)
So I reflected on this groupèd frame[5]
Within and eke without, and I beheld
How, whether it was mine or not of me,
The body empty [is and vanity]. (172)

CXLVII

Nandaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Campā,[6] in a burgess's family, he was named Nandaka. He was the younger

[1] See the other version in X. The Commentary recognizes no identity.

[2] Desires of sense, malevolence, sluggishness, distraction, perplexity—to 'put aside' these was the essential preliminary to attaining the serenity and detachment for fruitful intellectual effort (*Dialogues*, i. 82 84).

[3] *Yogakkhemaŋ.* See XXXII.

[4] *Sisters*, verse 222.

[5] *Kāyo* is both body (*sarīra*) and, generally, a group, or organism.

[6] Capital of the Angas, now Bagulpur. Pronounced Champā.

brother of Bharata, whose story will next be told. When both were come of age, they heard that Soṇa-Koḷivisa[1] had left the world. And saying: 'Even Soṇa who is so delicate has gone forth; now what of us?' they, too, left the world. Bharata soon acquired sixfold abhiññā, but Nandaka, through the strength of the corruptions, was not able to command insight, and could only practise for it. Then Bharata, wishing to help him, made him his attendant, and went forth from the vihāra. Sitting down near the road he discoursed to him of insight.

Now a caravan passing by, an ox, unable to pull his cart through a boggy place, fell down. The leader had him released from the cart, and fed with grass and water. His fatigue allayed, the ox, reharnessed and strengthened, pulled the cart out of the bog. Then Bharata said: 'Did you see that business, brother Nandaka?' 'I did.' 'Consider its meaning.' And Nandaka said: 'Like the refreshed ox, I, too, must draw forth myself out of the swamp of saṃsāra.' And taking this as his subject in practising, he won arahantship. Then to his brother he declared aññā in these verses:

> E'en though he trip and fall, the mettled brute
> Of noble breed will steadfast stand once more.
> Incited yet again to effort new,
> Foredone no longer, draws his load along. (173)
> So look on me as one who having learned
> Of Him, the all-enlightened One, and gained
> True insight, am become of noble breed,
> And of the Very Buddha son indeed. (174)

CXLVIII

Bharata.

Now when his younger brother Nandaka had confessed that he had gotten aññā, Bharata conceived the idea:

[1] See CCXLIII. The following object-lesson occurs in the case of Ramaṇiya-vihārin, as the Commentary reminds us (XLV.)

'Let us both go forthwith to the Master, and tell him how we have carried out holiness of life.' And he said these verses to Nandaka:

Come, Nandaka, now go we unto Him
Whose blessed teaching taught us all we know;
And in the presence of the Wake, the Chief,
Let's roar the lion's pæan of our hearts. (175)
That quest for which the holy Sage in [love
And great] compassion bade us[1] both go forth—
That Good supreme both you and I have won,
And every bond that hindered us is gone. (176)

CXLIX

Bhāradvāja.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a brahmin's family, he came to be designated by his gens-name of Bhāradvāja.[2] Living the domestic life, a son was born to him, and he named him Kaṇhadinna. When the boy was of proper age, his father said, 'Come, dear boy, and study under such and such a teacher,' and sent him to Takkasilā.[3] On his way thither he made friends with a great Thera, a disciple of the Master, heard him teach the Norm, took orders, and after due training won arahantship.

Now his father Bhāradvāja heard the Exalted One teach the Norm at the Bamboo Grove Vihāra, and he, too, left the world and realized arahantship. But Kaṇhadinna came to salute the Master at Rājagaha, and with joy he saw his father seated near the latter. And he asked himself: 'My father, too, has gone forth. Has he, I

[1] *Pabbājayi pabbajesi.* Cy.

[2] A numerous gens, but not reckoned of high rank (*Vinaya Texts*, iv. 6). At least twenty individuals of this surname are met with in the Piṭakas.

[3] The Taxila of Greek chroniclers, a famous ancient seat of learning in Kashmir. See the numerous references in the *Jātaka*.

wonder, attained the end of the religious life?' Then he discerned that his father was an arahant, and wishing to make him utter a lion-roar, asked him: 'Hast thou succeeded in attaining the end of that for which we leave the world?' Then Bhāradvāja showed his attainment in these verses:

'Tis thus th' enlightened lift their triumph-song,
Like lions roaring in the hill-ravine,[1]
Heroes who in the holy war have won,
And conquered evil, Māra and his host. (177)
The servant of the blessed Master I,
A votary of the Norm and Brotherhood;
And glad and gratified my heart to see
My son purged of the poisons, sane, immune. (178)

CL

Kaṇhadinna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in a brahmin's family, he was named Kaṇhadinna. Come of age, and impelled by the efficient cause culminating, he came to the General of the Norm,[2] heard the Norm, believed, left the world, and developing insight, won arahantship. Thereupon he thus declared aññā:

Waited have I on saintly men and heard
Full many times the saving truths [they taught].
Hearing I knew I should attain the road
That leads away from things that age and die.[3] (179)

[1] *Cf.* the introductory verses.

[2] Sāriputta. We are left in doubt as to whether Kaṇhadinna is the son in the preceding story or not. If he is, then the 'great Thera' he *met* was Sāriputta; but in that case it is curious that the stories are not explicitly connected.

[3] Lit., the ambrosial road; according to the Commentary—the Eightfold Path. 'I knew I should' is, literally, 'I shall [attain].' He had already attained.

And so in me all lust to live again
Thus being utterly cast out, since then
In me 'tis no more found, nor was't, nor will it e'er
Come back in me, nor at this hour doth rise in me.[1]
(180)

PART IV

CLI

Migasira.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a brahmin of Kosala, he was named Migasira[2] after the constellation under which he obtained birth. And having acquired brahmin culture, he practised the skull-spell,[3] so that, when he had muttered the spell and tapped with his nail on the skull, he would declare, 'This person is reborn in such a sphere,' even with respect to those who had been dead three years. Disliking domestic life, he became a Wanderer,[4] and through his art won favour and respect. Coming to Sāvatthī and going before the Master, he declared his power, saying: 'I, master Gotama, can tell the destiny of dead persons.' 'How do you tell it?' He let a skull be brought, and, muttering his rune and tapping with his nail, he asserted purgatory or some other sphere to be the place of rebirth.

Then the Exalted One had the skull of a bhikkhu brought, who had attained complete outgoing (*parinibbāna*), and said: 'Tell now his destiny to whom this skull belonged!' Migasira muttered and tapped, but saw neither the beginning nor the end. Then the Master said: 'Art not able, Wanderer?' He replied, 'I must first make sure,' and turning the skull round never so much—for how should he know the goings of an arahant?[5]—stood ashamed,

[1] Either glosses have crept in, or the additional feet in the latter gāthā are intentional, to pile on emphasis.

[2] Deer's head = Capricorn. [3] *Cf.* Vaṅgīsa's legend, CCLXIV.

[4] See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 141-143. [5] *Cf.* verse 92.

perspiring, dumb. 'Art tired, Wanderer?' 'Ay, I am tired; I cannot discern the destiny of this one. Do you make it known?' 'I know it, and more besides. He is gone to Nibbāna.'[1] Then said the Wanderer: 'Give me this hidden lore!' 'Then do you take orders.' So Migasira was ordained, and was given exercises in calm. Well grounded in jhāna and abhiññā, he practised insight, and not long after won arahantship. He then confessed aññā thus:

Since I went forth and entered on the Rule
Ordained by the Enlightened One Supreme,
Emancipated as I went, I rose
Transcending all these things of sense-desire. (181)
While He, that Very Brahmin,[2] looked on me,
O then my heart was set at liberty![3]
Yea, since all bonds are broke for evermore,
For me Emancipation's fixed and sure! (182)

CLII

Sivaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a brahmin's family, he was named Sivaka. And when he had acquired a complete education, he followed his inclination to leave the world. Coming as a Wanderer to hear the Master teach the Norm, he received faith, entered the Order, and eventually won arahantship. He then thus confessed aññā:

Transient the little houses [of our life],
Built here, built there, again, ever again.
Hunting the house-builder [thus far I come];
Birth is but woe again, ever again. (183)

[1] *Nibbānaŋ gato so*, the only Pali approximation to the frequent rendering, 'entered into Nirvāna,' I have yet met with.

[2] In the sense of chief, best (Commentary); a genitive absolute.

[3] See *Sisters*, verses 17, 81, 116.

Thou'rt found, house-maker thou, thou'rt seen at
last!
Never again shalt fashion house [for me]!
Broken are all thy walls, shattered thy roofs.
Stayed is the further rise of consciousness;
Blown 'twill be even here to nothingness.[1] (184)

CLIII

Upavāna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, in a brahmin's family, he was named Upavāna. He saw at the Jeta Grove presentation the majesty of the Buddha, and entering the Order, practised for insight, and won sixfold abhiññā.

Now Upavāna became attendant on the Exalted One.[2] And at that time the Exalted One was attacked by cramp. And Devahita, a brahmin lay-friend of the Thera, living at Sāvatthī, was supplying him with the four necessaries. Seeing him come with bowl and robe, Devahita discerned that he needed something different and said: 'Let your reverence be supplied. What do you need?' And Upavāna answered:

The Arahant, the Well-Come of all men,
The Holy Sage, he suffereth sore with wind.
If there be any water heated here,
O give it to me, brahmin, for the Sage. (185)
Revered by them to whom we reverence owe,
Cherished by them who claim our pious care,
Honoured by them to whom honour is due,
For Him I do beseech it may be brought. (186)

[1] Legend has assigned these famous verses as the Buddha's first logion, after his attainment of Buddhahood (*Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 103*f.*; *Sum. V.*, i. 16); but they do not occur in the çanonical descriptions of that event (*cf.* the slightly different Gāthās, *Dhp.*, 153, 154; *SBE*, x. 42, *n.*). Dhammapāla is briefer than usual, apparently ignorant of the tradition given in Buddhaghosa. He makes no allusion to it. The house-builder, he points out, is craving, *taṇhā vaḍḍhaki*. *Cf. Dhp. Comy.* iii. 127.

[2] See CCLX. On the ailment *cf. Milinda* i., 194, *n.* 4.

Thereat the brahmin offered both hot water and suitable medicine. Thereby the Master's sickness was healed, and to him the Exalted One rendered thanks.

CLIV

Isidinna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Sunāparantas,[1] in the family of a councillor, he was named Isidinna. Grown up, he saw the double miracle at the presentation of the Sandalwood Pavilion,[2] and coming with a satisfied mind to the Master, he heard the Norm, and became a Stream-winner. While still living a domestic life, a compassionate spirit urged him, saying:

I mark the pious laity who treasure on their lips the Norm;
How you may often hear them say: 'Transient are all this world's desires!'
But in their hearts lies love of pelf, of precious stones and jewelled rings,
And that which fills their thought is care of sons and daughters and of wives. (187)
Nay, verily, they do not know the inward meaning of the Norm;
E'en though you often hear them say: 'Transient are all this world's desires!'
To cut themselves from passions free, they lack the spiritual health,
And therefore cleaveth aye their heart to wife and children, and to wealth. (188)

When the layman heard this, he was thrilled with emotion, and leaving the world, he not long after won arahantship. In confessing aññā, he repeated these verses.

[1] *Cf.* LXX. [2] I cannot trace this legendary event elsewhere.

CLV

Sambula-Kaccāna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, as the son of a burgess of the Kaccāna's, he was named Sambula, but was known as Sambula-Kaccāna.[1] After he had heard the Master teach the Norm, and had entered the Order, he went to the neighbourhood of the Himālaya, and practised his insight exercises in a cave called Bheravāyanā ('dreadful-passage').

Now one day there arose a great storm-cloud out of season, towering high in the heavens, emitting roars of thunders, forked lightning, and rushing noise. And it began to rain, and thunderbolts burst. All creatures—bears, hyenas, buffaloes, elephants—cried out in fear and trembling. But the Thera had stirred up insight, and, careless as to body and life, heeded not the noise, but cooled by the storm so composed his mind, that he quickened insight, and won arahantship together with abhiññā.

Thereupon reflecting on his achievement he was filled with joy, and in a psalm confessed aññā:

God's rain pours down, ay, and god's rain roars
    down,
And I alone in fearsome hollow dwell.
Yet dwelling so in fearsome rocky dell
To me no fear comes nigh, no creeping dread,
No quailing [of my soul]. (189)
                                    For such the law
Within the blessed Norm, that dwelling so
To me no fear comes nigh, no creeping dread,
No quailing [of my soul] to me, alone.[2] (190)

[1] There was need to distinguish him from other Kaccānas—*e.g.*, CCXXIX. In Phayre MS. and Br. Cy., Sampahula-.

[2] The metre in these graceful gāthās I cannot allocate under any of the textbook varieties. The words, 'For such . . . Norm,' are an expansion of the Suttanta term, *Dhammatā (mam') esā*—'This for me is Normness' (*cf. Dialogues*, ii. 8, *n.* 3; my *Buddhism*, p. 119). *Deva* (god), the Commentary, as before, paraphrases with *megha* (cloud).

CLVI

Khitaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Kosala as the son of a brahmin, and named Khitaka,[1] he heard the Norm from the Master, and entering the Order, dwelt in a forest till he won arahantship. Thereupon continuing in the bliss of fruition, of Nibbāna, a Thera enthusiastic for endeavour, he went to the bhikkhus dwelling in that forest to stir enthusiasm in them. First asking concerning their good, he spoke these verses, therein confessing aññā:

Whose heart stands like a rock, and swayeth not,
Void of all lust for things that lust beget,
And all unshaken in a shifting world?[2]
To heart thus trained, whence shall come aught of ill? (191)

My heart stands like a rock, and swayeth not,
Void of all lust for things that lust beget,
And all unshaken in a shifting world.
My heart thus trained—whence shall come ill to me? (192)

CLVII

Soṇa-Poṭiriyaputta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of the zemindar[3] Poṭiriya, he was named Soṇa. Come of age, he became chief captain of the forces of Bhaddiya, a Sākiyan rāja. Now Bhaddiya having left the world, as will be described below, Soṇa thought: 'If even the rāja has left the world, what have I to do with domestic life?'

[1] Identical with the author of CIV.?

[2] Lit., shakes not in that which tendeth to shake.

[3] On the position of a *bhojaka* holding land in fief, see *Dialogues*, i. 108, *n.* 1; on Bhaddiya, see CCLIV. Anupiyā, in the Mallas' territory, lay east of Kapilavatthu. On the vision, *cf.* several of the first Sisters' psalms.

So he took orders, but remained sluggish, not given to meditative exercise. On him the Exalted One, dwelling in the Mango Grove at Anupiyā, sent forth his glory, and arousing him to mindfulness uttered admonitory verses :

Nay, not for this that thou mayest slumber long,
Cometh the night in starry garlands wreathed.
For vigil by the wise this night is here. (193)

Hearing him, Soṇa was exceedingly agitated, and keeping his shortcomings before the mind, adopted the open-air practice, exercising himself for insight. And he uttered this verse :

If in the fight my warrior-elephant
Advanced, 'twere better, fallen from his back,[1]
Dead on the field [and trampled I should lie],
Than beaten live a captive to the foe. (194)

So saying, he stirred up insight and won arahantship, and thereupon repeated the Master's words and his own as his confession of aññā.

CLVIII

Nisabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Koḷiyans,[2] in a clansman's family, he was named Nisabha. Come of age, he saw the Buddha's wisdom and power at the fight between the Sākiyans and Koḷiyans, and believing, entered the Order, anon winning arahantship.

Thereupon seeing a fellow-bhikkhu spending his time

[1] The Commentary confirms the reading *avapatitaṃ* (*vide* Neumann). The figure is a very natural one for an Indian soldier, and its application is easy. Metaphors from warfare are less frequent in Buddhist than in Christian literature, and the few contained in this work almost exhaust them. 'Trampled' (by the elephant) is a Commentarial gloss.

[2] A clan separated from the Sākiyans by the River Rohiṇī. *Cf.* C., CCXXXIII.

carelessly, he admonished him, adding another verse to show he acted that which he preached:

Put them away, those fivefold things of sense,
Objects that charm and captivate the mind.
Thou who through faith didst give up home and
    world,
Become end-maker of its grief and pain. (195)
With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
Delight in living. I await the hour
With mind discerning and with heedfulness.[1] (196)

CLIX

Usabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Usabha. And when the Master visited his own folk,[2] Usabha saw his power and wisdom, believed in him, and entered the Order. From that time he fulfilled no religious duties, but passed all day in society and all night in sleep.

Now one day, muddled in mind and unheedingly dropping off to sleep, he dreamt that he shaved, put on a crimson cloak, and, sitting on an elephant, entered the town for alms. There, seeing the people gathered together, he dismounted full of shame. Thereupon he awoke thinking: 'Why, this was a dream! Muddled in head and thoughtless I saw myself in sleep.' And with anguish he established insight, and in due course won arahantship.

Thus having made the dream his goad, he celebrated it to confess aññā, saying:

A cloak the hue of purple mango-buds
Draping about my shoulder, I bestrode
The back of elephant, and so to seek
Mine alms into the village street I rode. (197)

[1] *Cf.* XX., and ver. 607. [2] *Cf.* CCXXXIII.

Down from his back [in very shame] I slid—
[When lo! I woke and] anguish seized me then.
This arrogant self was then made meek and mild,
Purged were the poisons [that my mind defiled].[1] (198)

CLX

Kappaṭa-kura.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in poor circumstances, the only way he knew of to support himself was to go about, clad in rags, pan in hand, seeking for rice-grains.[2] Hence he became known as Kappaṭa-kura—'Rags-and-rice.' When grown up, he maintained himself by selling grass. Reaping this one day in the forest, he saw a Thera. Doing obeisance he sat down near him, and heard him teach the Norm. Then he believed, and saying 'What to me is this wretched mode of life?' he entered the Order, bestowing his ragged cloth in a certain place. And when repugnance [to his new life] arose in him, he would go and look at the rags and feel unsettled. So doing, he seceded seven times from the Order. Then the bhikkhus told the Exalted One of this. And he one day, when Kappaṭa-kura, as bhikkhu, sat in the preaching-hall at the edge of the congregation dozing, admonished him in these verses:

'These,' saith he, 'are the rags of Rags-and-Rice!
Too heavy is the gear I'm wearing now.'
Full measure of the Norm hath he in shower
Ambrosial; and yet no step he takes
To practise contemplative discipline. (199)

[1] Another instance where the legend straightens out the tangle of the gāthā taken in isolation. What, *e.g.*, had the elephant rider to do with 'to seek mine alms'? Dr. Neumann has been compelled to excise the phrase. As the anomaly of a dream, the little poem is quite clear. 'Then . . . then' is a repetition copied from the text.

[2] *Kura*, occurring once as *kūra* in the Commentary (=in Childers and in Böhtlingk and Roth, 'boiled rice'), is probably wild rice in some form or other. *Cf. sukkha-kūra* in the Sutta-Vibhanga of the Vinaya, edition Oldenberg, iv., Pāc. 38, 1.

O Kappata, thou shouldst not sway and nod,
Nor make me cuff the word into thine ear.
Never a whit thou, Kappata, hast learned,
Sleepily swaying 'midst the listeners here.[1] (200)

Thus the Exalted One upbraided him strongly, as if He had pierced his very bones, as if a fierce elephant had gone down into his path. And he, greatly disturbed, established insight, and soon won arahantship. Thereupon he repeated the verses which had been the goad that sent him to the goal, so that they became his confession of aññā.

PART V

CLXI

Kumāra-Kassapa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, his mother was the daughter of a councillor. She having failed to gain her parents' consent to leave the world while yet a maiden, was married, and obtained her husband's consent to take Orders, not knowing at the time that she had conceived. When later the bhikkhunīs saw her condition, they consulted Devadatta, who replied: 'She is no true nun!' They then consulted Him-of-the-Ten-Powers. He entrusted the matter to Thera Upāli, who convened certain residents at Sāvatthī, including the lay-patroness Visākhā, and in full

[1] These verses remain not exactly the reverse of 'obscure sayings,' as Dr. Neumann calls them, even after the help of the legend. The Commentary, in both versions, is scarcely as lucid as usual; yet such explanation as it gives is, as ever, to show a situation of a simple and probable kind—the ragged loincloth, with its vagabond associations, supplying a Bohemian and pagan lure, making the more decorous yellow robes seem cumbrous, and the discipline irksome. The legend is a distinct addition to the 'human documents' of the Order's traditions.

assembly, the king being present, pronounced the Sister to have been with child when she took orders. The Master approved his decision. So she brought forth her child at the Vihāra, a boy like a golden statue, and the king reared him, and brought him later on to the Master to join the Order. Because he joined as a youth,[1] and they would ask, when the Exalted One said, 'Send for Kassapa,' or 'Give this fruit or biscuit to Kassapa,' 'Which Kassapa?' and because of his royal rearing, he became known as Kumāra-Kassapa, even after he was grown to manhood.

Now while he exercised himself for insight and learnt the Buddha-word, he dwelt in Dark Wood.[2] Then a deva, one who had with him done only the mountain-recluse's course, and having become a Non-Returner, had been reborn as a Great-Brahmā in the Pure Abodes, determined to show Kumāra-Kassapa a method for attaining the Paths and Fruits. And he came into the Dark Wood, and showed him fifteen questions which only the Master could answer. So he asked them before the Exalted One and learnt them; whereupon having conceived insight,[3] he attained arahantship.

Thereupon, having been ranked by the Master foremost among those who had the gift of varied and versatile discourse, he reviewed his career, and under the aspect of

[1] In his twentieth year (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 229).

[2] At Sāvatthī. Three of the Sisters' psalms are associated with it. On the technical expressions used in the next sentence, see *Compendium*, p. 91.

[3] An exceptional and curious phrase, borrowed from the terms of maternity: *Vipassanaŋ gabbhaŋ gaṇhāpetvā*—an echo, perhaps, of the description of his mother's ordeal described above. The story of the Thera is told also in the *Commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya*, i. 24; in *Jātaka*, i. 148 *ff.*; and in the *Commentary on the Dhammapada*, iii. 144 *ff.* The questions arising from the deva's visit are in *Majjh.*, i. 143, 'Vammīka - Sutta.' An interesting feature in the Commentary is a reference made by its author, Dhammapāla, to the *Commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya*. Where Dhammapāla writes *gehe*, he adds: 'The Anguttaratthakathā says *kulagehe*'—as, indeed, it does. Hence it would seem that Buddhaghosa wrote before Dhammapāla.

extolling the virtues of the Jewel-Trinity, confessed his aññā:

All hail the Buddhas, and all hail the Norms.[1]
Hail the blest System by our Master wrought,
Wherein he that doth hear may [be enrolled
And] come to realize a Norm like ours. (201)
Down countless ages have its members come,
Reborn now as this compound, now as that.
But this for them is now the very last,
The final confluence [of the factors five,[2]]
In flux of rebirth and mortality.
Now come they never more again to be. (202)

CLXII

Dhammapāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age, when the Master had passed away, in the kingdom of Avanti,[3] as a brahmin's son, he was named Dhammapāla. As he was returning from Takkasilā, his schooldays finished, he saw on his way a certain Thera in a single cell,[4] and hearing from him the Norm, he believed, left the world, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Now, as he was ruminating in the bliss of his achievement, two novices climbed a tree at the Vihāra to pick blossoms, and a branch breaking, they were falling. Seeing them, the Thera caught them with his hand, and by his

[1] *Cf. Majjh.*, ii. 96, where the apostrophe is in the singular number. The plural *dhammā*, as applied to Norm, is perhaps unique. The Commentary has—'the Doctrine, together with the nine *lokuttarā dhammā*.' These are enumerated in the *Paṭisambhidā* (ii. 166) as the seven groups given in *Compendium*, pp. 179-181 (*a*–*g*), *plus* the Paths and Fruits, and Nibbāna making ten.

[2] *Samussayo*, compound of the five *khandhas*, bodily and mental. *Cf.* p. 80, *n* 2.

[3] The country just east or north-east of Bombay. See *Bud. India*, p. 28.

[4] *Ekasmiŋ vihāre. Cf. Dialogues*, ii. 4, *n*. 1.

iddhi-power[1] placed them unhurt upon the ground. And he taught them, saying:

The brother who while young hath given himself
Wholly to carry out the Buddha's plan,
Who keepeth vigil in a sleeping world,
Not vainly, not for naught he spends his days. (203)
So let the wise man, so let him who aye
Remembereth that which Buddhas have enjoined,
Devote himself to faith and righteousness,
To know the blessedness They brought to us,
And the true vision of the holy Norm.[2] (204)

CLXIII

Brahmāli.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Kosala, as a brahmin's son, he was named Brahmāli. When grown up, being impelled by the fulness of conditions, distress arose in him because of the continual round, and, through associating with spiritually minded friends, he left the world, and took his exercise to a forest. From the maturity of his knowledge he soon developed insight, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Dwelling thereafter in the bliss of the Paths, the Thera, so versed in compassing endeavour, uttered one day these verses, on behalf of the bhikkhus in that forest, concerning devotion to endeavour:

In whom the senses have been hushed to calm,
Like horses well tamed by the charioteer,
In whom no vain conceits are found, nor aught
Of poison-fumes survives, a man like this
May stir up envy e'en among the gods. (205)

[1] *Compendium*, pp. 60 *ff.*, 209.

[2] The literal Pali of these two lines is the two very pregnant terms *pasādaŋ* (expressing relief, satisfaction, trust) and *dhammadassanaŋ* (insight into or through the Dhamma).

In me the senses have been hushed to calm,
Like horses well tamed by the charioteer,
In me no vain conceits are found, nor aught
Of poison-fumes survives;—one such as I
May stir up envy e'en among the gods.[1] (206)

CLXIV

Mogharājan.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin's family, and named Mogharājan,[2] he studied under the brahmin Bāvariya. Growing distressed, he became an ascetic. He was one of the sixteen, Ajita and others, who was sent by Bāvariya to the Master to interview him.[3] When Mogharājan had asked his question and been answered, he attained arahantship.

Thereafter he acquired distinction by wearing rough cloth which caravaners, tailors and dyers had thrown away. Wherefore the Master assigned him the first place among those who wore such rough clothing [he thereby realizing his aspiration made many ages ago].[4]

At another time, from want of care and through former karma, pimples and the like broke out and increased on his body. Judging that his lodging was infected, he spread out a couch of straw in the Magadha fields, and there, though it was winter, he lodged. Of him, waiting one day

[1] The first gāthā is found in the *Dhammapada*, verse 94, spoken, according to the Commentary (ii. 176 *f.*), by the Buddha concerning Mahā Kaccā[ya]na. *Cf.* below, CCXXIX.

[2] This curious name (= futile king) seems to be nowhere explained. The one so named in *Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 23, seems to be a *deva*, but a verse by a Mogharāja-Thera in *Milinda*, ii. 359, is one of those not incorporated in this Canon.

[3] See *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 976-1031, 1116-1119. *Cf.* also XX (Ajita), and the varied 'Bāvarī,' 'Bāvariya-brahmaṇo.'

[4] *Ang. Nik.*, i. 25.

upon the Master, and paying his respects, the latter of his courtesy inquired in the following verse:

Well, Mogharājan, thou skin-sufferer,
Thou blest of heart and constantly serene,
Cometh the time when winter nights are cold,
And thou a brother poor—how wilt thou fare? (207)

Thus asked, the Thera explained the matter to the Master:

Rich are the cornfields of the Magadhese,[1]
And thriving, every one, I've heard it said.
My little straw-built canopy doth please
Better than others' way of finding ease. (208)

CLXV

Visākha the Pañcālī's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, as the son of a district rāja, he was named Visākha. But because he was the son of the daughter of the king of the Pañcālas,[2] he became known afterwards as the Pañcālī's son.

At his father's death he succeeded to his title, but when the Master came to his neighbourhood he went to hear him, and believed, and left the world. Following him to Sāvatthī, he established insight, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Thereupon, in kindness to his own folk, he visited his native place. And as people kept coming to hear him, he was one day asked: 'How many qualities, your reverence, should a man acquire to be a preacher of the Norm?' The

[1] On the large fields of Magadha see my 'Early Economic Conditions in Northern India,' *JRAS*, 1901, p. 860. *Khetta*, the collective singular, has here become *khettāni*, but *cf.* p. 153.

[2] An ancient kingdom, lying to the east of the Kurus, whose capital was where Delhi stands (*Bud. India*). Pronounced Panchāla.

Thera taught them the essential feature of such an one as follows:[1]

Let him not be puffed up, nor other folk
Belittle, nor despise nor yet molest
The victor who hath overcome the world.[2]
Nor let him drag the praises of himself
Before the public; let him be[3] sober, meek,
And moderate in speech and virtuous. (209)
Is there a man who can the truth discern,
Tho' it be very subtle and refined?
Who skilled to measure spiritual growth,
Is yet of lowly, and of gentle mind.
Who shapes his life by rule of Them that Wake:
For him, Nibbāna is not hard to find.[4] (210)

CLXVI

Cūḷaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as a brahmin's son, he was named Cūḷaka. When he saw the Master tame the elephant Dhanapāla,[5] he believed, and left the world. Working at his training, he dwelt in the Indra-sāl-tree Cave.[6] One day as he sat in the entrance of the cave, looking down over the Magadha 'field,' a great storm-cloud filled the sky with piled-up masses, and amid deep, lovely roars, the rain came down. The flock of peacocks, hearing the thunder, joyously uttered their ké-ká cry,[7] and

[1] The Buddha is recorded as having assigned the first place among the *dhammakathika's* to Puṇṇa among the Brethren (IV.), Dhammadinnā among the Sisters (*Sisters*, p. 17), and Citta *among laymen*; nevertheless, he specially praised this Thera's teaching (*Saṃy. Nik.*, ii. 280; *Ang. Nik.*, ii. 51).

[2] Lit., him who hath gone beyond.

[3] *Siyāti* should here, writes the Commentary, be added as a *kriyā-pada*.

[4] This is Vacchapāla's psalm (LXXI.); also, be it noted, a Magadhese.

[5] See *Milinda*, i. 298 *f.*, *nn.* on *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 247 *f.*

[6] See *Dialogues*, ii. 299.

[7] See XXII., *n.* 2.

danced around. The touch of the storm-breeze brought coolness and comfort to the Thera in his cavern-lodge, so that with a suitable temperature his mind became concentrated. He entered the avenue of his exercise, and, discerning that the favourable moment was come, he praised his practice, breaking out in these verses:

Hark! how the peacocks make the welkin ring,
Fair-crested, fine their plumes and azure throat,
Graceful in shape and pleasant in their cry.
And see how this broad landscape watered well
Lies verdure-clad beneath the dappled sky! (211)

Healthy thy frame and fit and vigorous
To make good progress in the Buddha's rule.
Come then and grasp the rapt thought of the saint,[1]
And touch the crystal bright, the subtly deep,
The elusive mystery—even the Way
Where dying cometh not, ineffable. (212)

And so the Thera, admonishing himself, attained under seasonable conditions to mental concentration, and evoking insight, won arahantship. Thereupon reviewing what he had wrought, with zest and joy he repeated those lines as the confession of aññā.

CLXVII

Anūpama.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family at Kosala, his beauty obtained him the name of Anūpama—'Peerless.' Come of age, he felt the working of the efficient cause, forsook the world, and dwelt in the forest,

[1] *Sumanassa*, paraphrased by *sundaramanassa yogāvacarassa.* 'Come.' 'grasp,' 'touch,' are expansions of the Pali *phusāhi*, the last of the three verbs. The long-drawn-out Jagatī metre of the two gāthās relies on reiteration of the adaptable prefix *su* (Greek εὐ)—good, fair, well—to convey intense gladsomeness.

practising for insight. But his mind hovered about external objects, revolving about his theme for meditation, so that he thus rebuked himself:

O heart! gone gadding after things that please,
O thou that shapest many a shaft of doom,
There and there only dost thou ever tend
Where block and stake rise at the bitter end. (213)
I call thee, heart, the breaker of my luck!
I call thee, heart, despoiler of my lot!
Lo! He whom many an age thou couldst not find,
The Master now is come—suffer it not
That I to wreck and ruin be consigned.[1] (214)

Thus admonishing his own consciousness, the Thera developed insight, and won arahantship.

CLXVIII

Vajjita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy Kosalan family, after deceasing from the Brahma world, he ever wept in his mother's arms. And because he could not endure the touch of a woman, he came to be called Vajjita—'abstaining.' Come of age, he saw the Master work the twin-miracle,[2] and believing, he entered the Order, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon remembering his former existence, he was stirred with holy emotion, and said:

A traveller I these long, long ages past,
And round about the realms of life I've whirled;
One of the many-folk and blind as they,
No Ariyan truths had I the power to see. (215)

[1] This eloquent poem is a miniature version of Tālapuṭa's long-drawn-out apostrophe to his *chitta* (CCLXII.). The Commentary identifies *kaliŋ* with *Kālakaṇṇī*, goddess of ill luck. The last words of the text should, of course, be understood as *mā anatthe*, etc.

[2] *Cf.* p. 36, *n.* 1.

But earnestly I strove for light and calm;
And now all shattered lies the endless way.
All future bournes abolished utterly,
Now cometh never more rebirth for me. (216)

And this became the Thera's confession of aññā.

CLXIX

Sandhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family of Kosala and named Sandhita, he heard, when come of age, a sermon on impermanence, and this alarmed him so that he entered the Order. Through the maturity of his knowledge he established insight, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Recalling his own former life, how after the passing away of Sikhi Buddha he had worshipped at the Bo-tree and acquired discernment of impermanence,[1] he declared his winning of the goal, by that efficient cause, in these verses:

Beneath the tree—the holy Bodhi-tree—
Clad in the glory of its vernal green,
To me musing and mindful came a thought—
A Buddha-burdened thought. (217)
'Tis one and thirty æons since it came.
Natheless so fruitful proved that thought in me,
By dint thereof o'er the intoxicants
The victory is wrought! (218)

[1] In lamenting that he only heard of that Buddha just as he had passed away. On Sikhi, see *Dialogues*, ii. 6. 'Bodhi-tree' is *assatthe*, or the species of fig-tree which was Gotama Buddha's Bo-tree. Sikhi's was a kind of mango (see Childers's 'Puṇḍarīka'), and the Commentary is at some pains to explain that *assattha* had come to stand for Bo-tree associations in general. 'Thought'—*saññā, aperçu*—is repeated thrice in the text.

CANTO III

PSALMS OF THREE VERSES

CLXX

Anganika-Bhāradvāja.

Reborn in this Buddha-age near the Himâlaya, at the city of Ukkaṭṭha,[1] in the family of a very rich brahmin, he was named Anganika-Bhāradvāja.[2] And when he had learned all Vedic lore and art, his inclination for renunciation induced him to leave the world and carry on penance for salvation.[3] Wandering here and there, he met the Buddha Supreme on a country tour, and with satisfied mind heard him teach. Leaving his false ascetics, he took orders, and practising for insight, in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Abiding thereafter in the bliss of liberty, he took compassion on his kinsfolk, and visited and taught them in the Refuges and the Precepts; then leaving them, he went to dwell in a forest near the village of Kuṇḍiya of the Kurus.[4]

[1] On this upland town (='lofty'), see *Dialogues*, i. 108. A road connected it with Setavyā (*sup.*, p. 67; *Ang.*, ii. 37; and with Vesālī (*Jāt.*, ii. 259, text).

[2] There are about nineteen Bhāradvājas (a gens name) mentioned in the Piṭakas. This one is not met with elsewhere.

[3] That which, in the text, is *amaraŋ tapaŋ* ('penances . . . for heaven') is, in the Commentary, rendered *amatatapaŋ*, *amataŋ tapaŋ*. The difference, etymologically, is that between 'undying' and 'not dead.' Both refer, probably, to reunion with the gods, as attainable by the penance of the five fires, etc. See *sup.*, p. 120, and *Dialogues*, i. 211.

[4] This will not be the Kuṇḍiyā of the Koliyas (*Udāna*, ii. 8; *Jāt.*, i. No. 100). Uggāyāma is possibly the place Ugga of LXXX.

Going for some purpose to Uggāyāma, he was accosted by some brahmin acquaintances, who said: 'Master Bhāradvāja, what have you seen that you have left the brahmin communion for this community?' And he, showing that outside the Buddha's church there was no pure rule, said:

Purity without principle my quest,
When in the grove I fostered sacred fire.
Painful the penances I wrought for heaven,
All ignorant of purity's true path. (219)
This happiness by happy ways is won[1]—
O see the seemly order of the Norm![2]
The threefold wisdom have I gotten now,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (220)
Once but a son of brahmins born was I;[3]
To-day I stand brahmin in very deed,
Versed in the triple lore and graduate,[4]
By sacramental bathing consecrate. (221)

Then those brahmins hearing him, expressed enthusiastic appreciation of the Sāsana.

CLXXI

Paccaya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the city of Rohi, in a nobleman's family, he was named Paccaya.[5] Inheriting the estate at his father's death, he decreed to hold a great ceremonial oblation, and a great assembly foregathered.

[1] *Cf.* LXIII.

[2] *Cf.* XXIV. He is addressing either the Norm or himself, says the Commentary, omitting the more probable 'or the brahmins.'

[3] *Cf.* p. 222; also the very similar lines, *Sisters*, verse 251 and *note*.

[4] The Commentary finds Sāsana-equivalents for all these terms of Vedic tradition.

[5] Neither rāja nor city is found elsewhere. Pacchāyā (pronounce thus) was the name of the elephant of Vessantara, a Sākiyan ancestor (*Jāt.*, vi. 485, text).

At that congress, the Master, seated on a throne in a jewelled pavilion made by (his ancestor) Vessavaṇa,[1] taught the Norm, while all the people gazed at him. Even the great multitude understood the doctrine, but rāja Paccaya went further. For impelled by earlier causes, he renounced his estate and left the world. And even as he had vowed in Kassapa Buddha's time, so now, entering his cell, he vowed to attain before he left it again. And now at last, insight growing, and knowledge attaining full maturity, he attained arahantship.

Thereupon, celebrating his achievement, he thus confessed aññā:

Five days have now gone by since I went forth,
A learner, and my mind not perfected.[2]
Then in the heart of me within my cell
Retired uprose unfaltering resolve: (222)
I will not eat nor will I drink again,
Nor from this lodging let me issue forth,
Nor will I even lie upon my side,
While yet the dart of Craving lies undrawn.[3] (223)
Thus steadfast I abiding—O behold
And mark the forward stride of energy:
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids us do is done! (224)

CLXXII

Bākula.

Born at Kosambī in a councillor's family before our Exalted One appeared, he was being bathed for his health in the Great-Yamunā River,[4] when a fish swallowed him

[1] *Cf.* p. 189, *n.* 1 *Jāt.*, vi. 265 *ff.* (text).

[2] A phrase of the Nikāyas (*Majjh.*, i. 4; *Saṃy.*, i. 121, v. 145).

[3] A resolve enjoined on learners (*Majjh.*, i. 480; *Ang.*, i. 50; *Saṃy.*, ii. 28).

[4] The Jumna. Kosambī was near the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges (at Allahabad). Bākula's or Bakkula's story is given in the

out of the nurse's hands. The fish was caught by an angler and sold to the wife of a Benares councillor. When it was split open, the child through the might of his merit appeared unhurt. The wife cherished him as her son, and when she heard his story, asked him of his parents. The king decided they should have him in common, hence he was named Bā-kula ('two-families,' *bi-kin*).

After a prosperous life he heard the Master preach, and left the world at eighty years of age. For seven days he remained unenlightened, but as the eighth dawned he attained arahantship, together with thorough mastery of the letter and spirit of the doctrine.[1]

One day the Master, when assigning manifold eminence to his disciples, ranked Bākula foremost for good health.[2] Thereafter he, when about to pass away, confessed aññā in the midst of the Brethren thus:

He who is fain to-morrow to perform
The things that he should yesterday have done,
Forfeit of happy opportunity,
He shall anon repent him fierily.[3] (225)
Let him but talk of that which should be done;
Let him not talk of what should not be done!
Of him who talketh much, but doeth not,
Wise men take stock, and rate him at his
worth.[4] (226)

Anguttara-Nikāya Commentary and in the Singhalese Comy. of *Milinda* (ii. 10, *n.* 2). His legend tells of his having healed two Buddhas in former births. Morris's discussion of *bakkula* in another connection (*JPTS*, 1886, p. 95 *ff.*) explains the word as a *proper name* no better than does the mythical story.

[1] See *Sisters*, p. 17 *n.* The poem is repeated (CLXXXIV.).

[2] *Ang. Nik.*, i. 25; there called Bakkula. Presumably his great age lent point to the distinction.

[3] *Anutappati*, lit., proceed to be hot about. Our metaphor is bite (*remorse*) or pricking (of conscience).

[4] Expanded from the two words *parijānanti paṇḍitā*, the wise understand The Commentary's expansion is 'they fixing [him] accurately know, do not esteem highly.'

O great, O wondrous is Nibbāna's bliss,
Revealed by Him, the Utterly Awake!
There comes no grief, no passion, haven sure,
Where ill and ailing perish evermore! (227)

CLXXIII

Dhaniya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a potter's family and named Dhaniya, he practised the potter's craft. It was at his house that the Master taught Pukkusāti the noble the Sutta of the System of Elements.[1] Dhaniya, hearing of Pukkusāti dying as an arahant [that very night], thought: 'Mighty to guide verily is the Buddha-sāsana, wherein a single night suffices to release a man from the sorrows of rebirth!' So he entered the Order. But he continued to occupy himself with making tiles for roofs.[2] Reproved for making a clay hut by the Exalted One, he took up his abode in a bhikkhu's lodging, and there won arahantship.

Thereafter, on the occasion of admonishing bhikkhus who, as self-mortifying, held themselves superior to others, he confessed aññā thus:

If one in the recluse's discipline
Take thought how he may live in happy ease,
Let him not scorn the Order's uniform,
Nor hold in disrespect its food and drink. (228)

If one in the recluse's discipline
Take thought how he may live in happy ease,
Let him frequent a shelter like the lair
Of watersnake or mouse [primitive, bare].[3] (229)

[1] 'Dhātuvibhanga-sutta,' *Majjh. Nik.*, iii. 237 *ff.*, where the potter's name is not mentioned. *Cf.* above XCVII., and my *Buddhism*, 1912

[2] Dhaniya's skill in brick-making: clay-work red as the *indagopaka* (*cf.* verse 13), and giving a bell-like sound when tapped, is described, in this connection, in *Vinaya*, iii. 41 *f.*

[3] Commentary: 'the hole of the moment, where he can go in and out at will.'

If one in the recluse's discipline
Take thought how he may live in happy ease,
Let him be glad whate'er the day may bring,[1]
And let him be intent on one main thing.[2] (230)

CLXXIV

Mātanga's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in Kosala as the son of Mātanga a landowner, he came to be called after his father. He grew up idle in habits, and when his people rebuked him, he made acquaintance with the bhikkhus, noting how happily the Sākiya-son recluses lived. But when he heard the Master teach the Norm, he believed and took orders. Seeing the power of *iddhi* wielded by bhikkhus, he aspired to the same. And practising exercises, he won sixfold abhiññā.

Thereupon he scourged slothfulness, extolling his own rush of energy in these verses:

Too cold! too hot! too late! such is the cry.
And so, past men who shake off work [that waits
Their hand], the fateful moments fly.[3] (231)
But he who reckons cold and heat as less
Than straws, doing his duties as a man,
He no defaulter proves to happiness. (232)

[1] Lit., glad at one thing or another.

[2] *I.e.*, let him be in earnest (Commentary) whatever be the *ekadhammaŋ* of his study.

[3] 'Fateful' is interpolated to give weight to the urgency with which, in the earnest bhikkhu's life, conjuncture of opportunity is associated with this present life, especially in a 'Buddha-age.' So the Commentary here, and *cf. Sisters*, p. 12, *n*. 4. These two verses occur in *Dīgha* iii., 'Sigālovāda Suttanta,' but 'moments' is superseded by *atthā*, 'advantages' or 'good'—a rare use of the plural form.

Dabba- and kusa-grass and pricking stems,
And all that hurts in brush and underwood.
Forth from my breast I'll push and thrust
away,
And go where I the growth may cultivate
Of heart's detachment, lone and separate.[1] (233)

CLXXV

Khujja-Sobhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Pāṭaliputta,[2] in a brahmin's family, he was named Sobhita. But being a little hunchbacked, he was called Crooked Sobhita. Come of age at the time of the Master's passing away, he was ordained by Ānanda, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Now, at the first Great Council in the Sattapaṇṇi Cave, he was bidden fetch Ānanda Thera to the Assembly.[3] Now at that time the company of devas sent an angel to stand at the entrance to the Cave to counteract the work of Māra. And Khujja-Sobhita announced his own coming to the angel in this verse :

One of the Brethren who in Patna dwell,
Learnèd and erudite, lo! at the door,
Advanced in years, stands Crooked Sobhita. (234)

[1] = XXVII.; *cf.* XXIII. The energy defies in the one case physical delicacy, in the other effeminacy.

[2] Patna ; *cf.* *Sisters*, p. 157 *n.*

[3] For Ānanda's late appearance see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 373 ; *Vinaya*, iii. 259. There, Ānanda's access to the Cave through earth or air, in the commentarial legend, is ascribed to our Thera. Curiously enough, the *Vinaya* itself knows of no Khujja-Sobhita till the Council of Vesālī, a century later (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. 407). That the Council was held in this Cave is not stated in the *Vinaya*, which names only the Kalandaka-nivāpa (squirrels' feeding-ground) in the Veḷuvana (Bamboo Grove). 'Angel' is *devatā ;* lit., deity.

Then the angel informed the Sangha of the Thera's advent:

> One of the Brethren who in Patna dwell,
> Learnèd and eloquent, lo! at the door,
> Advanced in years, he stands borne by the
> winds.[1] (235)

Then the Sangha giving him opportunity, the Thera approached them and confessed aññā:

> Good fight he made, and made good sacrifice,[2]
> And in the battle won:—now by such war,
> The fervent following of the holy life,
> In happiness he resteth [evermore]. (236)

CLXXVI

Vāraṇa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in Kosala as a brahmin's son, he was named Vāraṇa. Come of age, he heard a Thera preach the Norm in a forest, and believing, entered the Order. One day going to wait upon the Buddha he saw, on the way, a family quarrel, through which some were slain. Distressed, he hastened to the Exalted One, and told him. And the latter, discerning the progress of his mind, exhorted him, saying:

> Whoso here causeth fellow-creatures pain,
> From this and from the other-world, from both
> This man may forfeit all they yield of good.[3] (237)
> Whoso with loving heart compassion takes
> On every fellow-creature, such a man
> Doth generate of merit ample store. (238)

[1] His aerial return from Ānanda to the Sangha.

[2] *Suyiṭṭhena* (which comes more naturally from a lapsed brahmin than the martial epithets) the Commentary explains as 'religious gifts from virtuous friends.' The metre of the poem is disturbed by two glosses *samaṇā* and *dvāre*.

[3] The last phrase from the Commentary, 'the good and happiness comprised in both worlds.'

Train ye yourselves in pious utterance,
In waiting ever on the wise and good,
In haunting secret solitary seat,
And in the calm and concentrated mind. (239)

When these verses were ended, Vāraṇa, developing insight, won arahantship.

CLXXVII

Passika.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a Kosalan brahmin, he saw the Master work the twin miracle,[1] and believed. Entering the Order he fell ill while performing the studies of a recluse. His own people attended him and healed him. But he, greatly stirred by his recovery, pressed forward his study, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he went through the air to his own people, and established them in the Refuges and the Precepts. And some of his kin, so established, died and were reborn in heaven. When Passika waited on the Master, the latter asked after the health of his kin. And Passika thus made answer:

Though I alone, 'mong unbelieving kin,
Had faith and wit enough, discerned the Norm
And clove to virtue, this was for their good. (240)

For see! mine own folk, whom for pity's sake
I took to task, roused and rebuked by me,
Through their affection and their piety
Constrained, towards the Brethren wrought good work. (241)
They who are now gone hence, ending this span,
They reap much happiness among the gods.
Brothers of mine are there, my mother too,
Fain for the pleasures that they now enjoy. (242)

[1] See p. 36, n. 1.

CLXXVIII

Yasoja.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the gate of the city of Sāvatthī in a fisher's village, as the son of the headman of the 500 fishermen's families, he was called Yasoja. Come of age, he was one day fishing with the fishermen's sons in the River Aciravatī. And casting his net, he caught a great gold-coloured fish. They showed it to King Pasenadi, who said: 'The Exalted One will know the cause of the fish's colour.' And the Exalted One told them that the fish had, in Kassapa Buddha's time, been a wicked bhikkhu, who had since then suffered in purgatory; that his sisters were still there, but that his brother as Thera had perfected life; and then for their good he taught the Kappila Sutta.[1]

Thereupon Yasoja in deep emotion renounced the world, and his companions with him. Of his going with them to wait on the Exalted One at the Jeta-Vana, and of their dismissal because of the noise they made on arriving, the record stands in the Udāna.[2] Dismissed, and dwelling on the banks of the River Vaggumudā, Yasoja, like a highbred horse, his mettle stirred, strove and toiled till he acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereafter the Exalted One sent for him. And he, from practising all the special austerities,[3] was emaciated and uncomely. Then the Exalted One commended his self-denial in this verse:

> Lo! here a man with frame so pale and worn;
> Like knotted stems of cane his joints, and sharp
> Th' emaciated network of his veins.
> In food and drink austerely temperate,
> His spirit neither crushed nor desolate. (243)

[1] I cannot identify this Sutta.

[2] *Udāna*, iii., § 3. In that work it is interesting, in view of the Thera's legend, that the Master, when rebuking Yasoja's followers, compares them to noisy *fishermen*.

[3] These were not the self-inflicted tortures of Indian ascetics, but the Dhutangas, all of which are given in the *Milinda*, ii., bk. vi.

And Yasoja so commended, extolled the love of solitude, and taught doctrine thus:

In the great forest, in the mighty woods,
Touched though I be by gadfly and by gnat,
I yet would roam, like warrior-elephant
In van of battle, mindful, vigilant.[1] (244)

Alone a man is even as Brahmā.
And as the angels if he have one mate.
Like to a village is a group of three.
Like to a noisy crowd if more there be. (245)

CLXXIX

Sāṭimattiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha as a brahmin's son, he having the essential conditions[2] entered the Order among the forest bhikkhus, and through study and practice acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he instructed bhikkhus, and preached to many folk on the Refuges and the Precepts. One family in particular he converted to faith and trust; and in that house he was greatly welcomed, the only daughter, a pretty, lovely girl, respectfully providing him with food.

One day Māra, plotting to disturb and disgrace him, took his shape, and going to the maiden, grasped her hand. But she, feeling that this was no human touch, loosed her hand. But the others in the house saw it and lost faith in the Thera. He, knowing nothing, perceived next day their changed manner. And discerning that Māra had been at work, he vowed to loose the dead dog from their neck, and made them tell him what had happened. And the housemaster, hearing his explanation, begged his forgiveness,

[1] = XXXI.

[2] *I.e.*, maturity of evolution in character.

and declared he himself would wait upon him. The Thera told the matter in these verses:

> The trust thou once didst place in me,
> To-day it lives no more. What's thine is thine;
> But in this house no evil have I done. (246)
> Transient and wavering is the layman's faith:—
> So have I marked. Folk love and then grow cold.
> Why for that should a holy brother die? (247)
> Cooked stands the sage's food a little here,
> A little there, in one clan or the next.
> I will go round to seek my little alms;
> My legs are strong enough forsooth for that.[1] (248)

CLXXX

Upāli.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a barber's family, he was named Upāli. Come of age he left the world, following Anuruddha and the other five nobles, when the Exalted One was staying at Anupiyā Grove, as is recorded in the Pali.[2] Now when he was taking a subject for exercise from the Master, he said: 'Send me not away, Lord, to dwell in the forest.' 'Bhikkhu, you dwelling in the forest, will develop one subject[3] only; if you dwell with us, you will become proficient in both book-knowledge[4] and insight.' The Thera, consenting to the Master's word, practised for insight, and in due time won arahantship.

[1] This little poem, so simply explained by the Commentary, has for lack of it been twisted into a limping dialogue on Karma, etc., between two bhikkhus. See Neumann, *in loc.*

[2] See the charming episode, *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 224-230.

[3] *Dhūraṃ*.

[4] *Gantha-*, Br. *gandha-dhūraṃ*. With this *cf. Dīgha-Nikāya*, iii. 94: *ganthe karontā*. Dhammapāla, of course, had palm-leaf manuscripts in mind and a *written* Vinaya, whereas, in Upāli's case, the Master would probably teach him orally (*uggahapesi*), though heads or subject-words may then have been committed to writing.

Moreover, the Master himself taught him the whole Vinaya-Pitaka. And later, after Upāli had won the Master's commendation of his decision in the three cases of Ajjuka, the Kurukacchaka bhikkhu and Kumāra-Kassapa, he was ranked first among those who knew the Vinaya.[1]

One feast-day, when he was reciting the Pātimokkha,[2] he thus admonished the brethren:

He who for faith's sake[3] hath renounced the world,
And stands a novice in the Order new,
Friends let him choose of noble character,
Pure in their lives, of zeal unfaltering. (249)

He who for faith's sake hath renounced the world,
And stands a novice in the Order new,
Among the Order let that bhikkhu dwell,
And wisely[4] learn its code of discipline. (250)

He who for faith's sake hath renounced the world,
And stands a novice in the Order new,
Skilled in what should be done, or left undone,
Let him uncompanied hold on his way. (251)

[1] See *Vinaya*, iii. 66; 39, and above CLXI. respectively. These are but a tithe of the cases recorded as settled by this notable Dean. *Cf.* XLV., p. 50, *n*. 2.

[2] This—the 'Rules of Disburdenment'—constituted, and still constitutes, a fortnightly ritual (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 1-69).

[3] Commentary: *i.e.*, either not in order to gain a living, or believing in the fruit of action and in the excellence of the Gem-Trinity (Buddha, Norm, Order). Upāli's own beginning was not so single-minded, he having joined precisely in order to protect his life. The young nobles gave him their effects to take home, and he, fearing that the Sākiyans might suspect him of murder, hung up the bundle on a tree and followed them.

[4] *Budho*. The Commentary interprets: *buddhā ti ca pathan ti; so ev' attho*. The iteration 'novice . . . new' is in the text.

CLXXXI

Uttarapāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in a brahmin family, he was named Uttarapāla.[1] He saw the Twin Miracle,[2] and believing, entered the Order, and pursued his studies. One day, amid desultory recollections, sensual desires beset him, but after a violent mental struggle, he arrested the corrupting moods (*kilesa's*), and in earnest meditation won arahantship.

Thereupon reflecting on his victory, he uttered a 'lion-roar':

Me seeming wise, forsooth, and spent enough
In pondering on the things that make for good,
Me overthrew fivefold desires of sense,
Bewilderers [of the reason] of the world. (252)
Though lodged in Māra's reach, by mighty dart
Assailed, yet did my strength suffice to win
From snare set by the King of Death release. (253)
Now are all sense-desires put far away!
Now are all rebirths shattered once for aye!
Destroyed is birth-and-death's eternity!
Now cometh nevermore rebirth for me! (254)

CLXXXII

Abhibhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a rāja's family at the city of Veṭṭhapura,[3] he was named Abhibhūta, and succeeded to the estate at his father's death. Now when the Exalted

[1] = Guardian of the North. [2] See p. 36, *n*. 1.

[3] No other mention of place or rāja is yet traced, but the four middle lines are, in *Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 156, put in the mouth of one Abhibhu, who was a bhikkhu in the age of Sikhi Buddha, according to a story told by Gotama Buddha.

One arrived at his city on tour, Abhibhūta he went to hear him, and on the morrow offered him hospitality. The Exalted One expressed the thanks he felt, and thereupon taught him the Norm more in detail. Then the rāja found faith, left his estate for the Order, and realized arahantship.

While he was dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, his kindred, councillors and retainers came to him lamenting that he had left them without a chief. And he, teaching them the Norm by way of extolling the reason of his renunciation, said:

Hear, O ye kinsmen, and give ear to me,
All and as many as are gathered here!
The Norm it is that ye shall learn from me:—
Painful is birth again and yet again! (255)
Bestir yourselves, rise up, renounce and come,
And yield your hearts unto the Buddha's Rule.
Shake off the armies of the King of Death
As doth the elephant a hut of straw.[1] (256)
Whoso within this righteous discipline
Shall come with diligence to understand.
Rebirth's eternal round put far away,
All pain and suffering he shall end for aye.[2] (257)

CLXXXIII

Gotama.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the Sākiyan clan, he came to be known only by his gens name. He found faith when the Master visited his kinsfolk, and entering the Order and studying for insight, acquired sixfold abhiññā. Now, while

[1] *Cf.* verse 1147.

[2] These last eight lines are elsewhere assigned to the Buddha, four by Nāgasena (*Milinda*, ii. 60), and four in the Book of the Great Decease (*Dialogues*, ii. 128). The former is also so assigned in *Kathā Vatthu*, ii. 3, and in *Divyāvadāna*, p. 300, but to the gods (*ibid.*, p. 569) and to the bhikkhu Abhibhu in *Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 156 *f.*

he was dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, his kinsfolk asked him one day why he had put them aside and gone forth. And he, to show both the ill he had suffered in Saŋsāra and the happiness of Nibbāna which he then had gotten, said:

Lo! as I fared through being, I came to the kingdom infernal,
So to the dolorous realm of the Petas, times without number.
Evil[1] befell me again in manifold shapes of the beast-world. (258)
Glad enough reborn as human, rarely I won to the heavens.
Yea, in the realms of vision, in realms where all sense was abolished
Have I been placed, and in realms 'twixt consciousness and the unconscious.[2] (259)
All this becoming lies clearly before me as void of real value,
Born of preceding conditions, unstable and constantly drifting.
So comprehending the coming to be of this self of me, heedful,
Came I at length to find Peace, yea, the Peace [wherein I am resting]. (260)

CLXXXIV

Hārita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in a brahmin family, he fell into the habit, from pride of birth, of calling other men low-born. Even after he had heard the Norm, and believed and entered the Order, he persisted from the

[1] The oddly redundant *dukkhamamhi* the Commentary gives in the verse, but restates in paraphrasing as *dukkhamhi*.

[2] On these planes of existence see *Compendium*, p. 187 *ff*.

cumulative force of the habit. But one day, after hearing the Master preach, he reviewed his own mental procedure, and was distressed to mark the surrender to conceit and arrogance. Expelling it all, he conjured up insight and won arahantship. Thereafter, dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he testified to aññā in thus admonishing the bhikkhus:[1]

He who is fain to-morrow to perform
The things that he should yesterday have done,
Forfeit of happy opportunity,
He shall anon repent him fierily. (261)
Let him but talk of that which should be done;
Let him not talk of what should not be done!
Of him who talketh much but doeth not,
Wise men take stock, and rate him at his
    worth. (262)
O great, O wondrous is Nibbāna's bliss,
Revealed by Him, the Utterly Awake!
There comes no grief, no passion, haven sure,
Where ill and ailing perish evermore! (263)

CLXXXV

Vimala.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Benares in a brahmin family, he entered the Order under Thera Amitta,[2] and through his instigation acquired insight and won arahantship. Thereupon he admonished a bhikkhu who was his comrade as follows:

From evil-minded friends keep far away,
And make thy choice among the best of men.

[1] Harita's psalm is identical with Bākula's (CLXXII.). *Cf.* also the Harita of XXIX., also a brahmin of Sāvatthī.

[2] On this curious name (? Amita) *cf.* *Jāt.*, vi. 271.

To his advice hold fast, and let thy heart
Aspire to happiness immutable. (264)
As[1] one who, mounted on a puny plank,
Is in mid-ocean whelmed beneath the waves,
So even he of blameless life doth sink,
When thrown together with the man of sloth. (265)
Wherefore from such an one keep well apart,
The sluggard and the poor in energy.
Dwell thou with them who live aloof,
With wise, with noble souls who have renounced,
Who in rapt contemplation ever strive. (266)

[1] See above, CXXXIV. This Thera is not met with elsewhere, nor is Vimala identical with the author of Psalm L.

CANTO IV

PSALMS OF FOUR VERSES

CLXXXVI

Nāgasamāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clan of Sākiyan rājas, he made the perishableness of life his principle, and, conjuring up insight, attained arahantship. He thereupon testified to aññā, as occurring in his own experience, thus:

Bedecked with trinkets and with pretty frock,
Wreathèd with flowers, raddled with sandal wood,
In the main street, before the multitude
A nautch girl danced to music's fivefold sound.[1] (267)
Into the city I had gone for alms,
And passing I beheld the dancer decked
In brave array, like snare of Māra laid. (268)
Thereat arose in me the deeper thought:[2]
Attention to the fact and to the cause.
The misery of it all was manifest;
Distaste, indifference the mind possessed. (269)

[1] The five instruments usually grouped as *turiya* are three sorts of tom-toms, cymbals (?), and pipe or flute 'Nautch girl' is *narī*—lit., woman—and *naṭṭakī*, dancer.

[2] *Yoniso manasikāro.* The Commentary paraphrases by analyzing the sight of that which was intended to appeal to sense and emotion. Distaste,' etc.: Cy. has *sampatiṭṭha'hāti . . . hadayaŋ saŋhāsi.*

And so my heart was set at liberty.
O see the seemly order of the Norm!
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids me do is done.[1] (270)

CLXXXVII

Bhagu.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clan of Sākiyan rājas, he left the world, together with his clansmen, Anuruddha and Kimbila, and dwelt by the village of Bālakaloṇa.[2] And one day, when he had left his cell to discipline his tendency to sloth and torpor, he fell as he was stepping up on to the terrace. Using this as his goad,[3] he accomplished self-mastery, and developing insight, he won arahantship. Thereupon, as he was living in the bliss of fruition, the bliss of Nibbāna, the Master, coming to congratulate him on his solitude, asked him: 'How now, bhikkhu, do you continue in earnest?' And he assenting, replied:

Foredone by drowth I gat me from my cell
For exercise, and climbed the terrace-steps,
And fell thereby all drowsy to the earth. (271)
Chafing my limbs, once more I mounted up;
And while on terrace to and fro I went,
Within 'twas all alert, composed, intent. (272)
Thereat arose in me the deeper thought:
Attention to the fact and to the cause.

[1] It is not possible to be sure that this Nāgasamāla is the Thera so named who was occasionally the Buddha's attendant on his walks. *Cf.* CCLX.; *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 43; *Udāna*, viii. 7; *Jāt.*, iv. 95.

[2] On these see above (CXVIII., *n.* 4) and below (CCLVI.). The visit by the Buddha, without the incident of the tumble, is recorded, *Majjh. Nik.*, iii. 154; *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 308, where the village has '-kāra' added to its name. *Cf. Jāt.*, i., No. 10; *Milinda*, i. 163. The village was a suburb of Kosambī on the Jumna.

[3] *Cf. Sisters*, xvii.

The misery of it all was manifest;
Distaste, indifference the mind possessed; (273)
And so my heart was set at liberty.
O see the seemly order of the Norm!
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids me do is done. (274)

This was the Thera's confession of aññā.

CLXXXVIII

Sabhiya.

In the time of our Exalted One he took rebirth as the son of a nobleman's daughter, whose parents had committed her to the charge of a Wanderer, that she might learn other doctrines and usages. Sabhiya, when grown up, also became a Wanderer, and learning various recitations, became a great dialectician, and found none to equal him. Making his hermitage by the city gate, he gave lessons to the children of noblemen and others, and devised twenty questions, which he asked recluses and brahmins. In the narrative to the Sabhiya-Sutta it is handed down, that a Brahmā god from the Pure Abodes devised the questions.[1] There, too, it is told how the Exalted One, when he came to Rājagaha, to the Bamboo Grove, so answered the questions, that Sabhiya believed on him, and entering the Order, established insight and won arahantship.

But after this it was in admonishing the bhikkhus who sided with the seceding Devadatta that he spoke these verses:

People can never really understand
That we are here but for a little spell.[2]

[1] See *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 510-547. Of the verses here ascribed to Sabhiya, 275, 277 = *Dhammapada*, verses 6, 312, verse 6 being there, as in *Vin. Texts*, ii. 306 *f.*, put into the mouth of the Buddha addressing the quarrelsome Kosambī bhikkhus.

[2] 'People': 'All except the wise.' Cy. Line 2: 'We walk constantly near to Death.' (Cy.) This reading is vindicated by the opposed: 'as they immortals were,' next verse.

But they who grasp this truth indeed,
Suffer all strife and quarrels to abate. (275)
And whereas they who cannot understand,
Deport themselves as they immortals were,
They who can really understand the Norm
Are as the hale amid a world diseased.[1] (276)
All flaccid action, all corrupted rites,
Suspicious conduct in religious life:
On all such work follows no high reward. (277)
He who among his fellow-brethren wins
No reverence is far from the good Norm,
As is the firmament far from the earth. (278)

CLXXXIX

Nandaka.

Reborn in the time of our Exalted One at Sāvatthī in a clansman's family, he was called Nandaka. He entered the Order after hearing the Master teach the Norm, and developing insight won arahantship. Thereafter, while dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he gave a lesson by the Master's order one feast-day to the bhikkhunīs, and caused 500 of them to attain arahantship. Wherefore the Exalted One ranked him foremost among the exhorters of the brethren and sisters.[2]

Now, one day, while seeking alms in Sāvatthī, a woman, to whom he had been married, saw him and laughed with

[1] This line = *Dhammapada*, verse 198 (half the śloka). It is interesting to note that the Commentary on verse 6 of the *Dhammapada* is verbatim the same as that by Dhammapāla, while that on verse 312 is nearly so.

[2] *Ang.*, i. 25. The successful lesson is told in the Nandakovāda Sutta (*Majjh.*, iii. 270). The Anguttara Commentary leads up to that Sutta, but the occasion of these *verses* finds a fuller preface in the story it tells of Nanda, the Buddha's stepbrother (CXXXIX.). He, infatuated with a beautiful woman, is by the Master shown the nymphs in Sakka's heaven, and finds her plain as an ape in comparison.

sinful heart. The Thera, seeing her action, taught her the Norm under the aspect of emphasizing repugnance at the body, thus :

Fie on the fulsome thing malodorous!
A very tool of Māra, even this,
Thy body, whence exude those many streams,
In number nine, that never cease their flow. (279)
Build no conceits from former passages.
Try not to allure the Elect-who-Thus-have-Come![1]
The very heavens delight them not, how then
Should aught that's merely earthly ever please?[2] (280)
The fools who lack discretion, they whose mind
Is sullied, and their heart by dulness cloaked,
Such men in charms of body take delight,
For they are fast in bonds by Māra thrown. (281)
To them who are untouched by lust, or hate,
Or ignorance, these things no pleasures be.
Cut are the cords; they from all bonds are free. (282)

CXC

Jambuka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a very poor family, he inclined, as in a previous birth, to feeding on excrement, and left the world to be a naked ascetic. Practising many austerities, and eating beans one by one on the point of a straw, he was fifty-five years old when the Exalted One, seeing the conditions of arahantship shining within his heart like a lamp in a jar, himself went to him, and teach-

[1] *Tathāgate*, made here by the Commentary to include all Buddha-sāvakas, or Ariya-sāvakas, who have 'come' with the conditions for saintship, or have attained the highest, are *avabuddhā*.

[2] I do not here follow Dr. Neumann's syntax. The woman's power to please humans was a source of danger. She was only incapable of moving *tathāgatas*, or saints, who have won ineffable pleasures.

ing him the Norm, converted him. Then said he : 'COME, BHIKKHU!' thereby ordaining him.[1] And Jambuka thereupon conjuring up insight, the Master established him in arahantship. This is in outline, but a full account is given in the Commentary on the Dhammapada verse :

Bean after bean by point of straw. . .[2]

At the hour of his passing away he showed that, though once wrongly living, he, by leaning on the Buddha Supreme, had gotten where a disciple ought to get, thus:

For five and fifty years covered with dust
And dirt, eating a dinner once a month,[3]
And pulling out my hair from head and face, (283)
On one leg would I stand, I used no couch,
Dry dung I ate, nor would accept when bid. (284)
So wrought I actions leading to much woe
And ruin, swept along by mighty flood,
Till I a refuge in the Buddha found:— (285)
O see how to that Refuge I am come!
O see the seemly order of the Norm!
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids me do is done. (286)

CXCI

Senaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin family, as the son of the sister of the Thera Kassapa of Uruvelā, he was named Senaka.[4] When he had learnt the brahmins' Vedic

[1] See p. 105, *n*. 2.

[2] Verse 70 (*Commentary*, ii. 52-63). The literary reference is of interest, but it does not enable us to say that the *Dhammapada Commentary* referred to is positively that which we now have in Pali. Jambuka is referred to in *Milinda*, ii. 249.

[3] The extreme interval given in the list of austerities occurring more than once in *Dīgha-Nikāya* is twice a month—*e.g.*, *Dialogues*, i. 229.

[4] Brahmins of this name are in *Jāt.*, iii., No. 401 ; vi., No. 546. For the uncle's psalm, see CCX.

culture, he dwelt with his family. And at that time the people held a festival every year in the former half of March (Phaggŭna),[1] and a baptizing at the landing-stage,[2] the festival being called the Gayā-Lent.

Then the Exalted One, out of compassion for those who could be led, stayed near that riverside. And when the people assembled, Senaka came too, and hearing the Master teaching the Norm, was converted, entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereafter, reflecting on his victory, he was filled with joy, and breathed forth this psalm :

O welcome was to me that day of spring,
When at Gayā, at Gayā's river-feast,
I saw the Buddha teach the Norm supreme, (287)
Saw the great Light, Teacher of multitudes,
Him who hath won the highest, Guide of all,
The Conqueror of men and gods, unrivalled Seer. (288)
Mighty magician, hero glorious,
Far-shining splendour, pure, immune of mind,[3]
The Master who hath slain all āsavas,
And hath attained that where no fear can come.[4] (289)
Long lay I bound and harassed by the ties
Of sect and dogma—ah! but now 'tis He,
The Blessed Lord hath rescued Senaka
From every bond and set at liberty. (290)

[1] Phaggūṇa, or Phalguṇa, fell half in February, half in March.

[2] *Titthābhisekа.* What sort of 'baptizing'—lit., sprinkling—went on, whether of infants, scholars, or of religious confession, it is not easy to divine. According to Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, the river (Nerañjarā) itself was known as the Phalgu. Dr. Neumann says the town of Gayā is itself so called (*Majjh.-Nik.*, translation, i. 271. *Cf.* the very suggestive photograph in the *Sisters*, p. 134, of a modern riverside gathering at Gayā.

[3] *Anāsava.* The Thera here repeats himself a little.

[4] A frequent epithet of Nibbāna.

CXCII

Sambhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clansman's family, he was converted, after the Exalted One had passed away, by the Treasurer of the Norm.[1] And entering the Order, he developed insight and attained arahantship. So he lived in the bliss of emancipation till, a century after the Parinibbāna of the Exalted One, the Vajjian brethren of Vesālī put forward the ten theses, and were resisted by the Thera Niyasa[2] and the Kākandakan brethren, and a recension of Norm and Vinaya was made by 700 arahants. Then the Thera, moved by righteous emotion at the proposed perversion of Dhamma and Vinaya, uttered these verses, testifying thereby to aññā:

He who decides in season meet for pause,
And he who dallies when he should decide,[3]
This fool by want of plan and principle
Doth journey hence to suffer many ills. (291)
Rewards that should be his do melt away,
As in the dark weeks melts the waning moon.
Dishonour he incurs, at variance with his friends. (292)

He who is slow in season meet for pause,
Who crosses when 'twere wrong to hesitate,
This wise man by his plan and principle
Doth surely win his way to happiness. (293)
The gains that shall be his wax ripe and full,
As in bright weeks doth wax the crescent moon.
Honour, renown he wins, at one with friends. (294)

[1] A title bestowed on the Thera Ānanda.

[2] On the Council of Vesālī (*Vinaya Texts*, vol. iii., chap. xii.). The Thera Sambhūta 'Hemp-robed' (Sānavāsin)—was one of the organizers of this difficult and delicate campaign of reform.

[3] Lit., crosses. See below.

CXCIII

Rāhula.

Reborn in this Buddha-age through our Bodhisat, as the son of Princess Yasodhărā, he was reared with a great retinue of nobles. The circumstances of his entering the Order are recorded in the Khandhaka.[1] And he, his knowledge ripened by gracious words in many Sutta passages,[2] conjured up insight, and so won arahantship. Thereupon, reflecting on his victory, he confessed aññā:

Twice blest of fortune am I whom my friends
Call 'Lucky Rāhula.' For I am both
Child of the Buddha and a Seer of truths; (295)
Yea, and intoxicants are purged from me;
Yea, and there's no more coming back to be.
Ar'hant am I, worthy men's offerings;
'Thrice skilled' my ken is of ambrosial things. (296)

Blinded are beings by their sense-desires,
Spread o'er them like a net; covered are they
By cloak of craving; by their heedless ways
Caught as a fish in mouth of funnel-net,[3] (297)
But I, that call of sense abandoning,
Have cut and snapt the bonds of devil's lure.
Craving with craving's root abolishing;
Cool am I now; extinct is fever's fire.[4] (298)

CXCIV

Candana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in a wealthy clan, and named Candana, he lived a domestic life till he

[1] *Vinaya Texts*, i. 208 *f.*

[2] *E.g.*, *Majjhima*, Nos. 62; 147; *Saŋyutta*, iii. 135 *f.*, etc.

[3] *Kumināmukhe*. The *kuminā*, paraphrased by *pasibbaka*, a funnel-shaped net, probably resembling our weir-traps.

[4] *Nibbuto.* This is nearer to the Buddhist idea than the rendering given to this line in the *Sisters*, p. 19; see *n.* 4.

heard the Master preach the Norm ; and became thereupon a Stream-winner.[1] When a child was born to him, he left his home for the Order, and taking an insight exercise, dwelt in the forest. Coming into Sāvatthī to salute the Master, he stayed in a charnel-field. And his wife, hearing of his coming, adorned herself, and, taking her child and many attendants, approached him, judging that by her attractions she could induce him to secede from the Order. He, seeing her coming from afar, thought: 'Now will I get outside her reach!' And he so conjured up insight that he acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he rose aloft, and so taught her the Norm, establishing her in the Refuges and the Precepts. Then he went back to his former haunts. And when his bhikkhu comrades asked him, saying, 'Serene are you looking, brother ; what truths have you discerned?'[2] he told of his achievement, and testified to aññā in these verses :

In golden gear bedecked, a troop of maids
Attending in her train, bearing the babe
Upon her hip, my wife drew near to me. (299)
I marked her coming, mother of my child,
In brave array like snare of Māra laid. (300)
Thereat arose in me the deeper thought:[3]
Attention to the fact and to the cause.
The misery of it all was manifest;
Distaste, indifference the mind possessed; (301)
And so my heart was set at liberty.
O see the seemly order of the Norm!
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids me do is done. (302)

[1] Or convert.

[2] *Kacci tayā saccāni paṭividdhānîti?* I commend this noble question to the attention of students in comparative hagiology.

[3] Repeating verses 269, 270.

CXCV

Dhammika.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a family of Kosalan brahmins, and named Dhammika, he won faith at the presentation of the Jeta Grove, and entered the Order. Becoming a resident at a village Vihāra, he grew impatient and irritable over the duties of incoming bhikkhus,[1] so that the latter abandoned the Vihāra. Thus he became sole master of the Vihāra. And a layman reported this to the Exalted One. The Master sent for Dhammika, and asked him to explain. Thereupon he said: 'Not only now are you impatient; you were so formerly also'; and at the bhikkhus' request he gave a 'tree-talk' on the Norm, with admonition over and above, as follows:

Well doth the Norm protect him in sooth who follows the Norm.
Happiness bringeth along in its train the Norm well practised.
This shall be his reward by whom the Norm is well practised:
Never goeth to misery he who doth follow the Norm. (303)

For not of like result are right and wrong:
Wrong leads to baleful, right, to happy doom. (304)

Wherefore let will be applied to [master] the things that we know.
So let him hail with delight so welcome a blessing as this.[2]

[1] For an account of the many sources of petty annoyance arising herefrom, see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 272 *ff.*

[2] *I.e.*, according to the Commentary, the privilege of a Buddha's admonition. The double reversion to the śloka (*ll.* 5, 6; 11, 12) in this gāthā, which is in irregular Triṣṭubh metre, is indicated above by corresponding changes. The four gāthās, indeed, bear so little on Dhammika's offence, and vary so in metre, that they suggest a patched compilation.

Firm in the Welcome One's Norm the disciples fare
  onward,
Valiantly following Him, their sovereign Refuge. (305)

Plucked out the root of all this cancerous lump,[1]
The net of craving wholly torn away,
The round of life renewed hath ceased,
  And naught of clinging doth remain,
E'en as the moon on fifteenth day
  Sails in clear sky without a stain. (306)

When the Master had taught three of the verses, Dhammika, bearing them in mind, developed insight even as he sat, and won arahantship. And to show the transformation in himself to the Master, he declared aññā by the last verse.

CXCVI

Sabbaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in a brahmin family and named Sabbaka, he heard the Exalted One teaching the Norm, and believing, entered the Order. Taking an exercise, he went to the Loṇagiri Vihāra on the banks of the river Ajakaraṇī, and there in due time won arahantship. Going thereupon to salute the Master at Sāvatthī, he stayed a little while, entertained by his kinsfolk. And having confirmed them in the Refuges and the Precepts, he was anxious to return to his dwelling. They begged him to stay and be supported by them. But he, showing them why he had come, and declaring his love of retirement by praise of his dwelling-place, said:

Whene'er I see the crane, her clear bright wings
Outstretched in fear to flee the black stormcloud,
A shelter seeking, to safe shelter borne,
Then doth the river Ajakaraṇī
  Give joy to me. (307)

[1] The 'lump' is the five khandhas (body and mind), the 'root' is ignorance (Commentary).

Whene'er I see the crane, her plumage pale
And silver white outstretched in fear to flee
The black stormcloud, seeing no refuge nigh,
The refuge seeking of the rocky cave,
Then doth the river Ajakaraṇī
Give joy to me. (308)

Who doth not love to see on either bank
Clustered rose-apple trees in fair array
Behind the great cave [of my hermitage][1] (309)
Or hear the soft croak of the frogs, well rid
Of their undying mortal foes proclaim:
'Not from the mountain-streams is't time to-day
To flit. Safe is the Ajakaraṇī.
She brings us luck. Here is it good to be.'[2] (310)

Then the relatives suffered him to depart. And because he showed herein his delight in empty places, this became the Thera's confession of aññā.

CXCVII

Mudita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a Kosalan commoner, he was named Mudita. When he was come of age, his clan for some reason became objectionable to the king. Mudita, terrified of the king, ran away,[3] and

[1] The jambū-tree is evergreen; its boughs bent with fruit; its glossy foliage affords shade (Commentary).

[2] I do not find allusion elsewhere to this little river. It may well have been the name of a tributary of the Aciravatī flowing past Sāvatthī (see CLXXII.). In the line preceding the burden of the frogs' croak, text and both versions of the Commentary are at variance, and I do not pretend to have solved that which will be discussed more appropriately in an edition of the Commentary. The exact meaning is not vitally important to a poem in which the essential charm lies in its gentle paganism. That *sangha* can be used for a flock, say, of cranes, see *Milindapañha*, p. 403.

[3] *Cf.* CCXI. Mudita signifies complacent, glad. *Cf. Bud. Psy.*, p. 65, *n.* 1.

entering the forest, approached the dwelling of an arahant Thera. The latter, seeing his terror, bade him fear not, and reassured him. 'How long, your reverence, will it take before I am free from danger?' 'When seven or eight months have passed.' 'I cannot wait so long; I will leave the world, your reverence; ordain me!' So he begged, to protect his life. The Thera ordained him. And he, coming to believe in the doctrine, lost his fears and exercised himself for insight. Failing to win arahantship, he vowed not to leave his retreat till he had, and thereupon succeeded. Thereafter experiencing the bliss of emancipation, he was asked as to his success by his fellow-bhikkhus. And he told them how he had succeeded, thus:

> I left the world that I might save my life,
> And, once ordained, I won back faith and hope;
> Valiant in energy I onward pressed. (311)
> Now an it must be, let this body break
> And waste and let its flesh consume,
> My limbs let falter at the knee and fail; (312)
> I[1] will not eat nor will I drink again,
> Nor from this lodging let me issue forth,
> Nor will I even lie upon my side,
> While yet the dart of Craving lies undrawn! (313)
> Thus steadfast I abiding—O behold
> And mark the forward stride of energy:
> The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
> And all the Buddha bids us do is done! (314)

[1] = verses 223, 224 (Paccaya, CLXXI.).

CANTO V

PSALMS OF FIVE VERSES

CXCVIII

Rājadatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in a caravan-leaders' family, his parents called him Rājadatta ('given by the king'), because they had obtained him through praying to Vessavana, the great firmament deity.[1] Come of age, he once took 500 carts of merchandise to Rājagaha. Now there he squandered all his money, spending a thousand a day on a beautiful courtesan, so that he was penniless and had not enough to eat, and wandered about in wretchedness. So he came with other laymen to the Bamboo Grove, where the Master sat teaching the Norm to a great congregation. And Rājadatta, seated at the fringe of the assembly, heard and believed, and entered the Order. Undertaking the Dhutangas,[2] he dwelt in a charnel-field.

Now another caravan-leader also spent his thousand on the courtesan, and wore on his hand a ring of great value, which she coveted. She got men to steal it, but the owner's servants told the police,[3] and they raided her house, slew her, and cast her body into the charnel-field.

The Thera Rājadatta, walking therein to find a foul object for meditation, noticed this corpse. For a while

[1] One of four so-called Great Kings, each presiding over a quarter of the visible world; called also Kuvera, he presided over the northern quarter (*Dialogues*, ii. 287 *f.*).

[2] Supererogatory austerities (*Milinda*, ii., book vi.).

[3] *Avacārakamanussā* (?). I have not found the word elsewhere, and only guess at the meaning.

he concentrated his attention, but the portions of her yet unmangled by dogs and jackals distracted him and all but overmastered him. Much distraught, he exhorted his heart, and went away for a brief space; then recommencing, he induced jhāna, confirmed his insight, and so won arahantship.

Thereupon, reflecting on his success and filled with zest and joy, he said:

A bhikkhu to the charnel-field had gone,
And there he saw a woman's body cast
Untended 'mid the dead, the food of worms. (315)
Most men had felt repugnance at the sight,
Seeing the corpse, the poor dead evil thing.
In me was sensual passion manifest,
And I became as blind and lost control. (316)
But swifter from that place than seething rice
Could boiling overflow, I turned and fled;[1]
Aside elsewhere I took my seat cross-legged,
In heedful and discriminating mood. (317)
Thereon arose in me the deeper thought:[2]
Attention to the fact and to the cause.
The misery of it all was manifest.
Distaste, indifference the mind possessed; (318)
And so my heart was set at liberty.
O see the seemly order of the Norm!
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (319)

CXCIX

Subhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a commoner of Magadha, and named Subhūta, his disposition to seek

[1] The Commentary explains as follows: *yāvatā kālena suparidhotatintataṇḍulanāḷiyā odanaŋ paccati, tato, oram eva kālaŋ, tato lahukālena rāgaŋ vinodento.*

[2] = verses 269, 270.

escape caused him to quit domestic life and to join sectarian ascetics. Finding among them nothing genuine, and seeing the happiness enjoyed by Upatissa, Kolita, Sela[1] and others, after they had entered the Order, he believed in our doctrine and entered also. After winning the favour of his teachers and preceptors, he went into retreat with an exercise. And developing insight he won arahantship.

Thereupon he declared aññā by reviewing the suffering he had endured by self-mortification, and his subsequent happiness in jhāna, etc.:

A man who yokes himself to things unfit,
Desiring[2] to accomplish work therein,
If seeking he doth not attain, his quest
Doth bear the intrinsic markings of mischance. (320)

If he surrender but one [vantage-point]
Of misery['s source] drawn out and overcome,
Like luckless throw of dice his state may be.
But if he throw all [he hath gained] away,
No better is he than a blinded man,
Who sees not if the road be smooth or rough.[3] (321)

Of him who talketh much, but doeth not,
Wise men take stock, and rate him at his worth. (322)

[1] Upatissa is Sāriputta, Kolita is Moggallāna. See CCLIX., CCLXIII., CCLIII. The two former were of his own country; Sela was from the country lying north of Magadha.

[2] According to the Commentary we are to read *icchato* as = *icchanto*. Dr. Oldenberg supports this by parallels from *Sisters*, verse 240:

'Who, ignorant (*ajānato*) to the ignorant, hath told thee this?'

for *ajānanto* (*Saŋy.*, i. 11; *Dīpavaŋsa*, xxi., verse 2).

[3] The metre of this one gāthā is very curious and irregular, nor can the Commentary throw much light on its original phraseology. It decides that *aghataŋ* stands for three *aghāni's* (miseries)—viz., greed, hate, and illusion. The Br. MS. makes no attempt to correct this term by references to value (*aggha*), as does the S. MS. Yet this gāthā fits in better with the legend than do the platitudes that follow (= verse 226). It is the language of one who has sacrificed his all to win.

Just as a beauteous flower of lovely hue
But lacking odour, so is uttered word
That barren proves, by action not made good. (323)
Just as a beauteous flower of lovely hue
And fragrant odour, so is uttered word
That fruitful proves, in action holding good.[1] (324)

CC

Girimānanda.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of King Bimbisāra's chaplain, he was named Girimānanda. He saw the power and majesty of a Buddha when the Master attended the meeting at Rājagaha, and he entered the Order. During his studies he stayed awhile at a village, then came back to the town to salute the Master. And Bimbisāra the maharāja heard of his coming, and going to him, said: 'Do you dwell here, your reverence; I will supply your needs.' But from his much business he forgot, so that the Thera dwelt in the open. And the weather-gods held off the rain for fear of wetting the Thera. Then the king, noting the drought, built him a hermitage. And the Thera, sheltered in his hut, put forth all his efforts, and combining energy and calm, conjured up insight and won arahantship. Then, delighted at its advent, he confessed aññā while the rain fell from above:

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
Therein I dwell, my heart serene and calm.
Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain! (325)

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
Therein I dwell, and peace within my heart.
Now, etc. (326)

[1] =*Dhammapada*, verses 51, 52.

. . . . .
Therein I dwell, all passion purged away.
. . . . (327)

. . . . . .
Therein I dwell, all hatred purged away.
(328)

. . . .
Therein I dwell, all error purged away.
Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain![1] (329)

CCI

Sumana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a commoner of Kosala, and named Sumana, he grew up in happy circumstances. His mother's brother became an arahant, dwelling in the forest, and when Sumana came of age, this uncle ordained him, giving him exercises on ethical conduct. Finally, when the four jhānas and fivefold[2] abhiññā were acquired, the Thera showed him the way of insight, so that he soon acquired arahantship. And when he went to his uncle and was asked concerning his success, he thus made confession:

That which my teacher wished that I should know
In doctrines good, and of his kindness taught
To me who longed for the Ambrosial:
That now, even the task prescribed, is done. (330)
Yea, won and realizèd is the Norm
E'en for my own, not learnt 'as such and such.'[3]

[1] *Cf.* I. and LI.-LIV. There is such a uniformity in these references to a carelessly benevolent patron that the six poems and their legends lose individual validity.

[2] See p. 32, *n.* 1. He only lacked *Āsavakkhaya.*

[3] *Dhammo anītiho*, a favourite expression in the *Sutta Nipata.* See Fausböll's translation and notes, verses 934, 1052, 1065, 1080, 1083, 1134; *cf. Majjh.*, i. 520.

Pure lore is mine, dispelled is every doubt.
Let me stand near to thee and testify: (331)
I know the where and when of former lives,
And clearly shines the Eye Celestial;
The Good Supreme, Ar'hantship, have I won,[1]
And what the Buddha bids us do is done. (332)
Well have I learnt, who used all diligence,
The method and the training in thy rule;
For all th' Intoxicants are purged away;
Now cometh never more the life renewed. (333)
Noble thy cult and thou hast guided me.
Compassionate, 'tis thou hast favoured me.
Thine admonitions have not proved inept.
Once an apprentice, now am I adept. (334)

CCII

Vaḍḍha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the city of Bharukaccha in a commoner's clan, and named Vaḍḍha, he grew up in due course.[2] Now his mother, distressed at the continuity of rebirth and death, entrusted her son to her kinsfolk, and entered the Order among the bhikkhunīs. She thereafter won arahantship. Her son, too, entered the Order under Thera Veḷudanta, and learning the Buddha-Word, became learned and eloquent in preaching. And one day, feeling the responsibility of office, he thought: 'I will go alone and see my mother, nor put on my cloak.' So he went to the

[1] *Sadattho ti arahattaŋ* (Commentary).

[2] *Anupubbena vaḍḍhati.* This (here) unusual turn of phrase refers doubtless to his name, which means 'growth,' 'increase.' The mother's story is given in the *Sisters*, lxii. *ff.* She speaks also for him, but except for the 'spur'—literally, 'goad'—motive and the 'jungle,' she places a different psalm in his mouth, a by-proof of the difference in authorship (see Introduction). The wearing under-garments as outer—*i.e.*, leaving the *cīvara* behind—is commented on in Vinaya discipline (*Vinaya*, iv. 281). Presumably the Thera herein put his sonship before his office.

bhikkhunīs' quarters. His mother, seeing him, rebuked him: 'Why are you come here alone and without your cloak?' And he, convicted in doing that which was unfit, returned to his Vihāra, and seated in the day-room, there attained arahantship, testifying to aññā under the aspect of ascribing his achievement to his mother's admonition:

O well in sooth my mother used the goad!
I marked her word, and by my parent taught,
I stirred up effort, put forth all my strength,
And won the goal, th' enlightenment supreme. (335)
Ar'hant am I, meet for men's offerings.[1]
Thrice wise, th' ambrosial vision I behold;
Conquered is Namuci and all his host,[2]
And now I dwell henceforth sane and immune. (336)
Yea, the intoxicants that once were there,
Within, without me,[3] are extracted clean;
Nought doth remain nor may they re-appear. (337)
Lo! wise and ripe in grace the Sister[4] was,
Who spake this word of pregnant good to me:
For thee now even as for me, [my son,]
No jungle of the mind doth bar the way. (338)
A final barrier is made to Ill.
Last mortal frame is this, to which belongs
The way world without end of birth and death,
Nor ever cometh more rebirth [for thee]. (339)

CCIII

Kassapa of the River.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clan of Magadha brahmins, as the brother of Uruveḷa-Kassapa, his religious inclination made him dislike domestic life, and he became an

[1] = verses 296, 516.

[2] Namuci, a name for Māra.

[3] *I.e.*, *bahiddhavatthukā*, 'having external bases or causes'—*e.g.*, objects of sense, misguided teachers, heavens, etc.

[4] *Bhaginī*, lit., sister.

ascetic. With 300 ascetics he carried on a hermit's life on the banks of the River Nerañjarā, and thus he became known, by his habit and the name of his gens, as Kassapa of the River. Now how the Exalted One ordained him and his company by the summons, 'COME, BHIKKHU,' is recorded in the Khandaka.[1] He was confirmed in arahantship by the Exalted One's sermon on Burning. Thereafter reflecting on his achievement, he confessed aññā by way of extolling his rooting out of error:

O truly for my good it was that He,
The Buddha came to the Nerañjarā,
Whose doctrine hearing, I renounced wrong views. (340)
The celebrant in many a sacrifice,
I fostered sacred fire, oblations made;
'These be the pure and holy rites!' methought—
O blind and average worldling that I was! (341)
Errant in wilderness of heresies,
By their contagion dazed and led astray,
I deemed *that* pure religion which was false.
And blinded was I, shiftless, ignorant. (342)

Now is all error put away for me;
Broken the line of comings back to be.
Worth every gift, the Fire I celebrate:[2]
I worship 'Him who on This Wise hath Come.' (343)
Illusions all have I put far away.
Crushed is the thirst for going on to be,
And shattered is the endless round of life.
Now cometh nevermore rebirth for me! (344)

[1] *Vinaya Texts*, i. 118-135.
[2] The *Sammāsambuddha* (Commentary).

CCIV

Kassapa of Gayā.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin clan [his story resembles that of Kassapa of the River, save that his company numbered 200, and that he dwelt at Gayā].[1] He confessed aññā by exalting the washing away of evil, thus :

At morn, at noonday, at the eventide
Thrice in the day I gat me at Gayā
Down in the water at Gayā's spring feast,[2]
For 'sins that I have done in other births, (345)
In days gone by, those here and now hereby
I wash away':—thus did I once believe. (346)
I heard a voice that uttered winning words,
Whereof the burden wedded Norm and Good.
And on their meaning, true and genuine,
I pondered much and reasoned earnestly. (347)
Now from all evil am I truly bathed,
Cleansèd from error, pure, immaculate.
In purity heir of the Purified,
His child, even the Buddha's very son. (348)
For I have plunged into the Eightfold Stream,
And every evil thing I've washed away.
The Threefold Wisdom have I found and won,
And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (349)

CCV

Vakkali.

Reborn in the time of our Master at Sāvatthī in a brahmin clan, they named him Vakkali. When he had grown wise and had learnt the three Vedas, and was

[1] Oddly enough, the Commentary does not mention his relationship to Uruveḷa-Kassapa, nor to Kassapa of the River. See *Vinaya Texts*, *loc. cit.*

[2] The Commentary repeats (*cf.* above, p. 181) that the annual sacramental festival in the month of Phagguṇa is here alluded to, and not the name of the town only, as Dr. Neumann holds.

proficient in brahmin accomplishments, he saw the Master. Never sated by looking at the perfection of the Master's visible body, he went about with him. And when in his house he thought: 'I shall not [here] get a chance of seeing Him constantly'; so he entered the Order, and spent all his time, save at his meals and toilet, doing nothing else but contemplating the Exalted One. The Master, waiting[1] for the maturity of his insight, for a long while made no comment; then one day he said: 'What is to thee, Vakkali, this foul body that thou seest? He who seeth the Norm, he it is that seeth me. For seeing the Norm he seeth me, and seeing me he seeth the Norm.' At the Master's words, Vakkali ceased to look, but he was unable to go away. Hence the Master thinking: 'This bhikkhu, if he get not deeply moved, will not awake,' said on the last day of the rains: 'Depart, Vakkali!' Thus bidden, he could not stay; but thinking: 'What is life to me if I cannot see him?' climbed the Vulture's Peak to a place of precipices. The Master, knowing what Vakkali was about, thought: 'This bhikkhu, finding no comfort away from me, will destroy the conditions for winning the topmost fruits'; and revealing himself in a glory, spake thus:

Now let the bhikkhu with exceeding joy
Delighting in the Buddha's Way and Lore,
Go up on to the holy, happy Path,
Where things component ne'er excite him more.[2]

And stretching forth his hand, he said: 'COME, BHIKKHU!'

The Thera, filled with mighty joy and rapture at the thought: 'I see Him-of-the-Ten-Powers, and mine is it to hear Him say: Come!' came to himself and realized what he was doing. Rising in the air, he stood on the nearest point of the hill while he pondered on the Master's verse;

[1] Or 'causing to come' (*āgamento*). The *Anguttara Commentary* has the same expression, but then says [after no comment]: 'Discerning that it was now ripe, and he able to enlighten him, said . . .'

[2] *Dhammapada*, verse 381. The *adhigacche* is not present tense as in Fausböll's '*adit*,' nor future as in Max Müller's translation. The Master's body was eminently a type of 'things component' (*sankhārā*)

then arresting his rapture, he realized arahantship, together with grasp of the form and meaning of the Norm. This is what is recorded both in the Anguttara Commentary and in that on the Dhammapada.

But here they[1] say as follows: Admonished by the Master's 'What is to thee . . . ?' Vakkali dwelt on the Vulture's Peak, establishing himself in insight, and descending into the avenue thereof by the might of his faith. The Exalted One, knowing this, gave him a special exercise which he could not achieve, and from insufficient food he suffered from cramps. Knowing him thus suffering, the Exalted One went and asked him:

> Thou who foredone with cramping pains,
> Dwell'st in the jungle, in the woods,
> Thy range confined, in hardship dire—
> Tell me, bhikkhu, how wilt thou live? (350)

And the Thera declaring his constant happiness through unworldly joys, replied:

> With bliss and rapture's flooding wave
> This mortal frame will I suffuse.
> Though hard and rough what I endure,
> Yet will I in the jungle dwell. (351)
>
> Herein myself I'll exercise:—
> The Starting-points of Mindfulness,
> The Powers five, the Forces too,
> The Factors of Enlightenment—
> So will I in the jungle dwell. (352)
>
> For I have seen [what friends have wrought]:[2]
> Their striving roused, their straining mind,
> Their staunch and ever onward stride,
> In concord bound,—and having seen,
> E'en in the jungle will I dwell, (353)

[1] Presumably the sources of his own work. The Commentaries referred to are quoted accurately by him—to wit, the *Manoratha-pūraṇī* on *Ang.*, i. 24, § 2, and the *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 381.

[2] '"Having seen" his co-religionists. By this he shows his good fortune in virtuous friends' (Commentary).

Remembering Him, the Very Wake,
Supremely tamed, intent, serene,—
With mind unwearied night and day,
Thus will I in the jungle dwell. (354)

Thus saying, the Thera conjured up insight, and then it was that he won arahantship.

CCVI

Vijitasena.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a Kosalan elephant-trainers' family, he was named Vijitasena. His maternal uncles, Sena and Upasena,[1] had both entered the Order and become arahants, when Vijitasena, after learning the craft of his folk, saw the twin-miracle[2] of the Master, believed, and being naturally of a religious disposition, entered the Order under his uncles. Training by their instructions he rose into the avenue of insight, but his mind remaining discursive through various external objects, he admonished it:

I will restrain thee, heart, as elephants
Are by the towngate's sallyport[3] kept back.
I'll not abet thee in thy naughty ways,
Thou net of wishes, thou of body born. (355)
Not thine 'twill be, thus checked, to go at large.
As elephant that wins not through the gate,
Struggle thy best, thou witch,[4] again, again;
Thou shalt not roam, who art to sin so fain. (356)
Even as one who firmly wields the hook
Doth turn th' unbroken, untamed elephant
Against its will, so will I turn thee back. (357)

[1] Not the brother of Sāriputta (CCXXXVIII.). Neither uncle is met with elsewhere.

[2] See XXXI.

[3] =*Khuddaka-dvāraŋ*, or low, little door (Commentary).

[4] =*Citta-Kālakaṇṇī*. I take *pasahaŋ* as *pasahanto*, 'using force. The Br. Cy. reads *pasanga*, paraphrasing by *saraṇa-saŋpassāsava-sena*. *Cf.* the S. MS. in Dr. Oldenberg's note, p. 40.

As the good driver, in horsebreaking skilled,
Doth tame the mettle of the thoroughbred,
So will I bring thee too beneath control.
By virtue of the fivefold spiritual force. (358)
Yea, by right heedfulness I'll bind thee fast,
Myself restrained, so will I master thee.
Curbed in the harness of right energy,
Thou shalt not, O my heart, go far from me.[1] (359)

Thus restraining his thoughts did the Thera expand insight and win arahantship.

CCVII

Yasadatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clan of Malla rājas, and named Yasadatta, he was educated at Takkasilā.[2] Thereafter making a tour with the Wanderer Sabhiya,[3] they came to Sāvatthī, where Sabhiya put questions to the Exalted One. Yasadatta listened to the answers, thinking as he took his seat, eager to criticize: 'I will show the defects in the Samaṇa Gotama's discourse.' Now the Exalted One knew what was in his mind, and at the end of the 'Sabhiya Sutta' admonished him in these verses:

Who witless and with captious mind
  Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told,
Far, far from the true Norm is he,
  As from the heaven is the earth.[4] (360)

Who witless and with captious mind
  Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told,
From the true Norm he wanes away,
  As in the month's dark half the moon. (361)

[1] This is the second of the three poems conceived in this vein—namely, of a better self attempting to control the mutinies of older unregenerate impulses. *Cf.* LXXVII. and CCLXII.

[2] See *Bud. Ind.*, pp. 8, 28, 203.

[3] See Sabhiya's psalm CLXXXVIII.; *Sutta-Nipāta*, iii. 6.

[4] = verse 218, a line in Sabhiya's own psalm.

Who witless, etc. . . .
In the true Norm he withers up,
As fish where water runneth low. (362)

Who witless, etc. . . .
In the true Norm he doth not thrive,
As rotten seed in furrow sown. (363)

He who with glad contented mind
Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told,
He, casting out th' Intoxicants,
Doth realize the Influctuate,[1]
Doth win the Peace ineffable,
And is perfected, sane, immune. (364)

Thus admonished by the Master, Yasadatta was filled with emotion, entered the Order, and, establishing insight, in due course won arahantship. And in confessing aññā he uttered these very verses.

CCVIII

Soṇa-Kuṭikanna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of Avanti in the family of a very wealthy councillor, he was given the name of Soṇa. Wearing ear-jewelry worth a crore, he became known as Koṭi-, or Kuṭi-kanna (Crore-ears).[2] Grown up, he became a landowner, and when the venerable Kaccāna the Great[3] stayed near his house, he ministered to his wants, learned the Norm, and finally growing disturbed, entered the Order through him. Collecting with

[1] *Akuppatā*, a very rare abstract noun from *akuppa*, undisturbed, unshaken. 'Is perfected' (*parinibbāti*, more usually the deponent form *parinibbāyati*) in the sense of rounded off, complete—*i.e.*, attained life's climax and end. 'Sane,' etc. = *anāsavo*.

[2] Or is it possible he had the little point or faunlike peak (*kuṭi*) in the ears, like Julian Hawthorne's hero in 'Transformation'? See *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 32, *n.* 3.

[3] See CCXXIX.

great difficulty a company of ten, he soon took leave of the Thera to go to Sāvatthī and salute the Master. Being admitted to pass the night in the Master's portion, and in the morning invited to recite, he was commended for the sixteen Aṭṭhakas. And when the verse—

'Seeing the evils of a worldly life,'

was finished, he developed insight and won arahantship.

And when he had obtained the Master's consent to the three matters which Kaccāna the Great had commissioned him to ask, he returned to his own dwelling-place, and told the Thera his instructor. This is recorded more fully in the Udāna and Anguttara Commentaries,[1] but there it is said that he attained arahantship while studying under his teacher.

Anon, while dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he reviewed his achievement, and full of joy he breathed out these verses:

Not only did I ordination win,
Emancipated am I, sane, immune;
Yea, him have I now seen, th' Exalted One,
And where he dwelt, there with him did I lodge. (365)
Far through the night he stayed beneath the sky,
Then, versed in everything's abiding-place,
The Master in his chamber went to rest. (366)
His robe spread GOTAMA[2] and laid him down,
Like unto lion in a rocky cave,
For whom all fear and dread have passed away.[3] (367)
Thereafter in the presence of the Chief,
The Wake, did Soṇa, framing goodly speech,
Disciple of the Buddha, speak the Norm. (368)

[1] *Udāna*, v. 6; *Manoratha-pūraṇī* on *Ang.*, i. 24, § 2; *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 32 *ff*.

[2] See XCI., *n*. 3, in which for ten, read *nine*, times.

[3] *Cf*. introductory stanzas.

Well doth he know the factors of this life,
Well doth he cultivate the [Ariyan] Way,
So, having won to that most perfect Peace,
Shall he complete becoming,[1] sane, immune. (369)

CCIX

Kosiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a Magadhan brahmin's family, he was called by his family name: Kosiya. Come of age, he often went to hear the General of the Norm teaching,[2] and thereby, believing in the doctrine, entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereupon reviewing his achievement, he extolled the venerableness and determining power for good of the wise in these verses:

He that is valiant and learn'd in the word of the masters,
Therein can rest[3] and therefor can cherish affection,
Him ye may call devoted[4] and wise: thus he may be
One that winneth distinction in knowledge of doctrines.[5] (370)

[1] Identical with the last line in verse 364, except that the verb is in the future, *parinibbissati*, making, by the way, a superfluous foot in the Pali metre.

[2] Sāriputta, a native of a village in Magadha.

[3] *Vase'* = *vaseyya* (Commentary).

[4] *Bhattimā*, meaning either this, or one who can distinguish (*vide* Childers). The former meaning seems required by 'can cherish affection,' but I doubt if this (later very prevalent) meaning occurs elsewhere in the Piṭakas. The Commentary's remark is: So *ti so garūnaŋ vacaññū dhīro, so yathānusiṭṭhaŋ paṭipattiyā, tattha*, bhattimā ca nāma hoti.

[5] *Cf. Sutta-Nipāta*, iv. 13, 11, where the line occurs. It does not seem to me to require the alteration suggested by Dr. Neumann. *Visesi assa : visesavā siyā*. Cy.

Him, whose steadfast philosophy hardship unparalleled
Testing has no power to disturb or bewilder,
Him ye may call strong-willed and wise: thus he may be
One that winneth distinction in knowledge of doctrines. (371)

He who abideth as ocean unyielding, unfathomèd
As to his insight in problems subtle and delicate,
Him ye may call inexpugnable,[1] wise: thus he may be
One that winneth, etc. . . . (372)

Erudite, one who beareth the Word in his memory,
Practiser he of all doctrine, greater and lesser,
Him ye may call all this and wise: thus he may be
One that winneth, etc. . . . (373)

He who knoweth the meaning of that which is spoken,
Knowing the meaning, shapeth his actions accordingly,
'Meaning-within-side'[2] call him and wise: thus he may be
One that winneth distinction in knowledge of doctrines. (374)

[1] Lit., 'who may not be removed.'

[2] *Atth-antaro.* We are reminded of M. Bergson's phrase, that 'by intuition we may see the becoming of things *from within*, transported by an effort of sympathy' (*Creative Evolution*, pp. 361 *f.*, 334). The Cy., however, reads *atthandharo.* *Cf. dhammadharo* just above.

CANTO VI

PSALMS OF SIX VERSES

CCX

Kassapa of Uruvelā.

REBORN in the day of our Exalted One as the firstborn of three brothers in a brahmin family, they were all called by their family name Kassapa,[1] and they all learned the three Vedas. They had a following of five, three, and two hundred brahmin youths respectively. And finding no vital truth in their scriptures,[2] but only subjects of worldly interest,[3] they left the world and became ascetics. And they became named after the places where they dwelt as rishis, the eldest with his company going to dwell at Uruvelā. Many days after this came the great renunciation of our Bodhisat, the starting of the Norm-Wheel, the arahantship of the five Theras, the conversion of the fifty-three associates headed by Yasa, the sending forth of the sixty arahants, 'Go ye, bhikkhus, and wander . . .,' the conversion of the thirty wealthy friends, and the coming of the Master to Uruvelā. When he had there wrought many wonders, beginning with the taming of the Nāga, Kassapa was convinced and entered the Order, his brothers following his example. To them and their

[1] See CCIII., CCIV. The incidents here outlined are told in *Vinaya Texts*, i. 119-139. This Kassapa is assigned chief rank among those bhikkhus who had great following (*Ang.*, i. 25).

[2] Lit., in their own book, *attano ganthe.*

[3] *Diṭṭhadhammikam eva atthaṃ.*

1,000 followers, the Master, seated on the crest of a rock on Gayā Head, uttered the discourse on Burning, establishing them all as arahants.

But Uruvelā-Kassapa reviewing his achievement, uttered lion-roar verses, attesting aññā:

Beholding all the wondrous works achieved
By the high powers of glorious GOTAMA,
At first, natheless, myself I humbled not,
Being deceived by envy and by pride. (375)
But He. Driver of men, who knew my thought
And my intent, took me at length to task.
Thereby anguish befell me, I was seized
By thrill mysterious, hair-raising dread. (376)
And then the gifts that erst accrued to me[1]
As famed ascetic poor and worthless seemed.
All these I thereupon esteemed as nought,
And in the Conqueror's Order was enrolled. (377)
Once well content with sacrifice, 'bove all
Concerned within these worlds once more to live
Now have I set myself to extirpate
All passion, all ill will, illusion too. (378)
How erst I lived I know; the heavenly eye,
Purview celestial, have I clarified;
Power supernormal, reading others' thought,
Hearing ineffable, have I achieved. (379)
And the great Quest for which I left the world,
Forsaking home, a homeless life to lead,
Even that quest, that high reward I've won,
For every fetter now is broken down.[2] (380)

[1] *Lābha-sakkāra-sammiddhi*. Cy.

[2] He enumerates sixfold abhiññā, or modes of higher knowledge, only calling the last 'destroying the (ten) fetters,' instead of the four intoxicants, the more usual formula (*cf.* p. 32, *n.* 1). The last two lines are identical with (CXXVIII.) verse 136; the four in verse 379 occur, slightly different, in Uppalavaṇṇā's gāthās (*Sisters*, verse 227). Verse 380 = 136.

CCXI

Tekicchakāri

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a brahmin named Subuddha, he was safely brought into the world by the aid of physicians. Hence he was named Tekicchakāri, 'doctor-made.'[1] He grew up, learning the arts and learning of his clan. Now his father, by his wisdom and policy having incurred the jealousy and suspicion of the King of Benāres (*sic*), was by King Candagutta thrown into prison. Then Tekicchakāri, hearing of this, took fright and fled, taking sanctuary with the Thera dwelling at the Vihāra Hall, and telling him the cause of his trouble. The Thera ordained him and gave him an exercise, whereupon he became an open-air sedent bhikkhu,[2] heedless of heat or cold, and devoted especially to the cultivation of the Sublime Moods. Him Māra the Evil One saw, as one slipping out of his reach; and in the desire of unbalancing the Thera, he drew nigh in the guise of a field-herd, when the harvest was over, tempting him thus:

All harvested is now the rice, and threshed
The barley. Not a bite or sup I'll get!
What shall I do? (381)

Then the Thera, thinking, 'This fellow tells me of his state. But it is myself that I ought to admonish. I have no business to be discoursing,' thus exhorted himself to meditate on the Three Bases:

Think on the Buddha! infinite the thought!
Thou thus in gladsome piety, thy frame
With rapture all suffused, shalt ever dwell
Upon the heights. (382)

[1] So in Oldenberg's MSS. and the Br. Cy. Only the S. Cy. has -kāni.
[2] Two forms of the *dhutangas*. See *Milinda*, ii., book vi.

Think on the Dhamma![1] . . . (383)

Think on the Order! infinite the thought![1]
Thou thus in gladsome piety, thy frame
With rapture all suffused, shalt ever dwell
Upon the heights. (384)

Then Māra again, wishing to dissuade him from solitude, pretended to be his well-wisher, saying:

Dost dwell beneath bare skies? Cold are these nights
And wintry now. See that thou perish not
With cold foredone. Get thee within thy lodge,
Thy door well barred! (385)

Then the Thera, showing that in house-dwelling was a fetter, but that there he was at ease, said:

My heart transported shall reach out and touch
The Four Immeasurable Moods;[2] thereby
Ever shall I in blissful ease abide.
Not mine foredone by cold to fail, who dwell
Unmoved and calm. (386)

Thus saying, the Thera developed insight and realized arahantship.

And because this Thera lived in the time of King Binḍusāra, these verses must be understood as having been rehearsed as canonical at the Third Council.[3]

[1] Repeat as in verse 382.

[2] See his story and that of Subhūti. The Four Moods were Love, Pity, Sympathy for Happiness, and Equanimity. Line 1 is expanded from 'I shall touch,' an expression scarcely so significant to us as to a Buddhist or a Neo-Platonist. See my *Buddhism*, p. 218.

[3] This interesting historical sidelight was noticed in Oldenberg's edition, p. 42 *n.*, and in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. xvi. Binḍusāra, father of Asoka, was son of the usurper Chandragupta (Candagutta), who imprisoned the Thera's father.

CCXII

Mahā-nāga.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāketa as the son of a brahmin named Madhu-Vāseṭṭha, he was given the name of Mahā-nāga.[1] He saw the wonder wrought by Thera Gavampati,[2] while the Exalted One was staying in the Añjana Wood, and receiving faith, he entered the Order under the Thera, winning arahantship through his counsels.

Now while he abode in the bliss of emancipation, the Thera Mahā-nāga saw how the six bhikkhus[3] habitually failed to show respect to their co-religionists, and he admonished them in verses which became his confession of aññā :

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
  Showeth no reverence nor respect,
From the true Norm he wilts away,
  Like fish where water runneth low. (387)
Who towards his fellows in the Rule
  Showeth no reverence nor respect,
In the true Norm he doth not thrive,
  Like rotten seed in furrow sown. (388)
Who towards, etc.
Far from Nibbāna standeth he
  Within the Norm-Lord's cult and school. (389)

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
  Showeth due reverence and respect,
From the true Norm falls not away,
  Like fish where many waters be. (390)

[1] Nothing else is known of this Brother. His namesake 'of the Black Creeper Pavilion' is a much later personage (*Jāt.*, iv. 490 ; vi. 30 [text] ; *JRAS*, 1901, p. 893). The name = great wondrous-being or spirit, applied equally to a serpent, an elephant, a thera, and to a class of fairies.

[2] See XXXVIII.

[3] A notorious group of intriguers, whose doings severely tested the organization of the Sangha. See Ps. V. ; *Vinaya Texts*, i. 218 *n*.

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
  Showeth due reverence and respect,
In the true Norm he thriveth well
  As seed benign in furrow sown. (391)
Who towards his fellows in the Rule
  Showeth due reverence and respect,
He to Nibbāna 's very near,
  Within the Norm-Lord's cult and school.[1] (392)

CCXIII

Kulla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in the family of a landowner, and named Kulla, he was converted by faith, and was ordained by the Master. But he was often seized by fits of lustful passion. The Master, knowing his tendencies, gave him the exercise on foul things, and bade him often meditate in the charnel-field. And when even this sufficed not, he himself went with him and bade him mark the process of putrefaction and dissolution. Then, as Kulla stood with heart disinfatuated, the Exalted One sent out a glory, producing in him such mindfulness that he discerned the lesson, attained first jhāna, and on that basis developing insight, won arahantship.

Reviewing his experience, he breathed forth these verses, first speaking of himself (then repeating the Master's words and finally adding his own):

Kulla had gone to where the dead lie still
And there he saw a woman's body cast,
Untended in the field, the food of worms.[2] (393)

[1] Who towards . . . showeth (not) is, literally rendered: For whom with respect to his co-religionists reverence does (not) exist, or is not found, or seen (*cf. Kathāvatthu Commentary* on *n'upalabbhati*, p. 8; *Dialogues*, ii. 166, 'is [not] found'). The occasion of these verses as described by Dhammapāla above, let alone the religious consequences invoked, justify my differing here from Dr. Neumann's rendering. For the similes, *cf.* CCVII. Cult and school = *sāsana*.

[2] *Cf.* CXCVIII.

'Behold the foul compound, Kulla, diseased,
Impure,[1] dripping, exuding, pride of fools.'[2] (394)
Grasping the mirror of the holy Norm,
To win the vision by its lore revealed,
I saw reflected there, without, within,
The nature of this empty fleeting frame. (395)
As is this body, so that one was once,
And as that body, so will this one be.[3]
And as it is beneath, so is't above,
And as it is above, so is't beneath. (396)
As in the daytime, so is it at night,
And as't was once, so will't hereafter be,
And as't will be, so was it in the past. (397)
Not music's fivefold wedded sounds[4] can yield
Such charm as comes o'er him who with a heart
Intent and calm rightly beholds the Norm! (398)

These verses were the Thera's confession of aññā.

CCXIV

Mālunkyā's Son.[5]

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī as the son of the King of Kosala's valuer,[6] his mother was named Mālunkyā, and he became known by her name. When he was come of age his naturally religious disposition prevailed, and he left the world as a Wandering ascetic. Then, on hearing the Master teach, he entered the Order, and in due course won sixfold abhiññā. Visiting his home out of compassion

[1] *Cf. Sisters*, xix.; *Dhammapada Commy.*, iii., p. 118 *f.*, on verse 150.
[2] Complacent in calling it 'I,' 'mine' (Commentary).
[3] *Cf. Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 202.
[4] *Cf.* p. 175, *n.* 1; and verse 1071.
[5] A second poem of this Thera is given as CCLII. The Thera is met with in *Saṃy.*, iv. 72 (a Sutta identical with the latter poem), and presumably in *Ang.*, ii. 248, and *Majjh.*, i., Suttas 63, 64.
[6] *Agghāpanika. Cf.* XX : *agghāpanī ; Jāt.*, i., No. 5.

for his kinsfolk, these entertained him with great display of hospitality, seeking to allure him back, and saying: 'With this wealth that belongs to you, you could support a family and do good works.'

But the Thera, unfolding his disposition, said:

Is[1] there a man who careless, heedless dwells,
Craving in him will like a creeper grow.
He hurries hankering from birth to birth,[2]
In quest of fruit like ape in forest tree. (399)
Whom she doth overcome, — the shameful jade,
Craving, the poisoner of all mankind,—[3]
Grow for him griefs as rank as jungle-grass. (400)
But he who doth her down, — the shameful jade,
Hard to outwit,—from him griefs fall away
As from the lotus glides the drop of dew. (401)
This word to you, as many as are here[4]
Together come: May all success be yours!
Dig up the root of craving, as ye were
Bent on the quest of sweet usira root.
Let it not be with you that, ye the reed,
Māra the stream, he break you o'er and o'er! (402)
Bring ye the Buddha-Word to pass; let not
This moment of the ages pass you by!
That moment lost, men mourn in misery.[5] (403)

[1] *Dhammapada*, pp. 334-337.

[2] *Hurāhuraŋ*, in the Commentary, seems to mean *both* 'hankeringly' and 'from birth to birth,' the latter with the former implied. See *JPTS*, 1909, p. 168.

[3] To connect *visatti-ka* with *visaŋ* may not be correct etymologically. *Visatti* may mean very powerful, or withdrawing power, but as an agency we should almost expect *vesattikā*. But both Buddhaghosa (*Atthasālinī*, p. 264) and Dhammapāla connect the word with poison. The latter, however, adds *āsattatā*. *Cf. Dhammapada Commentary* (Fausböll), p. 409.

[4] *Cf.* CLXXXII. *Dhp.* 337.

[5] *Cf.* p. 162, *n.* 3; *S.-Nipāta*, verse 333 = *Dhammapada*, verse 315.

As dust [mixed and defiled], is carelessness;
And dust-defilement comes through carelessness.
By earnestness and by the Lore ye hear,
Let each man from his heart draw out the spear.[1] (404)

CCXV

Sappadāsa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu as the son of the King[2] Suddhodana's chaplain, he was named Sappadāsa. He received faith on the occasion of the Master's visit to his own people,[3] and entered the Order. Overmastered by corrupt habits of mind and character (the *kilesa's*), he never got concentration and singleness of mind. This finally distressed him so much that he was about to commit suicide, when, the inward vision suddenly expanding, he attained arahantship. Confessing aññā he said:

Full five and twenty years have passed since I
Had left the world and in the Order lived,
And yet not for one fingersnap of time
Had I found peace [and sanity[4]] of mind. (405)
Intent and single vision ne'er I won,
Distraught and harassed by desires of sense;
In tears, wringing my hands, I left the lodge.[5] (406)
Nay now I'll take a knife or else—For what
Is life to me? And how can such as I,
Who by my life the training have denied,
Do better than set term to it and die? (407)
So then I came and with a razor sat me down
Upon my couch. And now the blade was drawn
Across my throat to cut the artery. . . . (408)

[1] *Sisters*, verse 181. Commentary, *hadayanissitaŋ*.
[2] Distinguished by the Commentary as mahārāja.
[3] See CXXXIX. [4] *Cetaso samādānaŋ*. Comy.
[5] Comy.: *anupanikkhamiŋ, bahi nikkhanto*.

When lo! in me arose the deeper thought:
Attention to the fact and to the cause.
The misery of it all was manifest;
Distaste, indifference the mind possessed, (409)
And so my heart was set at liberty!
O see the seemly order of the Norm!
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids us do is done.[1] (410)

CCXVI

Kātiyāna.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī as the son of a brahmin of the Kosiya family,[2] but was named Kātiyāna after the family of his mother. Seeing his friend Sāmaññakāni[3] become a Thera, he, too, entered the Order. While at his studies he determined to discipline himself at night as to sleep. While pacing on the terrace he dozed, overcome by sleepiness, and fell right there to the ground. The Master, seeing what had happened, went himself, and standing above him, called him 'Kātiyāna!' He thereat rose up, saluted, and stood much agitated. Then the Master taught him the Norm thus:

Rise up, rouse thee, Kātiyāna, seat thee crosslegged.[4]
Be not filled with drowsiness. Watch and keep vigil.
Child of heedless race, let not the King of Mortals
By a simple trick o'ercome thee self-indulgent. (411)
E'en as billow sweeping o'er the mighty ocean
So may round of birth and age o'erwhelm and drown thee.
See that *thou* dost make thyself an isle of safety,[5]
For nought else is there may serve thee as a refuge. (412)

[1] = verses 269 *f*. *Cf*. CXV., CCV.
[2] *Cf*. CCIX.
[3] See XXXV.
[4] So the Commentary as the prescribed posture for meditation.
[5] *Cf*. *Sutta-Nipāta*, 501.

Lo! for thee the Master hath prepared this Right
Way,
Past all bonds and past all fear of birth and dying.
Be thou diligent when night is young, and after;
Strive with all thy might, and strenuous make thy
study. (413)
Loose all earlier ties; live as befits a brother,
Robed in yellow cloak, by razor shaved, and almsfed.
Be not fain for pastimes, nor to lengthened slumbers[1]
Be addicted. Contemplate, O Kātiyāna! (414)
Concentrate, conquer, O Kātiyāna! Make thee
Adept in the path to sure salvation leading.
Hast thou won the ultimate purification,
Thou shalt reach the Going-out, as flame in water. (415)
Light of feeble ray is as a wind-torn creeper.
So do thou, clansman of Indra,[2] clutching nothing,
Shake off Māra. Cleans'd of passion for sensations,
Wait thine hour, e'en here in holy coolness dwel-
ling. (416)

Thus aided by the Master's homily to win the Nibbāna wherein is no residual base of rebirth, the Thera developed insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter he uttered the verses as taught by the Master in confessing aññā.

CCXVII

Migajāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī as a son of the great lay-lady Visākhā,[3] he would often go to the Vihāra

[1] The Cy. (Br.) supplies the other *ca* after *nidday*.

[2] Kosiyagotta. Kosiya is one of the god Indra's names. The application of the simile of the light (lamp) is not, I venture to think, that Māra's death-torch was to be extinguished by Kosiya (*cf.* Neumann), but that his own rebirth-'fire,' grown 'cool' and low, was in dying out to checkmate Māra's designs for his rebirth.

[3] See *Sisters*, p. 16 *n*.

to hear the Norm. Finally he entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Confessing aññā he said :

Well taught it is by Him who seeth all—
The Buddha, offspring of the sun's high race [1]—
Through it all bonds are bygone things, through it
All constant rolling on [2] is razed away ; (417)
It leadeth on and out,[3] it beareth o'er,
Through it the root of craving withers up ;
Cutting the poison-root, our tragic doom,
It bringeth us to evil's utter end ;[4] (418)
By severing the root of ignorance,
It breaks in pieces Kamma's living car ;[5]
It hurls the bolt of insight on the goods
That dower consciousnesses at rebirth ;[6] (419)
The truth 'neath all our sentience laying bare,
And from all fevered grasping setting free,
Revealer 'tis to us, by knowledge given,
Of rebirth as a fiery pit of coals ;[7] (420)
Of mighty properties, far-reaching, deep,
Averter of decay and death to come :—
Such is the ARIYAN, THE EIGHTFOLD PATH,
Assuager of all ill, auspicious, blest.[8] (421)
Action it knoweth,—what the act doth mean,—
And fruit of action as the fruit indeed.

[1] See XXVI., CXXXIX.

[2] *Sabbavaṭṭavināsano*, 'because it destroys the rolling on of the results of corrupt karma.' Cy.

[3] *Niyyāniko.* *Cf. Bud. Psy.*, p. 82, *n* 2.

[4] *Nibbuti* = nibbāna—*i.e.*, of all *kamma* and *kilesa*. Cy.

[5] *Kammayanta : attabhāvayanta.* Cy.

[6] *Viññāṇānaṃ pariggahe : kāmabhavādīsu yathāsakakammunā viññāṇagahaṇe upaṭṭhite.* Cy. *Cf. Dialogues*, i. 313, *n.* 1.

[7] *Cf. Majjhima*, i. 74. Here rebirth in purgatory is specified ; the simile is elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 365) applied to sensuous desires, by which rebirth is incurred.

[8] Two words for *sivo* (*cf.* Śiva, the later popular Hindu deity).

Showing a vision by the light of truth
Of things as come to be by way of cause.
Yea, to the mighty Haven[1] doth it wend;
High peace it brings and bliss lies at the end.[2] (422)

Thus the Thera, showing in manifold ways the Ariyan Norm, declared how he himself had followed it as confession of aññā.

CCXVIII

Jenta.

(The Chaplain's Son.)[3]

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī as the son of the King of Kosala's chaplain, he was named Jenta. When grown up he became intoxicated with his advantages of birth, wealth, and position, despising where he should have honoured, and stiff with pride. One day he approached the Master, who was teaching in the midst of a great company, and he thought: 'If the Samaṇa Gotama will first address me, I will also speak; I will not voluntarily address him.' Thus the Exalted One not addressing him, and he through pride not speaking either, he showed the motive for his coming as he stood there. Him the Exalted One then addressed in a verse:

To dwell on proud, vain fancies is not well.
Cultivate, brahmin, that which profiteth.
The good which thou dost seek in coming here—
That, and that only shouldst thou dwell upon.

[1] *Khema* (ver. 32, 227, 310). 'Haven' implies here its primary meaning of 'safe place,' or 'hold,' and not anything *marine* (*cf.* verse 415).

[2] The whole of this most eloquent gāthā is a rosary of adjectival terms and phrases in praise of the Dhamma, a connexion confirmed by the Commentary. This is rightly indicated in the Oldenberg text by the absence of stops. By Dr. Neumann the epithets are twisted to apply to the Buddha—twisted from the instrumental, in which case they would have stood, to the nominative. The English rendering mocks the glowing poetry of the original.

[3] To distinguish him from the Jenta of CXI.

Jenta thinking, 'He knows my thoughts!' was greatly drawn to him, and fell at his feet, paying the highest degree of homage. And he asked the Master, saying:

For whom is one to cultivate no pride?
Whom should one honour? Whom should one revere?
To whom if one show reverence is it well?

To him the Exalted One:

For mother and for father too, likewise
For eldest brother, for the teacher, for
The brahmin and for them of yellow robe:
For these is one to cultivate no pride,
These should one honour, these should one revere,
To these if one show reverence it is well.
The arahants cool, adept, sane, immune,
For whom pride perished as they crossed the goal,[1]
To them beyond all others homage pay.

Jenta by that teaching became a Stream-winner, entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereupon in celebrating his achievement he thus declared aññā:

Infatuated with my birth, my wealth
And influence, with the beauty of my form
Intoxicated, thus I led my life. (423)
O'ermuch I fancied none was like to me.
A poor young fool by overweening spoilt,
Stubborn with pride, posing and insolent. (424)
Mother and father, ay, and others too
Claiming respect and honour, never one
Did I salute, discourteous, stiff with pride. (425)

[1] *Māna* is one of the last 'fetters' to be broken in the fourth or highest path leading to arahantship. As Stream-winner he enters the first path. *Cf.* also *Bud. Psy.*, p. 298, *n.* 3.

Then saw I Him the Guide, Leader Supreme,
The peerless Chief 'mong drivers of mankind,
In glory shining like the sun, with all
The company of brethren in his train. (426)
Casting away conceit and wanton pride,
A pious gladness filling all my heart,
Lowly I rendered homage with the head
To Him among all creatures Best and Chief. (427)
Well extirpated now and put away
Is both o'erweening and hypocrisy;
The *what* and *that* 'I am' is snapt in twain,
Yea, every form of self-conceit is slain.[1] (428)

CCXIX

Sumana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age he took birth in the family of a certain lay-disciple who had become the lay-attendant of the venerable Thera Anuruddha.[2] Now that layman's children till then had died young. And the father said: 'If yet one more son is born to me, I will have him ordained by the Thera. After ten months a healthy boy was born to him, and accordingly, when the child was seven years old, he was ordained. And from the ripeness of his insight, it was not long before he acquired sixfold abhiññā, waiting the while upon the Thera. Taking a jar to fetch him water, Sumana through iddhi-power came to the Anotatta Lake.[3] And a wicked serpent-king, coiled about the lake, reared its great hood aloft and would not suffer him to get water. Then Sumana took the shape of a garuḍa-bird[4] and

[1] Nine forms, says the Commentary. These are enumerated in the *Vibhanga*, p. 389 *f*. In Buddhism *māna* comprises all intrusions of the ego. This as entity was a myth, and was not to be set in rivalry over against the myth in one's neighbour.

[2] See CCLVI.

[3] One of seven mythical lakes in the Himālaya regions (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 124; *Milinda*, ii. 137).

[4] The 'roc'-bird of India.

overcame the serpent, and flew back with the water to the Thera. And the Master, seated in Jeta Grove, saw him as he went, and called Sāriputta to see, praising him in the four verses below.

Now Sumana, in testifying to aññā, added those verses to his own as follows:

When newly made a brother seven years old,
By supernormal power I overcame
The wondrous potence of the serpent king, (429)
Whenas I water for my teacher's use
From the great lake of Anotatta fetched.
Me coming thus the Master saw and spake: (430)

See, Sāriputta, how the little lad
Holding his jar of water comes along,
Rapt all his being, utterly intent. (431)
Noble his carriage on his gracious quest,
And well-matured in supernormal power,
This novice of our Anuruddha's band. (432)
By trainer of high breeding highly bred,
By the proficient made throughly expert,
By perfect competence made competent,
By Anuruddha taught and disciplined: (433)
He having won the highest peace and good
And realized the influctuate, even he—
This novice Sumana—[would hide his power]
And thus: Let no man know me! doth desire.[1] (434)

[1] Sumana might well be the Sumana of CCI. if Anuruddha were the uncle, and it may be another case of a bifurcate legend. The name, however, is not unusual. This Sumana is possibly the venerable Thera 'from the West,' who, with three others and four from the East, presided at the Council of Vesālī a century after the Buddha's death (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. 407). There was anyway a tradition that, of these eight Theras two—Sumana and Vāsabhagāmi—were pupils of Anuruddha, and 'had seen the Tathāgata' (*Dīpavaŋsa*, iv. 48; v. 24).

CCXX

Nhātaka-muni.[1]

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a brahmin clan, and well educated in Vedic lore, he became known by the mark and order of a graduate as Nhātaka, the bath-graduate. Becoming an ascetic, he dwelt in a forest glade three leagues from Rājagaha, living on wild rice and worshipping fire.

Now the Master, seeing the conditions of arahantship shining within his heart like a lamp in a jar, came to his hermitage. He, filled with pleasure thereat, placed before him food prepared in his own way. The Exalted One ate it; and so three days went by. On the fourth day the Exalted One said: 'You who are of such extreme delicacy, how can you support life on this food?' And thus commenting on saintly content, he taught him the Norm. And the ascetic thereupon from Stream-winner became arahant. The Exalted One confirmed him therein and went. But he, continuing to dwell there, fell ill of cramp. The Master went, and with kindness asked after his health:

> Thou who foredone with cramping pains
> Dwell'st in the jungle, in the woods,
> Thy range confined, in hardship dire,
> Tell me, bhikkhu, how wilt thou live? (435)

Then the Thera:

> With bliss and rapture 's flooding wave
> This mortal frame is all suffused.
> Though hard and rough what I endure,
> Yet will I in the jungle dwell.[2] (436)

[1] There is a close connexion between the brahmin graduate's and our knight's sacramental bath. A Nhātaka might not unfairly be called a 'C.B.,' Companion of the Bath.

[2] *Cf.* Vakkali, CCV.

Wisdom's seven branches practising,
The Powers five, the Forces too,[1]
Rapt to ethereal heights of thought,
So will I in the jungle dwell. (437)
From all corrupting thoughts set free,
With heart all pure and undefiled,
Often to contemplation given,
So will I in the jungle dwell. (438)
And all the intoxicants that once,
Within, without, beset my life,
Hewn and cast out are one and all,
Never to rise for me again. (439)
The factors five are understood,[2]
Persisting yet with severed root.
The end of sorrow now is won,
And all rebirth for me is done. (440)

CCXXI

Brahmadatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī as a son of the King of Kosala, and named Brahmadatta, he witnessed the majesty of the Buddha at the Jeta Grove inauguration, entered the Order because he believed, and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā, together with thorough grasp of the letter and meaning of the Norm.

One day as he went round for alms, a brahmin abused him. The Thera heard in silence and went on with his business. The brahmin again reviled him, and people commented on the Thera's silence. Whereupon Brahmadatta taught them, saying:

Whence rises wrath for him who void of wrath
Holds on 'the even tenor of his way,'
Self-tamed, serene, by highest insight free? (441)
Worse of the two is he who, when reviled,

[1] *Cf. Compendium*, pp. 180, *f*, *d*, *e*. [2] = CXX.

Reviles again. Who doth not, when reviled,
Revile again, a twofold victory wins.[1] (442)
Both of the other and himself he seeks
The good ; for he the other's angry mood
Doth understand and soothe [checking himself]. (443)
Him who of both is the physician, since
Himself he healeth and the other too,
Folk deem a fool, they knowing not the Norm. (444)

Then the reviling brahmin, hearing these words, was both distressed and glad of heart, and besought the Thera's forgiveness. Yea, he took Orders under him, and was taught the exercise of meditating on love towards others, the Thera thus arming him against obsession by anger:

If anger rise in thee, then think upon
The Figure of the Saw; and if arise
Craving t' indulge thyself, remember thou
The Parable of how they ate the Child. (445)
If, lusting for new lives in heaven and earth,
Thy heart run wild, O check and curb it swift
By mindfulness, as 'twere the beast men find
In young corn grazing trespasser, and bind.[2] (446)

CCXXII

Sirimaṇḍa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Suṃsumāragira in a brahmin family, he entered the Order through faith got on hearing the Master teaching in the Bhesakalā Wood.[3] One feast-day, while he was seated where the Pātimokkha was

[1] *Lit.*, reviles back the reviler. *Cf.* I. *Pet.* ii. 23 ; *Dhammapada*, verse 133.

[2] These three parables occur in three discourses ascribed to the Buddha : *Majjh.*, i. 129 ; *Saṃyutta*, ii. 98 ; iv. 196. A similar reference to similes from the Suttas is made by Sumedhā (*Sisters*, p. 173).

[3] *Cf.* XVIII.

to be recited at the end of the recitation of the introduction[1] . . . 'for [a fault] when declared shall be light to him,' he pondered on the advantage gained by the confession of faults concealed, and thereupon exclaimed with eager interest and gladness: 'Oh, how utterly pure is the rule of the Master!' And so expanding insight he attained arahantship. Reviewing the course thereto with a glad heart, he admonished the brethren:

Heavily falls the rain of guilt on fault
Concealed; less heavy where the fault lies bare.[2] (447)
By death the world is smitten sore; by age
And by decay 'tis shrouded and beset,
Pierced by the dart of craving evermore,
By itch of pestering desires assailed. (448)
By death the world is held enslaved; by age
And by decay escorted, guarded sure,[3]
Without a refuge, everlastingly
Struck as by thief with bludgeon and with sword.[4] (449)
Like forest fires behold them drawing nigh:—
Death and disease, decay, dread trinity,
Whom to confront no strength sufficeth, yea,
No swiftness aught avails to flee away. (450)
Make thou the day not futile, not in vain,
Whether it be by little or by much.
For every day and night[5] that thou dost waste,
By so much less thy life remains to live. (451)
Whether thou walk or stand or sit or lie,
For thee the final day of life draws nigh;
No time hast thou to dally heedlessly.[6] (452)

[1] The Nidāna. See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 1 *f.*

[2] This verse is, in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 305, ascribed to the Buddha. 'Guilt,' 'fault' are glosses, the context there and the Commentary here justifying the application of the simile.

[3] Occurs in *Saṃy.*, i. 40. [4] Reading *satthadaṇḍo*.

[5] Lit., 'night' only. The Indian reckoned as much by 'nights' as by 'days.'

[6] *Cf. Sisters*, verse 95.

CCXXIII

Sabbakāma.

Reborn in this Buddha-age, after the Exalted One had passed away, at Vesālī in a noble clan, and named Sabbakāma, he, when he was come of age, gave gifts and possessions to his kinsfolk, and following his religious inclination left the world, taking orders under the Treasurer of the Norm.[1] In course of his studies he came back to Vesālī with his instructor and visited his family. And his former wife, afflicted, lean, in sorry array and tears, greeted him and stood by. Seeing her thus, affection led by pity arose in him, and losing the deeper view in the present object, carnal feeling came over him. Then like a high-bred horse at the touch of the whip, anguish arose, and he departed to the charnel field to learn the lesson of Foul Things. Thereby jhāna supervening, he expanded insight and won arahantship. Now his father-in-law brought his daughter decked out once more in finery to the Vihāra, with a great retinue, seeking to make him secede, but the Thera declared to them how he had ejected all such desires as follows:

This twaybased thing, impure, malodorous,
Full of foul matter, ebbing thus and thus,
Is cherished as the chief of all our care.[2] (453)
As hidden deer by craft, as fish by hook,
As ape by pitch, so is the world ensnared. (454)
Sights, sounds and tastes, odours and things to touch,
That please and charm, the fivefold way of sense:
All these are shown combined in woman's shape. (455)

[1] Ānanda. Sabbakāma is probably the Sabbakāmī of *Vin. Texts*, iii. 404.

[2] = *Sutta-Nipāta*, i. 11, 13. My third line expands the word *paṭihīrati* (for °*hiriyati*).

The worldlings, who with heart inflamed pursue
And woo her, swell the dreadful field of death [1]
And make accumulation of rebirth. (456)
But he who shuns it all, as with the foot
The serpent's head is shunned, he, vigilant,
Doth circumvent this poisoner of the world.[2] (457)
And I who evil saw in sense-desires
And in renunciation safety, lo!
Detached from all that worldly aims commend,
Of all th' intoxicants have made an end.[3] (458)

[1] *Cf. Sisters*, verse 502; *Udāna*, vi. 8; *Vin. Texts*, iii. 390.

[2] Craving (Cy.). *Cf.* verses 400, 401.

[3] *Cf.* verse 122.

CANTO VII

PSALMS OF SEVEN VERSES

CCXXIV

Sundara-Samudda.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a very wealthy councillor, he was named Samudda. And because of his beauty he became known as Sundara-Samudda.[1] In the prime of his youth he saw the majesty of the Buddha at the festival of his coming to Rājagaha, and through faith and his native inclination he left the world for the Order. Entrusted with a message he went from Rājagaha to Sāvatthī and there stayed with a virtuous friend, learning how to practise himself in insight. Now his mother at Rājagaha, seeing other councillors' sons and their wives dressed in their best enjoying themselves at a festival, thought of her son and wept. And a certain courtesan to comfort her offered to go and entice him back. The mother promised, if she would do so, and he were to marry her, to make her mistress of the family, and gave her many gifts. Well attended, she went to Sāvatthī, and stopping at a house where the Thera came day after day on his alms round, she caused him to be carefully attended to, showing herself decked and adorned and wearing golden slippers. And one day, slipping these off at the house door,

[1] Sundără-Samud'da = beautiful sea. Samudda does not play a part elsewhere in the Canon, but his soubriquet only appears as the name of a bhikkhu of Rājagaha cited in the *Vinaya*, or type of bhikkhu who underwent similar St. Anthony's ordeals (*Vinaya*, iii. 86).

she saluted him with clasped hands as he passed and invited him in with seductive air. Then the Thera, a worldly thought fluttering, resolved then and there to make a supreme effort, and so standing, conjured up meditation and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Concerning this it is said :

Adorned and clad to make a gallant show,
Crowned with a wreath and decked with many gems,
Her feet made red with lac, with slippers dight,
A woman of the town accosted me, (459)
Doffing her slippers, greeting hands-to-head,
With soft, sweet tones and opening compliment: (460)
'So young, so fair, and hast thou left the world—
Stay here within *my* Rule and Ordinance.
Take thou thy fill of human pleasures. See,
'Tis I will give thee all the means thereto.
Nay, 'tis the truth that I am telling thee.
Or if thou doubt, I'll bring thee fire and swear.[1] (461)
When thou and I are old, we both of us
Will take our staff to lean upon, and so
We both will leave the world and win both ways.'[2] (462)

Seeing that public woman making plea,
And proffering obeisance gaily decked
In brave array like snare of Māra laid, (463)

[1] So the Commentary: 'If you do not believe me, I, having fetched fire, will make the fire-motived oath.' *Cf. Laws of Manu*, viii. 114, 115 (*SBE*, xxv.), referring to an ordeal by fire for testing veracity. Or only an invocation of fire as witness to the oath may be implied. Such a reading is less forced than Dr. Neumann's, who would see in 'truth' and 'fire' the woman's travesty of religious terms to suit her own 'Rule' (*sāsana*).

[2] See *Laws of Manu*, vi., §§ 2, 3, on husband and wife becoming hermits together when both were old.

Thereat arose in me the deeper view:
Attention to the fact and to the cause.
The misery of it all was manifest;
Distaste, indifference the mind possessed; (464)
And so my heart was set at liberty.
O see the seemly Order of the Norm!
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (465)

CCXXV

Lakuṇṭaka-Bhaddiya.

Reborn in the time of our Master at Sāvatthī in a wealthy family, he was named Bhaddiya, but from his extreme shortness, he was known as Lakuṇṭaka (Dwarf)-Bhaddiya. Hearing the Master preach, he entered the Order, and becoming learned and eloquent, he taught others their work with a sweet voice. Now on a festival-day, a certain woman of the town, driving with a brahmin in a chariot, saw the Thera and laughed, showing her teeth.[1] The Thera, taking that row of teeth as an object-sign, evoked jhāna, and on that basis established insight and became a Non-Returner.[2] And after practising mindfulness regarding the body,[3] admonished by the Captain of the Norm,[4] he was established in arahantship. Later he thus confessed aññā:

Beyond the gardens of Ambāṭaka,[5]
In woodland wild, craving and craving's root
Withdrawn, and rapt in deepest reverie,
There happy sits fortunate Bhaddiya. (466)

[1] Someone's teeth proved equally efficacious for Thera Mahā Tissa of Ceylon. See *Atthasālinī*, p. 200; *Bud. Psy.*, p. 70 *n.*

[2] The grade of salvation next below the arahant, in which final death is to come after one more life in one of the remoter heavens.

[3] *Cf. Dialogues*, ii. 328 *f.*

[4] Sāriputta.

[5] This park is probably that at Macchikasaṇḍa, given by Citta to the Order (*Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 74).

And some are charmed by cymbals,[1] lutes and
drums,
And I in leafy shadow of my trees
Do dwell entrancèd by the Buddha's Rule. (467)
Let but the Buddha grant one boon to me,
And if that boon were mine, I'd choose for all
Perpetual study in control of self. (468)
They who decry me for my shape, and they
Who listen spell-bound to my voice, such folk
In toils of lust and impulse know me not. (469)
The fool hemmed in on every side knows not
The inner life, nor sees the things without,
And by a voice forsooth is led away. (470)
And if the inner life he knoweth not,
Yet can discern the things that are without,
Watching alone the outer fruits that come,
He also by a voice is led away. (471)
He, who both understands the inner life,
And doth discern the things that are without,
Clear-visioned, by no voice is led away.[2] (472)

CCXXVI

Bhadda.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in a Councillor's family, as the child of hitherto childless parents, to

[1] *Mutingehi* means a variety of drum. Our drum nomenclature is insufficient for the number of Indian species of this instrument. The sweet voice probably went with a musical ear, and this is why he ranks music as second only to his own supreme source of delight.

[2] Bhaddiya (the name means Felix, Fortunatus; his soubriquet distinguishes him from the other Bhaddiya, *cf.* CCLIV.) is in *Ang.*, i. 25, ranked as the sweetest voiced among all the brethren. This distinction is said to have been the result of an aspiration made in past ages, before Padumuttara Buddha. The evolutionary momentum of this caused him rebirth, under Vipassi Buddha, as a 'variegated-feathered cuckoo' (*citta-pattakokila*), a sweet warbler in India. The Cy. does not allude to the realization of his wish, but the poem betrays it. 'Study in control of self': *kāyagatāsatiŋ*.

whom, after prayers to gods and the like, none had been born. They had gone to the Master saying, 'If, your reverence, we shall get a child we will offer him to you as your servant.' They named him Bhadda (Faustus), and when he was seven years old, they dressed him in his best, and led him to the Master, saying, 'This, your reverence, is the child we got after asking you; we deliver him to you.' The Master bade Ānanda ordain him, and withdrew to the Fragrant Chamber. And Ānanda instructed him, and so ripe was in him the efficient cause that, while studying, even as the sun rose, he conjured up contemplation, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Now the Exalted One knew what had happened, and called, 'COME, BHADDA!' So he went, saluting the Master with clasped hands. This was his ordination. And this Buddha-ordination,[1] the Thera, beginning with his birth, magnified when thus confessing aññā:

An only child was I, to mother dear
And to my father dear. By many a rite
And much observance was I gotten, ay,
And many prayers. To do me kindness they, (473)
My good desiring, and my happiness,
Conducted me—father and mother too—
Into the presence of the Buddha blest. (474)
'Hardly hath he been gotten, this our child,
And he is delicate and softly reared.
Him do we give, O Lord, to thee, that he
May wait as servant on the Conqueror.' (475)
The Master took me unto Him and thus
To Ānanda did say: 'Quickly admit
This child, for he a thoroughbred shall be.' (476)
And then, thus sanctioning my coming forth,
The Conqueror withdrew to spend the night.
And as the sun rose up out of the dawn
Lo! then my heart was set at liberty. (477)

[1] *Cf.* CXVII.; *Sisters*, verse 109, *n.* 4.

Then to complete his work the Master, roused
From quietude: 'COME, BHADDA!' called to me;
Thereby to me was ordination given. (478)
Seven were my years when I was thus ordained.
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own.
Hail to the seemly order of the Norm! (479)

CCXXVII

Sopāka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age to a pariah's wife, he was called, according to his birth, Sopāka (pariah). Some say he was born in a trader's family. This is contradicted by the Apadāna text (pāḷiyā):

When to my last birth I had won,
Into Sopāka-womb I came.

Four months after birth he lost his father, and was maintained by his uncle. The latter, when Sopāka was seven years old, was bidden by his own ill-tempered son to kill the child. So he took him to the charnel-field, bound his hands, and tied him by the neck to a corpse, thinking, 'Let the jackals and others devour him,' for he was not able himself to kill the child, who had come to his last rebirth. The jackals and other creatures came, and the child at midnight cried:

O what the fate in store for me,
Or who to the orphan lone is kin?
In midst of dreadful deathfield bound,
Whom shall I find to be my friend?[1]

The Master, at that hour surveying what fellow-men were redeemable,[2] saw the conditions of arahantship shining

[1] *Dāyako*, benefactor.
[2] *Veneyya*—lit., capable of being led.

within the child's heart, and drew his attention by emitting a glory, saying:

Come then, Sopāka, fear thou not;
Behold the Man-who-thus-hath-come!
I, even I, will bear thee o'er,
As moon comes safe from Rāhu's jaws.[1]

The boy by the Buddha's power broke his bonds, and at the end of the verse stood, a Stream-winner, before the Fragrant Chamber.[2] Now his mother sought him, and the uncle telling her nothing, she went to the Exalted One, thinking 'the Buddhas know all, past, future, and present.' The Master, as she came, hid the boy by *iddhi*, and to her saying, 'Lord, I cannot find my son, nevertheless the Exalted One knows what he is doing?' he replied:

Sons are no shelter nor father, nor any kinsfolk.
For one o'erta'en by death, bloodbond is no refuge, . . .[3]

so teaching her the Norm. She, hearing, became a Stream-winner, but the boy an arahant. Then the Exalted One withdrew *iddhi*, and she, overjoyed, beheld her son. Hearing he was arahant, she suffered him to leave the world, and went her way.[4]

Now he came and saluted the Master, as he was walking in the shade of the Fragrant Chamber, and followed him. And the Exalted One, desiring to grant him ordination, asked him the ten questions beginning: 'What is the one?'[5] He, grasping the Master's intention, supplied the answers, 'All beings are sustained by food,' etc., by his omniscience. Whence the name of the 'Boy-Questions' arose. And the Master, satisfied in mind by his replies, ordained him. All this the Thera set forth in confessing aññā thus:

[1] *Cf. Sisters*, Ps. ii.
[2] The Buddha's apartments at the Jeta-Vihāra.
[3] *Dhammapada*, verses 288, 289; to Paṭācārā, *cf. Sisters*, p. 71.
[4] *Cf.* the similar episode in Yasa's legend (CXVII.).
[5] *Khuddaka pāṭha. Cf. Sisters*, p. 66.

In the shade upon the terrace walking, lo! the Chief
of men.
Thither went I, in His presence worshipping the Man
of men. (480)
Draped my robe was on one shoulder, forth my
claspèd hands were stretched,
In the footsteps of the highest of all beings so I
walked. (481)
Then He asked me questions, He so skilled in questions
and so wise.
And unwavering, unaffrighted answered there the
Master I. (482)
He The-thus-Come then commended how the questions
answered were.
And the brethren-host surveying, to them made this
matter known:— (483)
'Fortunate are they of Anga, and of Magadha, from
whom
Such as he procureth raiment, food and lodging,
medicine
And the reverence that is seemly, yea, they're happy!'
so He said. (484)
'From to-day henceforth, Sopāka, come to see Me
when thou wilt.
Our discourse alone, Sopāka, shall thine ordination
be.' (485)
Seven were my years when to me ordination thus was
given.
Now I bear the final body. Hail! fair Order of the
Norm.[1] (486)

[1] I have rendered these relatively crude and artless verses almost literally, not trying to recast them in English more æsthetically satisfying. If there be any truth in the tradition, they were composed by a boy of the people, of natural genius (for deep questions), but of no education. And the youth and lack of literary ability seem to be betrayed in the simply told Pali. There is a world of difference between it and the form and contents of such poems as, say, Migajāla's, Kosiya's, or those of the Kassapa brothers.

CCXXVIII

Sarabhanga.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a certain brahmin, he was given a name according to or independent of family traditions, he having no distinctive marks[1] [and that name is forgotten]. But he became, when of age, an ascetic, making a hut for himself out of reed-stalks, which he had broken off, and from that time he was known as Sara-bhanga—reed-plucker. Now the Exalted One, looking over the world with the Awakened Eye, discerned in him the conditions of arahantship, and going to him taught him the Norm. And he, convicted and becoming a member, in due course won arahantship, continuing to live in his hut. This became decayed and crumbling, and people noticing it, said: 'Why, your reverence, do you not repair it?' The Thera, saying: 'The hut was made when I was doing ascetic practices; now I cannot do the like,' set forth the whole matter thus:

Ay, reeds in handfuls once I plucked, and built
A hut wherein I sojourned; hence the name
'Reedpicker' given me by the common voice. (487)
But not to me doth it belong to-day
To pluck the reeds in handfuls as of yore,
Because of what the training doth prescribe,
Revealed to us by glorious GOTAMA. (488)
How wholly and entirely he did ail:—
That had Reedpicker never seen before.
This sorely ailing state he came to see
Through word of Him who is beyond the gods. (489)
The self-same Path by which VIPASSI went,
The Path of SIKHI and of VESSABHU,
Of KAKUSANDHA, KOṆĀGAMANA,
And KASSAPA, e'en by that very Road
Lo! now to us there cometh GOTAMA. (490)

[1] See legend in CCXXXII., CCXXXIII.

And all these seven Buddhas,[1]—they for whom
Craving was dead, and nought was grasped, and
who
Stood planted on Abolishing of Ill[2]—
They taught this Norm, ay, even such as they,
Who were themselves the body of the Norm,[3] (491)
In great compassion for us all, e'en these
Four Ariyan Truths: the Truth of Ill; the Cause;
The Path; the End, th' abolishing, of Ill, (492)
Whereby the endless tale of grief and pain
In life's great cycle cannot take its course;[4]
For when this body dies and life is spent,
No other rebirth cometh more—yea, free
Am I from birth, from evil utterly![5] (493)

[1] On the seven see *Dialogues*, i. 1 *ff.*

[2] *Khayogadhā.* *Khaya* = Nibbāna (Commentary).

[3] *Dhammabhūtā* = Norm, become *dhammakāyā*, paraphrases Dhammapāla, using the term so largely coming into favour in Mahāyānism.

[4] *Nibbattate*, paraphrased as (*nirvattate*) *na pavattati*, (*na*) *uppajjati*, *i.e.*, through *nirodha*, Nibbāna.

[5] So the Commentary: *sabbehi kilesehi*, *sabbehi bhavehi.* The reader might well miss the point of this fine poem without the simple but illuminating legend, and imagine it was not becoming for a Thera to work with his hands, as Dr. Neumann's rendering seems to imply. The bhikkhus built 'huts' galore, made and mended their garments, etc. But Sarabhanga's point is that of those other two Hut-theras in LVI., LVII.: their 'one thing needful' is the non-renewal of the *attabhāva-kuṭikā*, as the Commentary calls it, the 'personal organism-hut,' and hence it is, that he so harps on the ending of ill—*i.e.*, of rebirth. The state of his reed-hut is a trifling detail, useful only as a symbol. Poem and legend may have grown up out of the interpretation of the name. This occurs as that of a seer, not only in the Jātakas (iii. 464; v. 127 *ff.*), but also in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana.

CANTO VIII

PSALMS OF EIGHT VERSES

CCXXIX

Kaccā[ya]na the Great.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Ujjenī, in the family of the chaplain of King Caṇḍapajjota, he learned the three Vedas as he grew, and succeeded, at his father's death, to the post of chaplain. And he was known by his gens name of Kaccāna.[1] Now the king heard of the Buddha's advent, and said: 'Teacher, do you go and bring the Master hither.' He, with a party of seven, went to the Master, who taught him the Norm with such effect that at the end of the lesson, he, with his seven attendants, were established in arahantship with thorough grasp of letter and meaning. Then the Master, saying, 'COME, BHIKKHUS!' stretched forth his hand, and they forthwith were as Theras of a century of rain-seasons, hair of two fingers' length cut off, and equipped with bowl and robes.

Then the Thera, having successfully accomplished his own salvation, invited the Master on the king's behalf: 'Lord, the King Pajjota desires to worship at your feet and hear the Norm.' The Master said: 'Do you, bhikkhu, go

[1] He was one of the eleven or twelve 'Great' Theras (*Vin. Texts*, ii. 317, 359), and the teacher of Soṇa-Kuṭikaṇṇa (CCVIII.). In the Vinaya and Nikāyas, the name usually appears as Kaccāna. So, too, the Cy. The king is met with in *Jāt.*, v. 133; *Dhammapada Commentary*, i. 192 *ff.*; and as Pajjota in *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 186. See also *Kathāsaritsāgara*, i. 102.

yourself; by your mission, too, will the king be satisfied.' He, thus bidden, went with the seven, satisfied the king's desire, established him in the faith,[1] and returned to the Master.

One day many bhikkhus, having put aside their duties, and finding pleasure in worldly activities and in society, were leading desultory lives. The Thera thereupon admonished them in two verses, and in the next six admonished the king:

Let not a brother occupy himself
With busy works, let him keep clear of folk,
Nor strive [to copy nor to emulate].
Who greedy seeks to taste life's feast entire,
Neglects the good that brings true happiness. (494)
A treacherous bog it is, this patronage
Of bows and gifts and treats from wealthy folk.
'Tis like a fine dart bedded in the flesh,
For erring human hard to extricate.[2] (495)

(*To the King.*)

Not evil are the actions of a man
Because of what another [saith or doth];
'Tis of himself he must from wrong abstain,
Of their own acts the offspring mortals be.[3] (496)
No speech of others makes a man a thief,
No speech of others makes a man a sage;
And what we know at heart we really are,
That do the gods who know our hearts know too.[4] (497)

[1] *Sāsane.* [2] = verses 124, and 1052 *f.*

[3] *Majjh.*, iii. 203; *Ang.*, iii. 72.

[4] The Commentary reads *attā ca naŋ yathāvedīti* naŋ *sattaŋ tassa* attā *cittaŋ* yathā *ayaŋ parisuddho aparisuddho cāti yathāvato avedi jānāti.* The devas are then credited—*i.e.*, the purer gods—with knowing the thoughts of others.

People can never really understand
That we are here but for a little spell.
But they who grasp this truth indeed,
Suffer all strife and quarrels to abate.[1] (498)
The wise man is alive, and he alone,
Although his wealth be utterly destroyed;
And if the man of wealth do wisdom lack,
For all his wealth he doth not truly live. (499)

(*To the King consulting him about a dream.*)[2]

Things of all sorts by way of ear we hear;
Things of all sorts by way of eye we see;
And for the wise and strong it is not fit
All to neglect as things unseen, unheard. (500)
Let him as seeing be as he were blind,
Let him as hearing be as he were deaf,
Let him, in wisdom versed, be as one dumb,
And let the man of strength be as the weak;
But let the thing of genuine good arise :—
Be *that* for him the nesting-place of thought.[3] (501)

[1] = verse 275.

[2] The king's dream is not told. He is only said to have gone next day to the Thera and told it 'in the order in which he had seen it.' The oracular reply may not have proved satisfying, but it is quite in keeping with the 'Great Sīla' of *Dialogues*, i. 17(4). The chaplain was largely an astrologer and dream interpreter; the Sākiya-samaṇa was concerned with the bed-rock realities of waking life and moral law.

[3] The last six lines are quoted in *Milinda*, ii. 282 *f.* My own rendering is guided by the high import attaching to *attha* (good) through the 'Psalms,' and by Dhammapāla. The latter, it is true, is no adequate guide. He omits any reference to 'in wisdom versed' (see *Milinda*, ii. 283, *n.* 1), and makes no attempt to paraphrase the curious *mata-sāyikaŋ* except by *mataka-sāyikaŋ*. Preceding this word he has *passetha* = *passitvā*. The whole poem seems to be a patchwork of annexed gnomic proverbs from the current popular philosophy, annexed like much of *Saŋyutta I.* and the *Jātakas* by the Canon, and only *essentially* in sympathy with the Buddhist teaching.

CCXXX

Sirimitta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of a very wealthy landowner, he was named Sirimitta, his mother being sister to Sirigutta, whose story is included in the Dhammapada Commentary.[1] Now he, Sirimitta, Sirigutta's nephew, found faith when the Master subdued the elephant Dhanapāla.[2] And he entered the Order, and in due course became arahant.

One day rising from his seat to recite the Pātimokkha, he took a painted fan,[3] and reseating himself, taught the Norm to the bhikkhus, and in so doing, distinguished the more eminent virtues thus:

From anger and from hatred free,
  Clean of deceit, of slander bare,
Look you! a brother such as he,
  When he goes hence,[4] will weep no more. (502)

From anger and from hatred free,
  Clean of deceit, of slander bare,
Ever 'door-guarded'[5] brother, he,
  When he goes hence, will weep no more. (503)

From anger, etc.
  . . . of slander bare,
Brother of noble virtue, he,
  When he goes hence, will weep no more. (504)

[1] Presumably in i. 434 *ff*. He was a lay-adherent of Sāvatthī.

[2] Called Nāḷāgiri in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 247-250. *Cf. Milinda*, i. 297 *ff*.

[3] So did the learned Sister Khujjutarā in preaching (*Dhammapada Commentary*, i. 209).

[4] 'To another world' (Commentary). He is not discoursing necessarily of or to arahants. *Cf.* for a different import in the phrase, verse 188.

[5] *Gutta-dvāro*, the technical phrase in Buddhist ethics for control over the 'gates' of sense.

From anger, etc.
Brother of virtuous comrades, he,
When he goes hence, will weep no more. (505)

From anger, etc.
Brother of noble insight, he,
When he goes hence, will weep no more. (506)

Having discoursed against anger and so on, he then set forth the supreme career by verses describing the right attitude for individuals, testifying thereby to aññā in himself:

Of him whose faith in the Tathāgata
Is firmly planted and unwavering,
Whose virtues are commended by the good
And pleasing in the eyes of Ariyans,[1] (507)
Who dwells contented with the Brotherhood,
Who in his views is candid and sincere:
'No pauper he,' they say, with so much wealth,
Nor sterile and in vain the life of him. (508)
So let the wise man, so let him who aye
Remembereth that which Buddhas have enjoined,
Devote himself to faith and righteousness,
To know the blessedness they brought to us
And the true vision of the holy Norm.[2] (509)

CCXXXI

Panthaka Major.

When our Master had gone to Rājagaha, rolling the excellent wheel of righteousness, Panthaka, the elder son[3]

[1] Buddhas, Silent (Pacceka) Buddhas, and earnest disciples (*Buddha-sāvakā*).

[2] = verse 204.

[3] The untimely birth of the boys when their mother had set out to return to her kinsfolk, their being named 'Roadling' the Greater and the Less, and their going to live with her kinsfolk, is briefly sketched here, but is told more fully in *Jāt.*, i. 14 *ff.*, and *Anguttara Commentary* on i. 26.

of a rich councillor's daughter and one of her father's servants, used to go with his grandfather to hear the Master, and so won faith with insight. Entering the Order, he became highly versed in the Buddha-Word, and in the four abstract jhānas, in due time becoming arahant. Dwelling in the bliss of jhāna and of fruition, he was reviewing one day his achievement, and in great joy thereat burst into a 'lion's roar' thus:

When first I saw the blessed Master, Him
For whom no fear can anywhence arise,
A wave of deep emotion filled my soul
At sight of Him the peerless man of men. (510)
Had a man erst on hands and knees besought
Favour of Fortune's goddess hither come,
And won the grace of Master such as this,
Still might he fail to win [the thing he sought].[1] (511)
I for my part [all hindrance] cast away—
[The hope of] wife and children, coin and corn,[2]
And let my hair and beard be shorn, and forth
Into the homeless life I went from home. (512)
The life and training practising, all faculties
Well held in hand, in loyalty to Him,
Buddha supreme, master of self I lived. (513)
Then longing rose within my heart, I yearned
[To consummate]: 'Now will I no more sit,
Not even for a moment, while the dart
Of craving sticketh and is not outdrawn. (514)
Of me thus aye abiding, O! behold[3]
And mark the onward stride of energy:

[1] 'Unlucky . . . fail at the ninth moment' (? eleventh hour), says the Commentary, which sees, moreover, in *siriŋ* an allusion not to the goddess of luck (*Buddhist India*, p. 217), but to the *sirisayana* or *cathedra* of a teacher.

[2] Living as a minor with his grandparents, he had as yet none of these, remarks the Commentary.

[3] For this and following lines, *cf.* verses 167, 224, 296, 332, 477.

The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (515)
I know the where and when of former lives,
And clearly shines the eye celestial.
Ar'hant am I, worthy men's offerings.
Released and without basis for rebirth. (516)
For as the darkness melted into light,
And the day broke with rising of the sun,
From craving, stanched and dry, had come release,
And on my couch crosslegged I sat in peace. (517)

CANTO IX

PSALM OF NINE VERSES

CCXXXII

Bhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a suburb of the city of Sāketa as the son of a wealthy councillor, he was the last and only surviving child, the others having been devoured by a hostile Yakkha. He was therefore well guarded, but the demon (*bhūta*) had meanwhile gone to wait on Vessavaṇa[1] and came back no more. On the child's naming day he was called Bhūta, for they said: 'May compassionate non-humans protect him!'[2] He by virtue of nis merit having grown up without accident, reared with three residences as was Yasa,[3] went, when the Master came to Sāketa, with other laymen to the Vihāra and heard the Norm. Entering the Order, he went to dwell in a cave on the banks of the River Ajakaraṇī.[4] There he won arahantship. Thereafter, he visited his relatives out of kindness to them, staying himself in the Añjana Wood. When they besought him to stay, urging that this would result in mutual benefit, the Thera, declaring his love for and happiness in the monachistic life, spoke these lines before he left them:

[1] Ruler of the northern quarter of the skies and of the Yakkhas (*Dialogues*, ii. 259, 305).

[2] Thus compelling the propitiation of such creatures by making them sponsors! Bhūta = spirit, sprite, creature.

[3] CXVII.

[4] *Cf.* Sappaka, CXCVI.

When the wise man hath grasped, that age and death,
yea, all
Whereto the undiscerning world-folk cling is Pain,
And Pain thus understanding, dwells with mind
intent
And rapt in ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (518)

When the fell poisoner[1] he hath banned who bringeth
pain,—
Ay, even Craving, who doth sweep him towards the
pain
Of being prisoned in the web of many things,
Obsessed,[2]—and he delivered dwells with mind intent
And rapt in ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (519)

When by insight he sees the happy-omened Path,
Twice fourfold, ultimate, that purifies from all
That doth defile, and seeing, dwells with mind intent,
Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (520)

When work of thought makes real and true the way
of peace,
From sorrow free, untarnished and uncorrelate,[3]
Cleansing from all that doth defile, and severing
From every bond and fetter, and the brother sits
Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (521)

When in the lowering sky thunders the storm-cloud's
drum,
And all the pathways of the birds are thick with rain,

[1] On *visattikā* see p. 218, *n*. 3.

[2] With this phrase *papañcasanghāta(-dukkhādhivāhaniŋ)*, *cf*. *Majjh*., i. 271, *l*. 1; 383, *l*. 29; *Milinda*, 390, *l*. 7. The Commentary's explanation is very lame, but it paraphrases *papañcanti vitthārentīti*.

[3] *Asankhataŋ*. *Na kenaci paccayena sankhatan ti* (Commentary).

The brother sits within the hollow of the hills,
Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (522)

Or when by rivers on whose banks together crowd
Garlands of woodland blossoms bright with many a hue,
With heart serene the brother sits upon the strand,
Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (523)

Or when at dead of night in lonely wood god rains,
And beasts of fang and tusk[1] ravin and cry aloud,
The brother sits within the hollow of the hills,
Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no greater bliss
Is given to men than this. (524)

When he hath checked the mind's discursive restlessness,[2]
And to the mountain's bosom hies and in some cave
Sits sheltered, free from fear and from impediment,
Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no greater bliss
Is given to men than this. (525)

When he in healthful ease abides, abolisher
Of stain and stumbling-stone and woe, open to peace[3]
[The portals of the mind], lust-free, immune from dart,[4]
Yea, all intoxicants become as nought, and thus
Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no greater bliss
Is given to men than this. (526)

[1] The Commentary instances lions and tigers—true of course only of remoter haunts. *Cf.* at least *Sisters*, p. 151 *n.*

[2] *Vitakka*, a word to indicate the application of attention to this and that, hindering concentrated thought.

[3] Lit., one who is unbolted. The bolt is ignorance hindering the entrance of Nibbāna, says the Commentary.

[4] By 'dart,' craving is always implied.

CANTO X

PSALMS OF TEN VERSES

·CCXXXIII

Kāḷudāyin.

He going on in rebirth among gods and men, was born on the same day as our Bodhisat, in the family of one of the king's ministers at Kapilavatthu. Yea, on that one day were born these seven: the Bodhisat, the Bodhi-tree, the mother of Rāhula, and the four treasures:—the riding-elephant, the horse Kaṇthaka, Channa, and Kāḷudāyin.[1] Now on his naming day, the child was called Udāyin, and because he was dark of feature he became known as Kāḷ'-Udāyin. He grew up as the play-fellow of the Bodhisat. But later, when the Lord of the World had gone forth in the Great Renunciation, had become omniscient, and was staying in the Bamboo Grove near Rājagaha, rolling on the excellent wheel of the Norm, King Suddhodana heard thereof, and sent a minister with a suite of a thousand, saying: 'Bring my son hither.' And that minister and suite, arriving when the Norm was being preached, heard, and all becoming arahants, the Master stretched forth his hand, saying: 'Come ye, bhikkhus!' . . . And they abiding among the Ariyas, did not deliver the king's message. And the like happened with other messengers. So the king sent Kāludāyin, saying: 'This Udāyin is of the same age as the Ten-

[1] On these seven 'Connatal Ones' see *Bud. Birthstories*, 68 *n.*; *cf. Dialogues*, ii. 202-208.

powered, and is akin to me and affectionate; I will send him; go you, my dear, with a thousand men, and bring the Ten-powered One.' So he went, saying: 'If I, sire, may leave the world, then will I bring hither the Exalted One.' 'Whatever you do, show me my son,' was the reply. He, too, fared like the first minister and became arahant. Now he thought: 'Not yet is it time for Him to go to the city. When the rains have come, and the woods are in flower and the earth is covered with verdure, then 'twill be time.' And when the time was come, he spoke these verses to the Master, praising the beauty of the journey:

Now crimson glow the trees, dear Lord, and cast
Their ancient foliage in quest of fruit.[1]
Like crests of flame they shine irradiant,
And rich in hope, great Hero, is the hour. (527)
Verdure and blossom-time in every tree,
Where'er we look delightful to the eye,
And every quarter breathing fragrant airs,[2]
While petals falling, yearning comes for fruit:—
'Tis time, O Hero, that we set out hence. (528)
Not over hot, nor over cold, but sweet,
O Master, now the season of the year.
O let the Sākiyans and the Koḷiyans
Behold thee with thy face set toward the West,
Crossing the [border-river] Rohinī.[3] (529)

[1] 'Though without will, they express the setting about a voluntary act,' is the comment.

[2] *Pavanti: gandhaŋ visajjenti* (Commentary).

[3] 'From this river, flowing through the land of those two clans, from north to south,' writes Dhammapāla, 'Rājagaha lies S.E., therefore to go from thence to Kapilavatthu, one crosses it facing W.,' or north-west, a journey of 60 yojanas (p. 9; about 485 miles). On this river, now the Rowai, or Rohwaini, see the detailed account in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, xii., p. 190 *ff*. Kāḷudāyin 'then makes known his own aspirations by similes' (Commentary).

In hope the field is ploughed, in hope the seed is sown,
In hope of winning wealth merchants fare over sea.
The hope I cherish, may that hope be realized! (530)
Again and yet again is seed in furrow sown.
Again and yet again the cloud-king sends down rain,
Again and yet again the ploughmen plough the field,
Again and yet again comes corn into the realm. (531)
Again and yet again do beggars go their round;
Again and yet again the generous donors give;
Again and yet again when many gifts are given,
Again and yet again the donors find their heaven. (532)

Surely a hero lifts to lustrous purity
Seven generations past wherever he be born.
And so methinks can He, the vastly wise, the god
Of gods. In Thee is born in very truth a Seer. (533)
Suddhodana is named the mighty prophet's sire,
And mother of the Buddha was [our queen] Māyā.
She, having borne the Wisdom-being in her womb,
Found, when the body died, delight in Tusita.[1] (534)
She, Gotamid, dying on earth, deceasing hence,
Now lives in heavenly joys attended by those gods. (535)

Now when the Exalted One, thus besought, discerned salvation coming for many by his going, he set out attended by 20,000 arahants, walking a yojana each day. And the Thera went by power of iddhi to Kapilavatthu, into the king's presence. 'Who are you?' he was asked; and he: 'If you know not the minister's son whom you sent to the Exalted One, know that I am he':

Son of the Buddha I, yea, e'en of such as He,
Th' Angīrasa, to whom there lives not any peer,

[1] The Heaven of Delight, fourth above this world. *Cf. Sisters*, p. 3.

Who that which is insuperable hath o'ercome.
And father of my Father art thou, Sakiyan,
To me thou, Gotamid, art grandsire in the
Norm.[1] (536)

CCXXXIV

Ekavihāriya.

(**Tissa-Kumāra.**)

He was reborn in this Buddha-age, after the Exalted One had passed away, as the youngest brother of the King Dhammāsoka. And King Asoka, in the 218th year after that Passing Away, having united all India in one empire, and made his own younger brother Tissa vice-regent, enlisted Tissa's friendship for the Sāsana by a single stratagem.[2]

Now the prince, while hunting, was so impressed at the sight of the Greek Thera, Mahā Dhammarakkhita,[3] seated under a tree, that he also longed to live so in the forest. When he had seen the Thera's supernormal powers, he

[1] The Commentary gives two explanations of Angīrasa, a name applied to the Buddha elsewhere—*e.g.*, *Dīgha*, iii. 196; *Saŋy.*, i. 196; *Ang.*, iii. 239; *Jāt.*, i. 116. One is Commentator's etymology; the other calls it a second personal name, like Siddhattha. The first three graceful gāthās are given more briefly in the Jātaka Commentary (*Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 121). The next gāthā is in ślokas; all the rest is triṣṭubh (upavajira); but it is a little difficult to believe that the musical opening and the clumsy sequel are by the same hand.

The specific distinction awarded to Kāḷudāyin, in *Ang. Nik.*, i. 25, is recorded to have been won by this embassy—that of 'him who best satisfied the clans.'

[2] This is told in the *Mahāvaŋsa*, ch. v., ver. 154-160. *Ibid.*, 161-172, is a metrical parallel to Dhammapāla's prose account in the following paragraph, which is slightly condensed.

[3] *Yonaka-Mahā-Dhammarakkhitathera.* This Thera, not elsewhere called Greek, is mentioned, *Mahāvaŋsa*, *loc. cit.*; *Dīpavaŋsa*, viii. 8; *Sāmantapāsādika*, pp. 314, 317.

returned to the palace and told the king he wished to leave the world. Asoka could not in any way dissuade him. Longing for the happiness of the recluse, he uttered these verses:

If there be none in front, nor none behind
Be found, is one alone and in the woods
Exceeding pleasant doth his life become.[1] (537)
Come then! alone I'll get me hence and go
To lead the forest-life the Buddha praised,[2]
And taste the welfare which the brother knows,
Who dwells alone with concentrated mind. (538)
Yea, swiftly and alone, bound to my quest,[3]
I'll to the jungle that I love, the haunt
Of wanton elephants, the source and means
Of thrilling zest to each ascetic soul.[4] (539)
In Cool Wood's flowery glades cool waters lie,[5]
Within the hollows of the hills; and there
I'll bathe my limbs when hot and tired, and there
At large in ample solitude I'll roam. (540)

[1] I was inclined, before gaining access to the Commentary, to see in these lines the sentiment of *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 645 (iii., 9, 52).

To him for whom there's nothing in the world
Either before or after or between—
Nothing at all to take or to possess. . . .

But the Commentary's brief comment reveals, not the detachment of the arahant, but the longing of the court dignitary to be rid of the perpetual attendance of courtiers, retainers, soldiers, etc., ever before and behind and around, sycophantic, or slaves of etiquette, and perhaps traitorous, or at least backbiting. The name adopted by, or fastened on Prince Tissa, Ekavihāriya, means Lone-dweller.

[2] *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 312, 318 *Cf. Bud. Suttas*, p. 210 *ff.*; *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 34-74, etc.

[3] *Atthavasī*, 'in submission to the business of a recluse' (Cy.).

[4] *Yogi-pīti-karaŋ.*

[5] The wood contains six pools, writes Dhammapāla.

Lone and unmated in the lovely woods,
When shall I come to rest, work wrought, heart
cleansed? (541)
O that I might win through, who am so fair!
I only may achieve the task; herein
None for his fellow-man can aught avail.[1] (542)

* * * * *

I'll bind my spirit's armour on, and so
The jungle will I enter, that from thence
I'll not come forth until Nibbana's won.[2] (543)
I'll seat me on the mountain-top, the while
The wind blows cool and fragrant on my brow,
And burst the baffling mists of ignorance. (544)
Then on the flower-carpet of the wood,
Anon in the cool cavern of the cliff,
Blest in the bliss of Liberty I'll take
Mine ease on thee, old Fastness o' the Crag.[3] (545)

* * * * *

Lo! I am he whose purpose is fulfilled,
And rounded as the moon on fifteenth day.
Destroyed all deadly canker, sane, immune,
I know rebirth comes ne'er again for me. (546)

[1] The beautiful poem reads better uninterrupted by prose; but Dhammapāla gives it in three sections. Section 2 describes Tissa's burst of delighted energy after his ordination, Asoka having conducted both him and his son-in-law (and nephew), Aggibrahmā, to the Vihāra with great pomp and ceremony (a last ordeal for Tissa's tastes!).

[2] Lit., until the āsavas are destroyed.

[3] Giribbājā, the 'mountain stronghold' near Rājagaha. The ruined fortifications, 4½ miles in circumference, are still extant, and are the most ancient stone buildings yet found in India. The 'newer' Rājagaha is said to have been chiefly the work of King Bimbisāra, the Buddha's contemporary (*Buddhist India*, p. 87).

The last section is the dying utterance of Tissa ('Lone-dweller'). He is related to have gone with his instructor (Dhammarakkhita) to the Kalinga country, a great and noted forest tract (*cf. Majjh.*, i. 378) on the east coast, south of Rājagaha. There Asoka built for him the Vihāra of Bhojaka-Giri. In Kalinga are the Asoka inscriptions of Dhauli and Jaugada (Cunningham, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, i. 15 *ff.*).

CCXXXV

Kappina the Great.

Reborn before our Master's birth in the border country at a town named Kukkuṭa (Cock), in a rāja's family, he was named Kappina. At his father's death he succeeded, as rāja Kappina the Great. He, to extend his knowledge, would send men of a morning out of the four gates to the cross-roads, bidding them arrest passing scholars and tell him. Now by that time our Master had come into the world, and was dwelling at Sāvatthī. And traders of that town brought goods to Kukkuṭa and disposed of them. Then saying, 'Let us see the king,' they took gifts and announced themselves. The king accepted their gifts, saluting them, and asked whence they came, and what their country and king were like, and what sort of religion (*dhamma*) was theirs? 'Sire,' they replied to the last question, 'we are not able to tell you with unwashen mouths.' The king sent for a gold ewer of water, and they, with cleansed mouths and hands at salute, said: 'Sire, in our country the Treasure of a Buddha has arisen.' At the one word 'Buddha,' rapture suffused the king's whole body. '"Buddha," say you, friends?' And he made them tell him thrice that infinite word, giving them 100,000 pieces. They told him also of the Treasure of the Norm and of the Order, and he trebled his gift, and forthwith renounced the world, his ministers doing likewise. Now they set forth [to find the Exalted One] and came to the Ganges. There they made a determination by the power of truth,[1] saying: 'If [there be] a Master, a Buddha Supreme, let not even a hoof of these horses be wetted!' Then they crossed on the surface of the full river, and so crossed yet another river, coming thirdly to

[1] *Saccādhiṭṭhāna*, for the more usual *saccakiriyā*. *Cf. Jāt.*, i., Nos. 20, 35. *Cf.* 2 *Kings*, i. 10.

the great river, Candabhāgā,[1] which they crossed in like manner.

The Master, too, who on that day had risen at dawn, and, filled with great compassion, surveyed the world, discerning that 'to-day Kappina the Great has renounced his kingdom, and comes with a great following to enter the Order; 'tis fit I go far to meet him,' first went with a company of bhikkhus to Sāvatthī for alms, then went himself through the air to the banks of the Candabhāgā, and sat down cross-legged under a great banyan facing the landing-stage of the ford,[2] sending forth the Buddha-rays. Kappina and his men saw the rays darting to and fro, and said: 'We are come on account of the Master, and lo! here He is!' And they drew near, prostrating themselves. Then the Master taught them the Norm, so that they were all established in arahantship, and asked to become recluses. The Master said, 'COME, BHIKKHUS!' and this was their sanction and their ordination. Then he took them back with him through the air to the Jetavana.

One day the Exalted One asked whether Kappina taught the Norm to the bhikkhus? They said that he lived inactively, enjoying his happiness. Kappina, when sent for, admitted this was true, and was told: 'Brahmin![3] do not so; from to-day teach the Norm to them that have arrived.' Kappina assented, worshipping, and by his very first discourse established a thousand recluses in arahantship.

[1] If this be the Chenab (the Akesines of the Greeks), the geography of Dhammapāla is impossible; but if for Ganges we substitute Sindhu (the Indus), then Kappina, coming from the extreme north-west (Kukkuṭa is an unknown locality), would have the Indus and the Vitasta (Jelum) for his first and second rivers. In *Jāt.*, iv. 180, the Buddha is said to have gone 2,000 yojanas to meet him. This is commentarial legend. From Sāvatthī to the Chenab, before it flows into the Indus, is, as the crow (or a Buddha) flies, roughly 600 miles (?).

[2] *Uttarapatitthassâbhimukhaṭṭhāne*, which seems to render the mystic feat rather superfluous.

[3] The Buddha occasionally addresses his arahants thus—*e.g.*, Angulimāla (*Majjh.*, ii. 104; *cf.* Ps. CCLV.). Brāhmaṇa = holy, or excellent man. By social class, Kappina was a Khattiya.

Wherefore the Master assigned him the foremost rank among those who taught the Brethren.[1]

Now one day the Thera taught the Sisters as follows:

Can ye but see that which is coming ere it
come,[2]
And mark such business as will benefit or harm,
Nor foes nor friends, howe'er they seek, will find a
rift. (547)

The man by whom the breathing exercise
With self-control is to perfection brought,
Practised with method as the Buddha taught,
He casts a radiant sheen about the world,
As doth the moon emerging free from cloud. (548)
Lo! now the mind of me is white indeed,[3]
Expanded beyond measure, practised well,
Its nature understood, and strenuous;
Shedding a radiance on every side. (549)

The wise man is alive and he alone,
Although his wealth be utterly destroyed;
And if the man of wealth do wisdom lack,
For all his wealth he doth not truly live.[4] (550)
Wisdom is arbiter of what is heard.
Wisdom doth nourish honourable fame.
With wisdom in his company a man
Even in pain and sorrow findeth joys. (551)

Here is a fact that's not of yesterday;
'Tis not abnormal nor anomalous:
'Where ye are being born, ye also die.'
What have we there save what is natural? (552)

[1] *Ang.*, i. 27.

[2] *Paṭigacca: puretaraŋ yeva* (Cy.).

[3] *Odātaŋ*. When the Buddha (*Saŋy.*, ii. 284) points out Kappina to the bhikkhus to praise him, he says: 'Do you see that slight little white (*odātakaŋ*) man with the prominent nose coming along?' referring probably only to his complexion. *Cf.* p. 3, *n.* 1; and verse 972.

[4] = ver. 499.

For after being born we do but lead
A life that is a dying hour by hour.
Whoe'er are born in that same life they die—
Such is the nature of all living things. (553)

That brings no good to the dead which is good for
the living.
Mourning the dead is no honour nor purification,[1]
Nor is it praised by the wise, by recluses and
brahmins. (554)
Mourning vexes the eye and the body, wasteth
Comeliness, strength [of body and mind] and in-
telligence.
If he be blithesome, all the four quarters become
Cordial well-wishers, e'en if his lot be not
happy. (555)
Wherefore let laymen desire to receive in their
family
None but them that are wise and discreet and
much learnèd.
They by the power of their wisdom accomplish
their business,
E'en as a boat doth effect a crossing o'er the full
river.[2] (556)

[1] I do not pretend to have solved the difficulties here. Even Dhammapāla seems to evade them. He reads, for *na lokyaŋ*, *na sokyaŋ*, and paraphrases this by *na visuddhi*. I follow him, as the only way to make the passage intelligible.

[2] Kappina was one of the twelve 'Great' Theras; his verses, however, are, for the most part, more gnomic saws of popular philosophy than genuine Dhamma, such as was fitted for members of the Order, whom he is said to have been addressing. They would have fitted an early Greek, or any pagan. And it was not possible to get poetry out of them. Dr. Neumann succeeds here and there, but only by departing from the original. The change of metre is merely to indicate a corresponding change in the Pali.

CCXXXVI

Cūḷa-Panthaka.

(Roadling Minor.)

His previous story is told in the Eighth Canto, in the chronicle of Roadling major. The remainder is [told in the Commentary on the Cūḷaseṭṭhi-Jātaka.[1]]

He, on another occasion, uttered these verses:

Sluggish and halt the progress that I made,
And therefore was I held in small esteem.
My brother judged I should be turned away,
And bade me, saying: 'Now do thou go home.' (557)
So I, dismissed and miserable, stood
Within the gateway of the Brethren's Park,
Longing at heart within the Rule to stay. (558)
And there he came to me, the Exalted One,
And laid his hand upon my head; and took
My arm, and to the garden led me back. (559)
To me the Master in his kindness gave
A napkin for the feet and bade me thus:
'Fix thou thy mind on this clean thing, the while
Well concentrated[2] thou dost sit apart.' (560)

And I who heard his blessed Word abode
Fain only and alway to keep his Rule,[3]
Achieving concentrated thought and will,
That I might win the crown of all my quest. (561)

[1] *Jāt.*, i., trans. p. 114. Dhammapāla also gives the story, agreeing in all but a few details, in which his version is the simpler. The gist of the 'remainder' is contained in the verses above. He also mentions the double eminence (in mind-created forms and in mental evolution), defined by Buddhaghosa as skill in the fourfold *Rūpa* and *Arūpa* jhāna, assigned to Cūḷa-Panthaka and his brother respectively (*Ang.*, i. 24).

[2] *Svadhiṭṭhitaŋ* is paraphrased only by *manasikārena*. Panthaka handles the cloth while he muses, till it is no longer clean and smooth.

[3] *Sisters*, verses 187, 194, 202.

And now I know the where and how I lived,
And clearly shines the Eye Celestial;[1]
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And what the Buddha bids us do is done. (562)

In thousand different shapes did Panthaka
Himself by power abnormal multiply;
And seated in the pleasant Mango-Grove,[2]
Waited until the hour should be revealed. (563)
Then did the Master send a messenger,
Who came revealer of the hour to me,
And at th' appointed time I flew to Him. (564)
Low at his feet I worshipped; then aside
I sat me down; and me so seated near
Whenas he had discerned, the Master *then*
Suffered that men should do him ministry.[3] (565)
High altar[4] He where all the world may give,
Receiver of th' oblations of mankind,
Meadow of merit for the sons of men,
He did accept the gifts of piety. (566)

CCXXXVII

Kappa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, as the son of a provincial hereditary rāja, he succeeded his father, but was addicted to self-indulgence and sensuality. Him the Master saw, as he roused himself from a reverie

[1] Above, verse 516.

[2] The property of the court physician and lay-adherent, Jīvaka. See *Sisters*, p. 139 *n.*

[3] The story relates that, whereas Panthaka's elder brother, who was steward, had omitted his junior from the brethren entertained at lunch by Jīvaka, the Buddha (who had left Cūḷa-Panthaka studying impurity by the towel as object-lesson) closed his bowl with his hand when food was offered till Cūḷa had been sent for. How Cūḷa's new powers of magic mystify the messenger is told in the *Jātaka Commentary*.

[4] This rendering of *āyāgo*, following Dr. Neumann, is supported by the Commentary's *yajitabba-ṭhānabhūto*, 'who is become the place where oblations should be made.'

of great compassion and surveyed the world for treasure for his net of insight. And pondering, 'What now will he become?' he discerned that 'This one, hearing from me a discourse on foul things, will have his heart diverted from lusts, and will renounce the world and win arahantship.' Going to Kappa through the air, he addressed to him these verses:

Filled full with divers things impure,
Great congeries of excrement,
Like stale and stagnant pool of slime,
Like a great cancer, like a sore, (567)
Filled full of serum and of blood,
As 't were from dung-heap issuing,
Dropping with fluid—ever thus
The body leaks, a carrion thing. (568)
By sixty tendons kept in place,
And smeared with plaster of the flesh,
By dermis armed and cuticle—
In carrion carcase lies small gain. (569)
By bony framework rendered firm,
By sinew-threads together knit,
The which, as they in concert work,
Effect our postures manifold; (570)
Faring world without end to death,
E'en to the King of Mortals' realm:—
If it be even here cast off,
A man may go where'er he will.[1] (571)
The body cloaked in ignorance,
Entrammelled by the fourfold tie,[2]

[1] On this verse that may have been annexed, proverb-wise, from Animistic literature, the Commentary has: 'In just this world having cast away (*chaḍḍetvā*) . . . . By these words he shows that, since the body is a transitory thing, no tie is to be formed.' Dr. Neumann considers that what may be cast off is the power of death.

[2] Viz., covetousness, ill-will, faith in ritual, clinging to dogma (*Bud. Psy.*, p. 304 *f.*; *Compendium*, p. 171). On the four Floods and sevenfold Bias (*anusaya*) see (*Compendium, ibid., f.*).

The body flood-engulfed and drowned,
In net of latent bias caught, (572)
To the five Hindrances a slave,
By restless play of mind obsessed,
By pregnant craving ever dogged,
In trammels of illusion swathed:— (573)
Lo! such a thing this body is,
Carried about on Karma's car,
To manifold becoming doomed,
Now to success, to failure then. (574)
And they who say of it ''Tis mine!'—
Poor foolish blinded many-folk—
They swell the dreadful field of death,[1]
Grasping rebirth again, again. (575)
They who this body seek to shun,
As they would serpent smeared with slime,
They, vomiting becoming's root,
Shall make an end, sane and immune. (576)

Kappa, hearing the Master discourse in so many figures on the nature and destiny of the body-complex, in fear, and aversion at his own body, besought him in distress for ordination. The Master consigned him to a bhikkhu to be ordained. Kappa received five exercises, and forthwith attained arahantship as his hair was being shaved. He thereupon went to render homage to the Master, and seated at one side, confessed aññā in those very verses. Hence they became Thera-verses.

CCXXXVIII

Upasena, Vanganta's son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the village of Nālaka as the son of Rūpasārī, the brahminee, he was named Upasena.[2]

[1] *Cf.* verse 456.

[2] Brother therefore to Sāriputta (CCLIX.) and the three sisters Cālā, etc. *Cf. Dhammapada Cy.*, ii. 84.

Having come of age and learnt the three Vedas, he renounced the world after hearing the Master teach the Norm. Ordained but one year, he thought, 'I will multiply the breed of the Ariyas,' and himself ordained another bhikkhu, and with him went to wait upon the Master. The latter, having heard of this, rebuked his hasty procedure. Then Upasena thought: 'If now, on account of having a following, I am blamed by the Master, on that same account will I earn his praise.'[1] And studying for insight, he won in due course arahantship. Thereafter, himself adopting the austerer practices,[2] he persuaded others to do likewise, and with such success that the Exalted One ranked him foremost among those who were generally popular.[3]

At another time he was asked by that other bhikkhu, when at Kosambī, what was to be done during the dissensions and the schism there?[4] Upasena taught him thus:

> Lonely the spot and far away where noise
> Scarce comes, the haunt of creatures of the wild:
> 'T is there the Brother should his couch prepare
> For purposes of studious retreat. (577)
> From rubbish-pile, or from the charnel-field,
> Or from the highways let him take and bring
> Worn cloths and thence a cloak of patchwork make,
> And in such rough apparel clothe himself. (578)
> In lowliness of mind from house to house,
> In turn unbroken[5] let the Brother fare

[1] Told in *Vin. Texts*, i. 175 *f.*; *Jāt.* ii., No. 300.

[2] The Dhutangas. See *Milinda*, vol. ii., book vi.

[3] *Ang.*, i. 24. *Cf. Milinda*, ii. 270; also 289, 326, 328.

[4] See p. 16, *n.* 2; *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 312.

[5] *Sapadānaŋ.* On this term see *JPTS*, 1909, p. 72; *JRAS*, 1912, p. 736 *ff.* Dhammapāla defines it as *gharesu avakhaṇḍa-rahitaŋ, anugharaŋ.*

Seeking his alms, sense guarded, well controlled; (579)
With any fare content rough though it be,
Nor fain for other than he gets, or more,
For if he once indulge in greed for tastes,
Ne'er can his mind in jhāna take delight. (580)
In great content, with very sparse desires,
Remote, secluded: so the sage should live,
Detached from housefolk and the homeless, both. (581)
Let him so show himself as he were dull
And dumb, nor let the wise man speech prolong
Unduly, when in midst of gathered folk. (582)
Let him not any man upbraid; let him
Refrain from hurting; let him be in rule
And precept trained, and temperate in food. (583)
Let him be one who concentrates upon
The symbol, skilled in genesis of thought.
To practise Calm let him devote himself,
And Intuition also in due time. (584)
With energy and perseverance armed,
Let him be ever to his studies yoked;
Nor till he have attained the end of Ill,
Let the wise man go forth in confidence. (585)
Thus if the Brother, fain for purity
[Of knowledge and of vision][1] shall abide,
The working of th' Intoxicants shall cease,
And he shall reach and find Nibbāna's peace.[2] (586)

Now the Thera, in so admonishing that bhikkhu, showed his own attainment, and confessed aññā.

[1] So Cy.
[2] *Nibbuti*, explained as Nibbāna in life and at death.

CCXXXIX

Gotama.

Reborn before the manifestation of our Exalted One at Sāvatthī, in a brahmin family from Udicca,[1] he grew up an expert in the Vedas and an unrivalled orator.

Now our Exalted One, having arisen and started the rolling of the wheel of the Norm, after converting Yasa and his friends,[2] came on to Sāvatthī at the urgent request of Anāthapiṇḍika. Gotama the brahmin saw and heard him, and asked for ordination. Ordained by a bhikkhu at the Master's bidding, he attained arahantship even as his hair was being shaved. After a long residence in the Kosala country, he returned to Sāvatthī. And many of his relations, eminent brahmins, waited upon him and asked him which, of the many gospels[3] as guides to life that were current, he judged should be followed. He addressed them thus:

Let the recluse discern his own real good,
And let him well consider all the Word
He heareth preached, and what therein beseems
The holy life whereunto he hath come. (587)
Religious friendships in the Rule, a course
Of ample training, and the wish to hear
Men fit to teach:—this the recluse beseems. (588)
For Buddhas reverence; towards the Norm
Honour sincere; for the Fraternity
Care and esteem:—this the recluse beseems. (589)
Of decorous habit and in living pure,
In conduct blameless, and the intelligence

[1] A north-western district. *Cf.* p. 79, *n.*

[2] See above, CXVII.; *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 130.

[3] Lit., purity-doctrines (*suddhivādā*). It would appear from *Ang.*, iii. 277 (*cf. Dialogues*, i. 220), that among such doctrinaires were those called Gotamakas, or Gotamists. Apparently none of the three Theras called Gotama (CXXIX., CLXXXIII., and above) was this doctrinaire. In the Cy. he is termed 'Another' (Apara-) Gotama.

Adjusted well:—this the recluse beseems. (590)
In what he does and what he leaves undone
Using deportment that doth favour find;
To higher training of the heart and mind
Fervently given:—this the recluse beseems. (591)
Haunts of the forest, lone, remote, where sounds
May hardly come, 'mong these the earnest sage
Should make his choice:—this the recluse beseems. (592)
And virtue, and much learning, and research
To know how in themselves things really are,
Grasp of the Truths:—this the recluse beseems. (593)
To meditate upon the Impermanent,
And on the absence of all soul, and on
The foul, and in the world to find no charm
To bind the heart:—this the recluse beseems. (594)
To meditate on Wisdom's seven arms,
On paths to mystic potency, on powers
And forces five, and on the eightfold Path,
The Ariyan[1]:—this the recluse beseems. (595)
Let the true sage put Craving far away;
Let him uproot and crush the Intoxicants;
Let him live Free:—this the recluse beseems. (596)

Thus the Thera, in praising the course suitable to a recluse, magnified the efficiency of his Order, and contrariwise the ineffectualness of a recluse not of it. Then those brahmins, mightily approving of the Rule, were established in the precepts and so forth.

[1] *Cf.* 'Ariyan' conveyed to Buddhists much what our 'Christian' does to us. Originally a racial term, it had come to mean 'noble, gentle,' and specifically, a saintly 'confessor' of the Dhamma. These subjects are the thirty-seven 'bodhipakkhiyā dhammā,' or Factors of Enlightenment, *less* the four Onsets of Mindfulness (verses 166, 352) and the four Supreme Efforts. See *Compendium*, p. 179 *f.*

CANTO XI

PSALM OF ELEVEN VERSES

CCXL

Sankicca.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī in a family of very eminent brahmins, his mother died just prior to his birth, so that he was discovered unburnt upon the funeral pyre. For the life of a being in his last birth cannot perish ere he attain arahantship, even if he fell down Mount Sineru. At seven years of age, when he heard of his mother dying at his birth, he was thrilled, and said, 'I will leave the world.' So they brought him to Sāriputta. And he won arahantship even as his hair was being cut off. How he offered his life to brigands to save 3,000 bhikkhus is told in the Dhammapada Commentary.[1]

Now a certain layman, desiring to wait upon him, asked him to dwell in the neighbourhood, saying:

> What is the gain for thee, dear lad,[2] to dwell
> During the rains within the distant woods,
> Like Ujjuhāna, marshy, jungle-crowned?
> Sweeter for thee Verambhā, Cave of Winds,
> Since they who meditate must dwell apart.[3] (597)

[1] Vol. ii., pp. 240-252: the story of Sankicca the novice, and how he converted the highwaymen, explaining the circumstances of *Dhammapada*, verse 110. With his birth, *cf.* Dabba, V., p. 10, *n.* 4.

[2] *Tāta*, speaking to the boy as if he were his father, says Dhammapāla. *Kim*, he adds, is for *ko* (*attho*).

[3] Ujjuhāna is said to have been either a hill covered with jungle and abounding in waters, or a bird that dwelt in thickets during the

Then the Thera, to show the charm of the forest and other things, replied:

E'en as the wind of the monsoon blows up
And all around the cloud-wrack, in the rains,
[So in the forest lone, remote, arise]
The thoughts that with detachment harmonize,
And all my spirit whelm and overspread.[1] (598)
'Twas the dun-feathered one,[2] in charnel-field
Going his rounds, that made to rise in me
Clear thought about this body, passion-purged. (599)
Moreover, he whom others need not guard,
He too who hath no others whom to guard:—
Even the bhikkhu, dwells in happy ease,
Regardless of what men desire and love.[3] (600)
Crags where clear waters lie, a rocky world,
Haunted by black-faced apes and timid deer,
Where 'neath bright blossoms run the silver streams:—
Those are the highlands of my heart's delight.[4] (601)

I've dwelt in forests and in mountain caves,
In rocky gorges and in haunts remote,
And where the creatures of the wild do roam; (602)
But never mine the quest, with ill-will fraught,
Ungentle and ignoble:[5]—'Let us hunt,
Let's slay these creatures, let us work them ill!' (603)

---

rains. Similarly, *verambha* is the monsoon wind, *or* a certain cave nearer the layman's home than the woods. I am of an open mind as to which was really meant.

[1] The Pali is here very terse. For *abhikīranti* (see *Jāt.*, iii. 57) = *ajjhottharanti*. *Cf.* Ps. CXXXII., *kīranti*.

[2] *I.e.*, the carrion crow, at home in the charnel-field, feeding on the dead. *Apaṇḍaro*, not-clear, not-bright, is paraphrased as *kāḷavaṇṇo*.

[3] See *Jāt.*, i., No. 10.

[4] See CXIII., CCLXI.

[5] *Cf.* XLVIII., CCXLIV.

The Master hath my fealty and love,
And all the Buddha's bidding hath been done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore ;[1]
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (604)
The Good for which I bade the world farewell,
And left the home a homeless life to lead,
That highest Good have I accomplishèd,
And every bond and fetter is destroyed.[2] (605)
With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
Delight in living. I await the hour,
Like any hireling who hath done his task. (606)
With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
Delight in living. I await the hour
With mind discerning and with heedfulness.[3] (607)

[1] 'The load of the Khandhas' (Commentary)—*i.e.*, he had removed the cause (*taṇhā*, see next line) of their future renewal. He now concludes his reply in terms of the question put to him, viz., of 'good,' or 'gain' (*attha*).

[2] = ver. 136; 380.

[3] See CLXVIII., CCLIX. (1002 *f.*); *cf. Milinda*, i. 70. The hireling, working for another, takes no great joy in the completion of his work (Commentary). *Cf. Laws of Manu* (S.B.E. xxv.), p. 207

CANTO XII

POEMS OF TWELVE VERSES

CCXLI

Sīlavat.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as a son of King Bimbisāra, he was named Sīlavat. When he was come of age, his brother Ajātasattu was king, and wished to put him to death, but was unable, because Sīlavat was in his last span of life, and had not won arahantship.[1] Then the Exalted One, discerning what was going on, sent Moggallāna the Great to fetch him. And Prince Sīlavat alighted from his elephant, and did obeisance to the Exalted One. Then the latter taught him, adapting the doctrine to his temperament, so that the youth won faith, entered the Order, and in due time became an arahant. He dwelt in Kosala, and when Ajātasattu sent men to murder him, he taught them and converted them, so that they, too, joined the Order. And he preached to them thus:

In morals[2] 'tis that ye should train yourselves
Here on this earth, in morals practised well.

[1] *Cf.* CCXXVII., CCXL.; also *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 241 *f.*

[2] I was tempted to retain the pretty word *sīla* for our more cumbrous 'morality,' etc. 'Virtue' is more elegant, but a little vague. *Sīla* is moral *habit*, habitual good, or moral conduct—the conduct of one who does not hurt or rob living things, is sexually straight, truthful, and gentle of speech, and sober as to drink. That is all. Such conduct is only the essential basis of the higher life. The sermon is addressed to hired assassins, not to bhikkhus.

For moral culture well applied doth bring
Near to our reach success of every kind.[1] (608)
Let the wise man protect his morals well,
Who doth to threefold happiness aspire:
A good name and the gain of this world's goods
And, when this life is o'er, the joys of heaven. (609)
The moral man, restrained, wins many friends;
Th' immoral, working mischief, loseth friends. (610)
Dispraise and ill-fame wins th' immoral man;
Aye wins the good man fame, approval, praise. (611)
Nothing there is of spiritual worth
But hath the moral habit as its base,
Its matrix and its vanguard and its source;
Make ye therefore your morals wholly pure. (612)
Morals do give the tether and the term,
Light and delight affording to the heart;[2]
The strand whence all th' enlightened put to sea;[3]
Make ye therefore your morals wholly pure. (613)
No force is there like unto moral force;
Weapon supreme the moral habit is;
Chief decoration is the moral life;
Wondrous invulnerable coat of mail.[4] (614)
A mighty causeway is morality;
A peerless fragrance, sov'reign frankincense,
Wherewith we safely travel far and wide.[5] (615)
Good morals are the best viaticum,[6]
Sov'reign munitions [for life's pilgrimage],
Good morals are a peerless talisman,
Wherewith we safely travel far and wide.[7] (616)

[1] Success as man, as god, or in Nibbāna (Commentary).

[2] *Abhibhāsanaŋ* means either; the Commentary reads the latter meaning.

[3] 'In fording the great river (or sea) of Nibbāna' (Commentary).

[4] The Commentary maintains that *abbhutaŋ*, wondrous, means *abhejjaŋ*, unbreakable.

[5] Lit., from one quarter (of the compass) to another, so acceptable to all men are virtuous qualities.

[6] *Sambalaŋ* is illustrated by the *puṭabhattaŋ*, or leaf-wrapped pudding taken by a traveller. [7] See note 5.

The evil-minded man[1] wins blame on earth,
And in the after-life a woeful doom;
A fool no matter where hath sorry cheer,
Not firmly planted on morality. (617)
The man of virtuous mind wins fame on earth,
And in the after-life the radiant realms.
No matter where, the brave are of good cheer,
Their hearts well stablished in morality. (618)
Chief here below is morals, but the man
Of wisdom is supreme; 'mong gods and men
He doth prevail who is both good and wise.[2] (619)

CCXLII

Sunīta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as one of a family of flower-scavengers,[3] he earned his living as a road-sweeper, not making enough to still his hunger. Now in the first watch of the night the Exalted One, attaining that mood of great pity so largely practised by Buddhas, surveyed the world. And he marked the conditions of arahantship in the heart of Sunīta, shining like a lamp within a jar. And when the night paled into dawn he rose and dressed, and with bowl and robe, followed by his bhikkhu train, walked to Rājagaha for alms, and sought the street where Sunīta was cleaning. Now Sunīta was collecting scraps, rubbish, and so on into heaps, and filling therewith the baskets he carried on a yoke. And when he saw the Master and his train approaching, his heart was filled with joy and awe. Finding no place to hide in on the road, he placed his yoke

[1] *Dummano* and its opposite are usually rendered 'gloomy' and 'cheerful,' but the context demands an ethical rendering. The Commentary paraphrases by *pāpadhammo*, etc., and *kalyānadhammo*.

[2] = verse 70.

[3] *I.e.*, removers of cut flowers, wreaths, etc., thrown aside. This was a 'low' hereditary trade.

in a bend of the wall, and stood as if stuck to the wall saluting with clasped hands. Then the Master, when he had come near, spoke to him in voice divinely sweet, saying: 'Sunīta! what to you is that wretched mode of living? Can you endure to leave the world?' And Sunīta, experiencing the rapture of one who has been sprinkled by ambrosia, said: 'If even such as I, Exalted One, may in this life take orders, why should I not? May the Exalted One suffer me to come forth.' Then the Master said: 'COME, BHIKKHU!' And he, by that word receiving sanction and ordination, was by magic power invested with bowl and robes. The Master, leading him to the Vihāra, taught him an exercise, and he won first the eight attainments[1] and fivefold abhiññā; then developing insight, the sixth. And Sakka and the Brahmā gods came and did homage to him, as it is written:

Those deities seven hundred, glorious,
Brahmā's and Indra's following drew nigh
And gladly paid Sunīta homage due,
As high-bred victor over age and death.[2]

The Exalted One saw him surrounded by gods, and smiled and commended him, teaching the Norm by the verse:

'*By discipline of holy life.*' . . .[3]

Now many bhikkhus, desirous of raising their 'lion's roar,' asked Sunīta: 'From what family did you come forth? Or why did you leave the world? And how did

[1] *Cf. Bud. Psy.*, p. 346, *n.* 3; *Compendium*, p. 133, *n.* 3 (read part IX., § 11, for XI., § 12. The five Jhānas are often taken as four). The sixth abhiññā is abolition of the Āsavas = arahantship.

[2] *Cf. Sisters*, p. 146, verse 365. These lines are not quoted as from the *Apadāna*. The spiritual breeding, transmitted from the past, is doubtless emphasized in æsthetic and ethical contrast with the sordid circumstances of his last span of life.

[3] Verse 631.

you penetrate the truths?' Then Sunīta told them the whole matter thus:

Humble the clan wherein I took my birth,
And poor was I and scanty was my lot;
Mean task was mine, a scavenger of flowers. (620)
One for whom no man cared, despised, abused,
My mind I humbled and I bent the head
In deference to a goodly tale of folk. (621)
And then I saw the All-Enlightened come,
Begirt and followed by his bhikkhu-train,
Great Champion ent'ring Magadha's chief town. (622)
I laid aside my baskets and my yoke,
And came where I might due obeisance make,
And of his lovingkindness just for me,
The Chief of men halted upon his way. (623)
Low at his feet I bent, then standing by,
I begged the Master's leave to join the Rule
And follow him, of every creaturė Chief. (624)
Then he whose tender mercy watcheth all
The world, the Master pitiful and kind,
Gave me my answer: COME, BHIKKHU! he said.
Thereby to me was ordination given.[1] (625)

Lo! I alone in forest depths abode,
With zeal unfaltering wrought the Master's word,
Even the counsels of the Conqueror. (626)
While passed the first watch of the night there rose
Long memories of the bygone line of lives.
While passed the middle watch, the heav'nly eye,
Purview celestial, was clarified.
While passed the last watch of the night, I burst
Asunder all the gloom of ignorance.[2] (627)

[1] *Cf.* above, Bhadda, CCXXVI.; *Sisters*, verse 109
[2] Nearly identical with *Sisters*, verses 172, 173.

Then as the night wore down at dawn
And rose the sun, came Indra and Brahmā,
Yielding me homage with their claspèd hands: (628)
Hail unto thee, thou nobly born of men!
Hail unto thee, thou highest among men!
Perished for thee are all th' intoxicants;
And thou art worthy, noble sir, of gifts. (629)

The Master, seeing me by troop of gods
Begirt and followed, thereupon a smile
Revealing, by this utterance made response: (630)
'By discipline of holy life, restraint
And mastery of self: hereby a man
Is holy; this is holiness supreme!'[1] (631)

[1] *I.e.*, says the Commentary, supreme brahminhood (*brahmaññaŋ*), not caste and the like, and quotes *Dhammapada*, verses 58, 59:

> '*As on a rubbish-heap on highway cast*
> *A lily there may grow, fragrant and sweet,*
> *So among rubbish-creatures, worldlings blind*
> *By insight shines the Very Buddha's child.*'

'Holy life,' 'holy,' 'holiness,' are in the Pali *brahmacariyaŋ*, *brāhmaṇo*, *brāhmaṇaŋ*.

Celestial tribute evokes a smile from a great Thera in Ps. CCLXI., verse 1086. One is tempted to think it was because of the humorous element in the situation—the man become as god—and not from complacency alone.

CANTO XIII

POEMS OF THIRTEEN VERSES

CCXLIII

Soṇa-Koḷivisa.

HE got rebirth, in the lifetime of our Exalted One, at the city of Campā, in the family of a distinguished councillor. From the time when his birth was expected, his father's great wealth increased even more, and on his birthday the whole town kept festival. Now because of his generosity in a previous birth to a Silent Buddha, his body was as fine gold and most delicately soft, wherefore he was named Soṇa (golden). On the soles of his feet and the palms of his hand grew fine down of golden colour, and he was reared in luxury, in three mansions suited to each of the three seasons.[1]

Now when our Master had attained omniscience and begun rolling the wheel of the Norm, and was staying at Rājagaha, King Bimbisāra sent for Soṇa. He, having arrived with a great company of fellow-townsmen, heard the Master teach the Norm, and, winning faith, obtained his parents' consent to enter the Order. He received a subject of study from the Master, but was unable to concentrate, owing to his maintaining intercourse with people while he stayed in Cool Wood. And he thought: 'My body is too delicately reared to arrive happily at happiness.[2] A

[1] This episode and the following occur in *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 1 *ff.* Koḷivisa, his family name, distinguishes him from the other Soṇas (CLVII., CCVIII.).

[2] *Cf.* CLXX., verse 220.

recluse's duties involve bodily fatigues.' So he disregarded the painful sores on his feet got from pacing up and down, and strove his utmost, but was unable to win. And he thought: 'I am not able to create[1] either path or fruit. Of what use is the religious life to me? I will go back to lower things and work merit.' Then the Master discerned, and saved him by the lesson on the Parable of the Lute,[2] showing him how to temper energy with calm. Thus corrected, he went to Vulture's Peak, and in due course won arahantship. Reflecting on his achievement, he thus declared his aññā:

Who once in Anga's realm was passing rich,
A squire to Anga's king,[3] lo! he to-day
Is of fair wealth in spiritual things.
Yea, past all ill hath Sona won his way. (632)

Five cut thou off; Five leave behind, and Five
beyond these cultivate!
He who the Fivefold Bond transcends—a Brother
Flood-crossed is he called.[4] (633)

Seest thou a Brother with a rush-like mind,
[Stuck-up and empty],[5] trifler, keen to taste
External things? Never will he attain
Fulness of growth within the moral code,
In mental training, or in insight's grasp.[6] (634)

[1] *Nibbattetuṃ.*

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 8, *Ang.* iii., 374 *ff.* He was to cultivate a just mean in effort, like a well-strung lute.

[3] Bimbisāra was therefore King of both Anga and Magadha. *Cf. op. cit.*, 1, *n.* 2. On 'squire,' *paddhagu, paṭagu, cf. Sutta Nipāta*, verse 1094, 'comrade.'

[4] = XV. See *note* there.

[5] *Unnaḷo* is thus derived by Buddhists. *Cf. s.v.* Childers' Dictionary. The Commentary has the phrase there quoted: 'bearing aloft the reed of pride.' The etymology is probably exegetical only; but it expresses what the word means for a Buddhist—and that is all that matters here.

[6] The three trainings. *Cf.* my *Buddhism*, chap. viii.

For such neglect that which they have to do,
But what should not be done they bring to pass.
In these conceited, desultory minds
Grow [the rank weeds of] the intoxicants. (635)
In whom the constant governance of sense
Is well and earnestly begun, the things
That should be left undone *they* practise not;
Ever what should be done they bring to pass.
For them who live mindful and self-possessed,
The intoxicants wane utterly away. (636)

In the straight Path, the Path that is declared,
See that ye walk, nor turn to right or left.
Let each himself admonish and incite;
Let each himself unto Nibbāna bring! (637)

When overtaxed and strained my energies,
The Master—can the world reveal his peer?—
Made me the parable about the lute,
And thus the Man who Sees taught me the Norm. (638)
And I who heard his blessed word abide
Fain only and alway to do his will.[1]
Calm I evolved and practised, equipoise,[2]
That so to highest Good I might attain.
And now the Threefold Wisdom have I won,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (639)

He who hath compassed *yielding* up the world,
And hath attained detachment of the mind,[3]
Who hath achieved conquest of enmity,
And grasping rooted out that bringeth birth, (640)
And death of craving hath attained and all
That doth bewilder and obscure the mind,

[1] *Cf.* verse 561; *Sisters*, LIX. *ff.*
[2] The MSS. read here some *samathaṃ*, some *samataṃ*. The Cy. exploits both, and so does the translation.
[3] These lines, to the end, occur verbatim in *Vinaya Texts*, *loc. cit.* and in *Anguttara* iii., 378.

And of sensations marked the genesis:—
His heart is set at perfect liberty. (641)
For such a Brother rightly freed, whose heart
Hath peace, there is no mounting up of deeds,
Nor yet remaineth aught for him to do. (642)
Like to a rock that is a monolith,[1]
And trembleth never in the windy blast,
So all the world of sights and tastes and sounds,
Odours and tangibles, yea, things desired, (643)
And undesirable can ne'er excite
A man like him. His mind stands firm, detached,
And of all that[2] he notes the passing hence. (644)

[1] *Dhammapada*, verse 81.

[2] *Assa* for *Tassa*. The Cy. paraphrases by *ārammaṇadhammassa* . . . *khaṇe bhijjanasabhāvaṃ*.

CANTO XIV

POEMS OF FOURTEEN VERSES

CCXLIV

Revata.

THIS Thera's verse has already been recorded in the first Canto,[1] where is incorporated the admonition to his sisters' sons to be mindful. Here are incorporated the verses he published during his life in the Order. This is the point of them: When he had won arahantship, he went from time to time with the great Theras, Sāriputta and the rest, to visit the Master, and after staying for a while, returned to the Acacia Wood, dwelling in the bliss of fruition won and in the Sublime Moods.[2] And thus he continued till he was an aged man. Going thus one day to visit the Buddha, he stayed not far from Sāvatthī in a forest. Now the police came round on the track of thieves. The thieves running by the Thera dropped their booty near him and ran. And the police, running up, arrested the Thera, dragged him before the king, and said: 'This, sire, is the thief!' The king[3] had him released, and asked him: 'Has your reverence committed this robbery or not?' Then the Thera, who had never from his birth done anything of the sort, taught the Norm, by way of showing his incapacity for such an act, in these verses:

[1] XLII. Revata is a brother of Sāriputta, and hence a brother of Upasena (CCXXXVIII.) and of Cunda (CXXXI.). The summary reference is in Dhammapāla's own words. [2] See verse 286, *n*.

[3] Pasenādi, King of Kosala, was a warm lay-adherent, and was alive in the Buddha's last years (*Majjh.*, ii. 124). *Cf.* the similar episode, with a very different judge, on p. 109.

Since I went forth from home to homeless life,
Ne'er have I harboured conscious wish or plan
Un-Ariyan or linked with enmity. (645)
Ne'er mine the quest, all this long interval;—
'Let's smite our fellow-creatures, let us slay,
Let them be brought to pain and misery.'[1] (646)

Nay, love I do avow, made infinite,
Well trained, by orderly progression grown,
Even as by the Buddha it is taught. (647)
With all am I a friend, comrade to all,
And to all creatures kind and merciful;
A heart of amity I cultivate,
And ever in good will is my delight. (648)
A heart that cannot drift or fluctuate
I make my joy; the sentiments sublime
That evil men do shun I cultivate. (649)

Whoso hath won to stage of ecstasy[2]
Beyond attention's range of flitting sense,
He, follower of the Enlightened One Supreme,
To Ariyan silence straightway doth attain.[3] (650)
E'en as a mountain crag unshaken stands
Sure-based, a Brother with illusions gone
Like very mountain stands unwavering.[4] (651)

The man of blameless life, who ever seeks
For what is pure, doth deem some trifling fault,
That is no heavier than the tip of hair,
Weighty as [burden of the gravid] cloud. (652)
E'en as a border city guarded well
Within, without, so guard ye well yourselves.
See that the MOMENT pass not vainly by.[5] (653)

[1] *Cf.* XLVIII.; CCXL., verse 603.
[2] = verses 999 *ff.* in his brother's poem.
[3] Namely, in the second stage of Jhāna (Commentary). The Commentary cites *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 161. *Cf. Saŋy. Nik.*, ii. 273.
[4] See CXLVI. and preceding Ps., verse 643.
[5] *Cf.* verses 231, 403, and *Sisters*, verse 5, and *note*. Here the Com-

With thought[1] of death I dally not, nor yet
Delight in living. I await the hour
Like any hireling who hath done his task. (654)
With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
Delight in living. I await the hour
With mind discerning and with heedfulness. (655)
The Master hath my fealty and love,
And all the Buddha's bidding hath been done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (656)
The Good for which I bade the world farewell,
And left the home to lead the homeless life,
That highest Good have I accomplishèd,
And every bond and fetter is destroyed. (657)

Work out your good with zeal and earnestness!
This is my [last] commandment unto you.[2]
For lo! now shall I wholly pass away,
To me comes absolute enfranchisement.[3] (658)

CCXLV

Godatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī, in a family of caravan-leaders, he was named Godatta. After his father's death he arranged his estate, and taking 500 carts full of wares travelled about, maintaining himself by trading. One day an ox fell on the road while drawing its cart, and his men could not raise it, so he himself went and smote

---

mentary pertinently adds being born in the 'Middle Country' (p. 107) to the great 'conjuncture.'

1 = verses 606, 607, 604, 605.

2 *Cf.* the Buddha's last words (*Dialogues*, ii. 173), and Sāriputta's, below, verse 1017.

3 The Chronicle relates that he then and there passed away—lit., 'became extinct'—like a flame going out. There is no 'passing hence' in the Pali term *parinibbissaŋ*, as originally conceived.

it severely. Then the ox, incensed at his ruthlessness, assumed a human voice and said: 'Godatta, this long time have I unreservedly given my strength to draw your burdens, but to-day when I was unable and fell, you hurt me badly. Well then! wherever henceforth you are reborn, may I be there as your enemy able to hurt *you!*' Godatta was thrilled at hearing this, and thought: 'What do I in this way of life who have thus hurt living things?' And he divested himself of all his property, and took orders under a certain great Thera, in due course attaining arahantship.

Now one day as he was abiding in the bliss of fruition, he discoursed to Ariyan groups, both lay and religious, on worldly wisdom:[1]

E'en as the mettled brute of noble breed,
Yoked to his load, drawing his load along,
Though worn by burden past his powers, [unfair],
Breaks not away, revolting from his bonds, (659)
So they in whom, as water in the sea,
Wisdom abounds, despise not other men;
This among creatures is the Ariyan rule.[2] (660)
Living in time, come 'neath the power of time;
Subject to dread concerning future life,[3]
Men go their ways to pain and misery,
Yea, here below the sons of men do mourn. (661)
Elated by some pleasant hap, by ill
Depressed, the fools are smitten to and fro,[4]
Who nothing as it really is can see. (662)
But they who can escape the seamstress fell,[5]
'Twixt pain and pleasure holding Middle Way,

[1] *Lokadhammā.*

[2] It is interesting to contrast the protest of the Indian ox with that of the Hebrew ass of Balak. According to the Commentary, the gist of the 'Ariyan rule' is the sporting maxim that, whether we do or do not congratulate ourselves on our successes, we are not to belittle (*avambhanaŋ*) others when we fail. Herein, in either case, rich wisdom makes a man happy.

[3] More literally, subject to becoming and not becoming.

[4] *Cf.* CII.

[5] *I.e.*, craving (*taṇhā*), who sews life on to life (*Bud. Psy.*, p. 278).

They stand as any pillar at the gate,
Neither elated they, nor yet depressed. (663)
For not to gain or loss, to honour, fame,
To praise or blame, to pleasure or to pain—(664)
Where'er it be—do they take hold and cling,
No more than drop of dew to lotus-leaf.
Hale and serene are heroes everywhere,
And everywhere unconquered [bound to win].[1] (665)

Of him who rightly seeks and nought doth gain,
And him who gains but seeketh wrongfully,
Better is he who rightly sought and lost
Than he who gained by methods that were wrong. (666)
Of them who have repute, but scanty dower
Of wit, and them who know, but lack repute,
Better the wise men who do lack repute
Than great repute and men of little wit. (667)
Of praises by the unintelligent,
And blame and criticism by the wise,
Better the censure of th' intelligent
Than are the commendations of a fool. (668)
The pleasure born of sensuous desire,
The pain that comes from life detached, austere,
Better the pain that comes from life austere
Than pleasure born of sensuous desire. (669)
To live by wrong; for doing right to die,
Better 'twere thus to die than so to live. (670)
They who have put off sense-desire and wrath,
Peace in their heart regarding life to come,[2]
They walk the world from lust and craving free;
Likes and dislikes are not for such as these. (671)
The factors of enlightenment, the powers,
These have they studied and the forces too.
So winning perfect peace, as fires extinct,
They wholly pass away, sane and immune. (672)

[1] This last (*metri causâ*) from the Commentary: *anabhibhava-niyato.*

[2] See ver. 661, *n.* 3.

(*POEMS OF FIFTEEN VERSES* DESUNT)

CANTO XV

POEMS OF SIXTEEN VERSES

CCXLVI

Añña-Kondañña.

REBORN before our Exalted One, in the village of Donavatthu, not far from Kapilavatthu, in a very wealthy brahmin family, he came to be called by his family name, Kondañña. When grown up he knew the three Vedas, and excelled in runes concerning marks.[1] Now when our Bodhisat was born, he was among the eight brahmins sent for to prognosticate. And though he was quite a novice, he saw the marks of the Great Man on the infant, and said: 'Verily this one will be a Buddha!' So he lived, awaiting the Great Being's renunciation. When this happened in the Bodhisat's twenty-ninth year, Kondañña heard of it, and left the world with four other sons of mark-interpreting brahmins, Vappa[2] and others, and for six years dwelt at Uruvelā, near the Bodhisat, during the latter's great struggle. Then when the Bodhisat ceased to fast, they were disgusted, and went to Isipatana. There the BUDDHA followed them, and preached his Wheel sermon, whereby

[1] *Dialogues*, i. 17, *n*. 2. On the prophecy, see a fuller version in *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 72 *f*.

[2] See above, LXI.

Kondañña and myriads of Brahmā angels won the fruition of the first path. And on the fifth day, through the sermon on 'No Sign of any Soul,' Kondañña realized arahantship. Him the Master, later on, in conclave at the great Jeta Grove Vihāra, ranked chief among those bhikkhus who were of long standing in the Order.[1] And on one occasion Kondañña's sermon on the Four Truths—a discourse bearing the impress of the three signs, dealing with non-substantiality, varied by divers methods, based on Nibbāna, and delivered with the Buddha's own fluency—so impressed Sakka the god that he uttered this verse:

> Hearing thy doctrine's mighty properties,
> Lo! I thereby am more than satisfied.
> Most passionless and pure the Norm thus taught,
> From every form of grasping wholly free.[2] (673)

On another occasion the Thera, seeing how the minds of certain worldlings were mastered by wrong ideas, delivered himself on this wise:

> Many the motley pictures in the world,
> Enjoyed within this earth's circumference,
> Inciting, I do note, man's purposes,
> Fair-seeming hopes, and linked with fierce desire. (674)
> As dust by wind upchurned the rain-cloud lays,
> So are those purposes composed and quenched,
> When he by wisdom doth discern and see. (675)
>
> When he by wisdom doth discern and see:
> 'IMPERMANENT IS EVERYTHING IN LIFE,'
> Then he at all this suffering feels disgust.
> Lo! herein lies the way to purity. (676)

[1] *Ang.*, i. 26. For the Buddha's sermon, see *Vinaya Texts*, i. 100 *f.*

[2] *Anupādāya*, paraphrased by *agahetvā vimuttisādhanavasena pavattattā.*

When he by wisdom doth discern and see,
That 'EVERYTHING IN LIFE IS BOUND TO ILL' . . .[1] (677)
That 'EVERYTHING IN LIFE IS VOID OF SOUL,'
Then he at all this suffering feels disgust.
Lo! herein lies the way to purity. (678)

Thereupon he showed that he had himself attained this insight, confessing aññā, and saying:

Brother Kondañña, wakened by the Wake:—
Lo! he hath passed with vigour out and on;
Sloughed off hath he the dyings and the births,
Wholly accomplishing the life sublime. (679)
And be it 'flood' or 'snare' or 'stumbling-
 stone,'
Or be it 'mountain' hard to rive in twain,[2]
The net, the stumbling-stone I've hacked away,
And cloven is the rock so hard to break,
And crossed the flood. Rapt in ecstatic thought
I dwell, from bondage unto evil freed. (680)

Now one day the Thera rebuked a bhikkhu, who had fallen into bad habits through unworthy friendships, and admonished him, saying:

A bhikkhu of distraught, unsteady mind,
Who doth associate with vicious friends,
In the great flood [of constant living] falls
Headlong and drowning sinks beneath its
 waves. (681)
But who, with concentrated, steady mind,
Discreet and self-restrained in heart and sense,
Doth wisely join himself to virtuous friends,
His it may be to put an end to Ill. (682)

[1] Here repeat the two preceding lines. *Cf. Dhammapada*, verses 277-279.

[2] All metaphors from the Suttas—*e.g.*, *Dīgha Nik.*, iii. 230; *Saŋy. Nik.*, i. 105 *f.*; i. 27; *Majjh. Nik.*, iii. 130.

Lo! here[1] a man with worn and pallid frame;
Like knotted stems of cane his joints, and sharp
Th' emaciated network of his veins;
In food and drink austerely temperate,
His spirit neither crushed nor desolate. (683)
In the great forest, in the mighty woods,
Touched though I be by gadfly and by gnat,
I yet would roam, like warrior-elephant,
In van of battle, mindful, vigilant. (684)

With thought[2] of death I dally not, nor yet
Delight in living. I await the hour
Like any hireling who hath done his task. (685)
With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
Delight in living. I await the hour
With mind discerning and with heedfulness. (686)

The Master hath my fealty and love,
And all the Buddha's bidding hath been done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (687)
The Good[3] for which I bade the world farewell,
And left the home to lead the homeless life,
That highest Good have I accomplishèd.
What need have I as cenobite to dwell? (688)

CCXLVII

Udāyin.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in a brahmin family, he saw the power and majesty of the Buddha when

[1] =CLXXVIII. This to enjoin the hermit-life on the erring one (Commentary).

[2] =verses 606 *f.*, 654 *f.*; 604 and 655.

[3] *Cf.* verse 605. The Commentary adds that he went and dwelt twenty-two years at the Chaddanta Lake before he passed away, only visiting the Buddha shortly before that event to announce his assurance of it.

he visited his family, believed in him, entered the Order, and in due course became an arahant. Now there are these three Theras named Udāyin: the minister's son, Kāḷudāyin, recorded above,[1] this brahmin, and Udāyin the Great.[2] This one, when the Sutta of the Elephant Parable had been taught on the occasion when Seta, King Pasenadi's elephant, was publicly admired,[3] was stirred to enthusiasm at thought of the Buddha, and thinking: 'These people admire a mere animal. Come now, I will proclaim the virtues of that great and wondrous Elephant, the Buddha!' he uttered these verses:

Buddha the Wake, the son of man,
Self-tamed, by inward vision rapt,
Bearing himself by ways sublime,
Glad in tranquillity of heart; (689)
To whom men honour pay as one
Who hath transcended all we know;[4]
To whom gods also honour yield:—
So I, an arahant, have heard— (690)
From jungle to Nibbāna come,[5]
With every fetter left behind,
Glad in renouncing worldly joys,
Extracted like fine gold from ore, (691)
Like elephant superb is he,
On wooded heights in Himalay:—
Lo, him behold! Nāga superb—

[1] See CCXXXIII.

[2] It is not easy to elicit from the canonical episodes mentioning āyasmā Udāyi,' which is the last named. Such a personage frequently appears, getting into trouble in the Vinaya, conversing with the Buddha and apostles in the Suttas, but never called 'Great,' or doing anything to merit the title. Conceivably he lived nearer the Commentator's time.

[3] See *Ang. Nik.*, iii. 345 *f.*, where the psalm is also given. Translated by E. Hardy, *Buddha*, 1903, p. 51.

[4] *Dhammā*—*i.e.*, things as cognizable.

[5] *Vanā nib-banam āgataŋ*; the word-play cannot be reproduced. See *Compendium*, p. 168.

For, sure, of all we 'Nāga' name,
(Serpent or elephant or man)
Supremely true that name for him— (692)
This Nāga will I praise to you,
For he 'no sin'—*na āgun*—doth.[1]
Mercifulness, sobriety:[2]
These be two of the Nāga's feet; (693)
Intelligence and mindfulness:
Other two feet of this Elephant.
The Nāga's trunk is confidence;
His white tusks, equanimity; (694)
His throat awareness,[3] and his head
Is insight; testing touch of trunk
Is weighing wisely good and bad;
Shrine of the Norm his viscera;
Detachment is the tail of him. (695)
So musing rapt, and breathing bliss,[4]
Composed in body and in mind,
Composed, this Nāga, when he walks,
Composed, this Nāga, when he stands, (696)
Composed, this Nāga, lying down,
And eke composèd while he sits;
Self-governed whatsoe'er he doth:
This is the Nāga's perfect way. (697)
Blameless in all that he enjoys,
Enjoying naught that calls for blame,
Hath he but gotten food and gear,
From store laid up he doth refrain. (698)

[1] Nāga, whatever its real, not (as here) exegetical, derivation, meant a fairy, daimôn, or mysterious being. The serpent was as mysterious for the Indian as for Cretan and Greek. So was the elephant. So was the saint. The bracketed line is from the Commentary. *Cf. Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 522.

[2] On sobriety (*soraccaṃ;* Commentary = *sīlaṃ*), see *Bud. Psy.*, p. 349. The other two feet are, in *Ang. Nik.*, called 'austerity' (*tapo*) and 'holy life.'

[3] *Sati*, 'mindfulness,' above, is also *sati*.

[4] Lit., 'delighting in inhaling,' a word meaning also comfort—namely, of Nibbāna (Commentary).

Whether the tie be coarse or fine,
Bonds of all kinds he knaps in twain;
He goeth wheresoe'er he will,
Nor careth wheresoe'er he goes. (699)
As lotus born within a lake,
By water nowise is defiled,
But groweth fragrant, beautiful, (700)
So is the Buddha in this world,
Born in the world and dwelling there,
But by the world nowise defiled,
E'en as the lily by the lake. (701)
A mighty fire that's spent itself,
And hath no fuel dieth down,
And of the smouldering ashes men
Do say 'That fire is now extinct.'[1] (702)
Lo! here's a parable the wise
Have taught to make their meaning known.
Great Nāgas, they will understand
The Nāga, by that Nāga taught: (703)
With passion gone, and hatred gone,
And dulness gone, sane and immune,
This Nāga yielding up his life,
Will clean 'go out,' sane and immune. (704)

[1] *Nibbuto.*

(*POEMS OF SIXTEEN, SEVENTEEN, EIGHTEEN, NINETEEN VERSES* DESUNT)

CANTO XVI

POEMS OF TWENTY VERSES

CCXLVIII

Adhimutta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the sister's son of the Thera Sankicca,[1] he left the world under his uncle's tuition, and while only a novice, won arahantship. And dwelling in the bliss of fruition, he wished for full ordination, and went home to ask his mother's leave. Now as he went, he fell in with highwaymen on the look-out for an offering to their deity, and they seized on him as a suitable sacrifice. He, thus assailed, stood undaunted and without blenching. Then the robber-chief was amazed, and commended him, saying:

Of all the lot whom we, for god[2] or pelf,
Have smitten in our time, there's not been one
But hath shown fear, trembled and clamoured
sore. (705)
But thou, who'rt not affrighted, nay, whose face
Shows brighter bloom,[3] why dost thou not lament,
When such a fearsome peril threatens thee? (706)

[1] See CCXL. [2] Lit., 'for sacrifice.'
[3] Adhimutta was a young novice.

ADHIMUTTA:

No misery of mind, O chief, is there
For him who hath no wants. All fear have I
Transcended, since the Fetters were destroyed. (707)
By death of that which leadeth to rebirth,[1]
The truths are seen e'en as they really are,
And hence in death there lies no fear for me,
'Tis as a laying down the load I bore. (708)
Well have I lived the holy life, and well
Made progress in the Ariyan Path; no fear
There lies in death, who puts an end to ills.[2] (709)
Void of delight the forms of birth appear,[3]
Like drinking poison one has thrown away. (710)
He who hath passed beyond, from grasping free,
Whose task is done, sane and immune, is glad,
Not sorry, when the term of lives is reached,
As one who from the slaughter-house escapes. (711)
He who the ideal order[4] hath attained,
All the world over seeking nought to own,
As one who from a burning house escapes,
When death is drawing nigh he grieveth not. (712)
All things soever which have come to be,
And all rebirth wherever it is got,
Nowhere therein is personal design:—[5]
So hath the mighty Sage declared to us. (713)

[1] *Bhavanetti*—*i.e.*, *taṇhā*.

[2] Lit., diseases. *Cf.* Tennyson's *Elaine*:

'And sweet is death who puts an end to pain.'

[3] That 'life is not worth living,' which is Dr. Neumann's rendering, seems to me scarcely sound Buddhism. Life can yield arahantship—the thing supremely worth having, the crown of all previous upward effort. 'Rebecomings are unsatisfying'; '*nirassādā bhavā*' is the literal rendering of the text. We need to leave our own 'saws' behind in getting at the Buddhist standpoint.

[4] *Dhammataŋ uttamaŋ*—*i.e.*, 'the nature of the Norm; in, and because of, completed arahantship' (Commentary).

[5] *Na-issaraŋ*—lit., that which has no lord or ruler; *issāra* is used for a personal creator.

And he who knows that things are even so,
As by the Buddha it is taught, no more
Would he take hold of any form of birth
Than he would grasp a red-hot iron ball. (714)
Comes not to me the thought: ''Tis I have been,'
Nor comes the thought: 'What shall I next become?'
Thoughts, deeds and words are no persisting [soul],
Therefore what ground for lamentations here?[1] (715)
To him who seeth, as it really is,
The pure and simple[2] causal rise of things,
The pure and simple sequence of our acts:—
To such an one can come no fear, O chief. (716)
That all this world is like the forest grass
And brushwood [no man's property]:—when one
By wisdom seeth this, finds naught that's 'Mine,'
Thinking: ''tis not for me,' he grieveth not.[3] (717)
This body irketh me; no seeker I
To live. This mortal frame will broken be,
And ne'er another from it be reborn. (718)
Your business with my body, come, that do
E'en as ye will; and not on that account
Will hatred or affection rise in me. (719)

The young men marvelled at his words, and thrilled
With awe, casting away their knives they said: (720)
What are your honour's practices,[4] or who
Is teacher to you? Of whose Ordinance
A member, have you gained this grieflessness? (721)

ADHIMUTTA:

My teacher is the Conqueror knowing all
And seeing all, the Master infinite
In pity, all the world's Physician, He. (722)

[1] Lit., 'will pass away.' 'Soul' is supplied from the Commentary.

[2] *Suddhaŋ*, pure, unmixed—*i.e.*, with *attā*; phenomenal process only: *dhammamattappavatti* (Commentary).

[3] =*Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 951.

[4] *Tapas*: religious austerities or magic (Commentary).

And He it is by whom these truths are taught,
Norm to Nibbāna leading, unsurpassed.
Within His Rule I've won this grieflessness. (723)

Now when the robbers heard the well-spoke utterance of the sage,
They laid aside their knives, their arms, and some forsook that trade,
And some besought that they might leave the world for holy life. (724)
They leaving thus, within the Buddha's welcome Rule[1] grew wise,
The seven Factors practising and eke the Forces five,
Trained in the Powers, with hearts elate, happy they reached the Goal. (725)

CCXLIX

Pārāpariya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthī as the son of a certain very eminent brahmin, he was called, when adult, after his family name Pārāpara, 'the Pārāpariya' (Pārāparite).[2] Well educated in brahmin lore and accomplishments, he went one day into the Jeta Grove Vihāra, at the Master's preaching hour, and took his seat at the fringe of the assembly. The Master, contemplating his character,

[1] Lit., the rule of the Welcome (*su-gata*), a title often used for the Buddha. For Factors, Forces, and Powers, see *Compendium*, p. 180, called factors, powers, faculties, respectively. 'Reached the Goal'—lit., 'touched (attained) the state of Nibbāna, the unconditioned.' The Commentary adds that the youthful saint went imperturbably on his way, obtained his mother's consent to enter the Order, and was ordained by his uncle. On verse 722 Dhammapāla refers to his own Commentary on the *Iti-vuttaka*.

[2] Connected with, perhaps, but not identical with, the Pārāpariya of CXVI. of the Rājagaha Pārāparas. This one is the Pārāpariya of CCLVII.

taught the Sutta, called 'Practice of Faculties,'[1] whereupon Pārāpariya found faith and entered the Order. After learning the Sutta by heart, he pondered over the meaning, thinking: 'In verses the meaning would appear so and so.' Thus pondering on the subject of sense-perception he established insight, and in due time won arahantship. Later he expressed his meditations in verse as follows:

To a Brother came these musings,
To the bhikkhu Pārāpariya,
As he sat alone, secluded,
World-detached and meditating: (726)

What is there of course or order,
What is there in rite, or conduct,
Which may make a man accomplish
That which to himself is owing,
Nor work harm on any other? (727)
Lo! the parts and powers of humans
Make for welfare and for evil:
Powers unguarded make for evil,
Guarded powers make for welfare. (728)
One who guardeth parts and powers,
One who tendeth parts and powers,
He may do to self his duty,
Nor work harm on any other. (729)
If he go with unrestrainèd
Power of sight among sense-objects,

[1] The only Sutta I can discover with this title (*Indriya-bhāvanā*) is the last Sutta in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. This refers to the methods used by the brahmin teacher Pārāsariya, and then gives the method of 'faculty-training' taught in the 'Ariyan Vinaya,' the Buddha speaking (at Kajangalā, not Sāvatthī), and the interlocutors being Uttara, the brahmin's pupil, and Ānanda. Identity of subject is the one thing connecting Sutta and poem. There is no identity of treatment, and the two problems are set up: (1) Was Pārāpariya paraphrasing another version? (2) Was Pārāpariya Pārāsariya himself?

All the evil ne'er discerning,
He doth not escape from sorrow.[1] (730)
If he go with unrestrainèd
Power of hearing sounds about him,
All the evil ne'er discerning,
He doth not escape from sorrow. (731)
If in divers kinds of odours
He indulge, voluptuously,
Way of refuge ne'er discerning,[2]
He doth not escape from sorrow. (732)
Taste of sour and sweet and bitter
Relishing and pondering over,
Cleaving to desires of palate:
Ne'er his heart will be awakened. (733)
Lovely, luring things of contact,
Touching, feeling, pondering over,
Lust-exciting, he impassioned
Findeth divers forms of sorrow. (734)
Yea, who in these sense-impressions
Cannot guard the mind [recipient],
Sorrow thereby will pursue him,
E'en by way of all five senses. (735)
Body full of blood and matter
And of plenteous other carrion,
So by human skill and wit is
Rendered fair like painted casket, (736)
That the bitter suffering from it
Shows as sweetly satisfying,
Bound to what we hold belovèd,
As a razor-blade, that's hidden
'Neath thick crust of honey-syrup,

[1] The Commentary supports the reading *na hi muccati*, altered by Neumann.

[2] Dr. Neumann's 'Und nicht die freie Höhe sieht' is perhaps unnecessarily free, and is scarcely a good antithesis to fragrant odours, as anyone knows who has left a malodorous Alpine village for the odours of the flower-covered uplands in June.

Undiscernèd [by the greedy].[1] (737)
He who dotes on form of woman,
Taste and touch and scent of woman,
Findeth divers shapes of sorrow. (738)
All that emanates from woman,[2]
Permeating [all men's senses,]—
This and that man's five gates [open,]—
'Gainst all these to make a barrier
If a man have grit and valiance, (739)
He is wise and he is righteous,
He is clever and far-seeing;
For he may, at ease and cheerful,
Set himself to righteous duties. (740)
When immersed in temporal profit,[3]
If he shun vain undertakings,
If he judge it right to shun them,
He is earnest and far-seeing. (741)
Is a work with good connected,
Is his love set on th' Ideal,[4]
Let him take the work and do it;
Other loves that Love surpasseth. (742)
Many, manifold the methods
Whereby man his fellows cheateth;
Smiting, slaying, sore afflicting
He with violence oppresses.[5] (743)
As a strong man plying woodcraft,
Useth nail to smite a nail out,

[1] 'As one greedy of sweet things licking the edge of a razor' (Commentary).

[2] Lit., streams—*i.e.*, her visible shape, etc., objects of sense (Commentary). The Pali is more refined than the Neumann German version, and the dragging in again of the maligned *concrete* 'Weib'—'Wo nieder man zum Weibe sinkt'—is entirely unwarranted by the Pali.

[3] The Commentary upholds the *atho* (in exegesis *tato*) *sīdati saññutaṃ*, adding 'if he lays hold of good of a temporal kind.'

[4] *Dhammagatā rati*—lit., set on the Norm.

[5] Redundant *padas*, omitted in translating, have got into the Pali.

So the wise and virtuous brethren
Use one power to smite out others:— (744)
Faith and effort, concentration,
Mindfulness and wisdom plying,
Five by other Five outsmiting,
Goes the saint from flaws releasèd.[1] (745)
He is wise and he is righteous;
He hath kept the Rule proclaimèd
Wholly, fully by the Buddha.
He is happy, he doth prosper. (746)

CCL

Telakānī.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age, before the Master's birth, at Sāvatthī, in a brahmin family, and named Telakāni. Matured as to antecedents, he wearied of worldly desires, and left the world as a wandering recluse. Seeking for emancipation of spirit, he toured about, thinking: 'Who is he in the world who has got beyond?' and asking questions of recluses and brahmins without receiving satisfaction. Meanwhile our Exalted One had arisen, and was rolling the Norm-Wheel, working the good of the world. Him one day Telakāni heard, and found faith, was ordained, and not long after won arahantship. Sitting one day with bhikkhus, and remembering his own toiling and winning, he declared it all to them thus:

Oh the long days I cast about in thought,
Ardent to find truth [that could set me free]![2]
No peace of mind I won, [but up and down
I fared,] asking of brahmin and recluse: (747)

[1] Here again the German translation misses the point. Satisfaction with the five modes of sensuous pleasure is to be ejected by the five modes of spiritual sense, sense-powers or faculties by spiritual powers. See XV., *n.* 2, and *Compendium*, p. 180. *Cf.* above, verse 725, *n.* There is a play on words in *āṇi*, nail, *anīgho*, flawless, untranslatable in English.

[2] So the Commentary, *vimuttidhammaṃ*, *vimokkhadhammo*.

'What man in all the world hath got beyond?
Who in the Ambrosial hath a foothold won?[1]
Whose doctrine can I to my bosom take
Whereby the Highest[2] I may come to know?' (748)
Caught on a hook within, my spirit hung
E'en as a fish that swallows baited food.
Captured I lay, as Vepachitti once,
The Asura, in mighty Indra's toils.[3] (749)
I dragged my chains along, nor found release
From this [unending source of] grief and dole.
Is there no man on earth who can unloose
My bonds, and make me know Enlightenment? (750)
What brahmin, what recluse can tell me how
To break them off? Whose Norm can I accept,
Able to bear away old age and death? (751)

Behold this load! coil of perplexity
And doubt, the mortal force of it
Wearing the temper, stiffening the mind,
And lacerating with a vast desire, (752)
Fell offshoot from the bow of craving, due
To [forms of false opinion,] twice fifteen[4]—
Behold, I say, how mightily about
My breast this pressure crushes where it lies![5] (753)
The ruck of vain opinions[6] not put off

[1] 'In this world among those who are acknowledged as religious teachers, who now has gone up to Nibbāna beyond Saŋsāra (*i.e.*, consecutive livings and dyings)? Who is established in Nibbāna, in the path of emancipation?' (Commentary).

[2] *Paramattha*, the supreme good, or meaning.

[3] See *Saŋy. Nik.*, i. 220, § 4.

[4] According to the Commentary, the 'twice fifteen' refers to the twenty forms (5 × 4) of *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, or soul-speculation (*Dh. S.*, § 1003 = *Bud. Psy.*, p. 259), and the ten forms of *micchādiṭṭhi* (*Vibhanga*, p 392).

[5] I read with the Commentary *bāḷhaŋ* and *tiṭṭhati*.

[6] The word *anudiṭṭhīnaŋ* is paraphrased by *sesadiṭṭhīnaŋ* . . . *sassatadiṭṭhi ādīnaŋ*.

But quickened by fond hopes and memories:[1]
By this transfixed I stagger to and fro,
And quiver as a leaf blown by the wind. (754)
'Tis from within me that hath sprung the dart,[2]
Whence swiftly is consumed this self of me,[3]
Even this body with its sixfold field
Of contact, where it doth proceed alway. (755)
I see him not, that surgeon skilled, who can
Extract the dart and purge me of my doubts
By subtle probe, and not by other knife.[4] (756)
Can any one, without or knife or wound,
Leaving the members of me all unscathed,
Draw out this shaft that's stuck within my heart? (757)

Master of Dhamma, he, the Best,
Who can the venom's fever-scathe disperse,
Who, were I fallen in the deep, could show
A hand and[5] point where shallows sloped to land. (758)
Yea, in a pool it is that I am plunged,
A pit of dust and mire undrainable,
Extended wide with treacherous counterfeit,
Envy and overstrain,[6] torpor and sloth. (759)

[1] The Commentary reads *sankappa-paratejitaŋ . . . micchāvitakkena parajane . . . ussāhitaŋ*. The other reading, *sankappasaratejitaŋ*, seems more intelligible and less forced in construction. There is an approximate precedent in *sarasankappā* (*Majjh. Nik.*, i. 453 ; *Saŋy. Nik.*, iv. 76). Lit., the 'not putting-off' is 'quickened.'

[2] Stress is laid in the Commentary on the wound being self-inflicted, much in the style of Christ's words : '. . . those things which . . . come forth from the heart ; . . . they defile the man' (Matt. xv. 18).

[3] *Māmakaŋ* = *mama santakaŋ attabhāvaŋ*.

[4] 'Doubts,' as 'the dart,' are here said to typify the entire group of *kilesas* (lit., torments, cankers ; *cf. Bud. Psy.*, 327, *n.*). The probe, *nānārajja*, is paraphrased by *esanī-salākā*. *Ahiŋsaŋ* = *abādhento*.

[5] The Commentary reads *pāṇiñ ca*.

[6] *Sārambha* (*cf.* verse 752) is explained by *karakuttariya-lakkhaṇo*.

Thunder of thought distracted overhead,
And fettering wraiths of cloud about my path :—
The rush of lust-borne impulse and intent
Doth thither sweep me—to a sceptic's doom.[1] (760)
And everywhere the streams are flowing by,
And ever burgeoning the creeper stands—
Those streams whose strength avails to stop?
That creeper who can sever from its root?[2] (761)

Make thee a dyke, good sir, to dam the streams;
See that the mind's strong current ruthlessly
Dash thee not hence like any log away! (762)
'Twas even so for me who sought in fear,
On this side for the distant shore, when He,
The Master, followed by his saintly throng, (763)
He the true Refuge, and with insight armed,
Held out to me a stairway, strongly wrought,
And firm, made of the Norm's pure heart of oak,[4]
And to me toiling spake: 'Be not afraid!' (764)
I climbed up to the terrace where the mind
Alert and vigilant applies itself,[5]
Thence I could contemplate the sons of men
Delighting in that sense of 'I' and 'mine,'[6]
Wherein I once was wont to nurse conceits. (765)
And when I saw the Way, even the ship
On which to embark, and dwelt no more on Self,
'Twas then that I beheld Nibbāna's shore.[7] (766)

[1] The Commentary interprets *vāhā vahanti* as 'a rush of great waters bearing me to the doom-ocean.' *Cf. Jāt.*, v. 388 *f.*; *Dhp.*, ver. 339 *f.*

[2] These are standard similes for 'craving' (*taṇhā*). *Cf.* verse 1094.

[3] *Karotha* is 'make ye,' but one meets with this inflexion in the singular sense, such as the context demands.

[4] Lit., 'made of the pith of the Norm.'

[5] *Satipaṭṭhāna-pāsādaŋ.*

[6] *Sakkāya*, paraphrased as *ahaŋ mamāti.*

[7] *Titthaŋ uttamaŋ*—lit., best or supreme shore—paraphrased by 'the landing-place of the ambrosial great-beyond, called Nibbāna.'

The dart that sprang from self, offshoot of her
Who to becoming leads[1]—to stop all that
The perfect Path [the Ariyan] he taught. (767)
The knotted bonds long buried in my life,
Fixed up about me for so many years,
The Buddha loosed and cast them off from me,
And every poison canker purged away. (768)

CCLI

Raṭṭhapāla.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Kurus, in the township of Thullakoṭṭhika, as the son of a councillor named Raṭṭhapāla,[2] and was called by his family name. Brought up in a large establishment of retainers, he was united, when adolescent, to a suitable wife, and enjoyed a prosperity resembling that of the devas. Now the Exalted One, touring in the Kuru country, came to Thullakoṭṭhika, and Raṭṭhapāla went to hear him teach. Receiving faith, he with great difficulty obtained his parents' leave to renounce the world. Going to the Master, he received ordination from a bhikkhu at the Master's command, and studying diligently developed insight and won arahantship. Thereupon he obtained permission to visit his parents, and went to Thullakoṭṭhika, going from house to house for alms. At his father's house he obtained rancid gruel, but ate it as if it were ambrosia. Invited by his father, he went next day to his home. And

[1] *Taṇhā.* See p. 292, *n.* 1. *Pabhāvitaŋ=samuṭṭhitaŋ* (Commentary).

[2] Because he was wealthy enough to prop up a bankrupt kingdom (Commentary). This legend is more fully told in *Majjhima*, vol. ii., No. 82. It reappears also in the *Vinaya Texts* and the *Jātaka* (vol. i., No. 14). See hereon Mr. W. Lupton's discussion, prefacing his edition and translation of the 'Raṭṭhapāla Sutta,' *JRAS*, 1894, p. 769 *ff.* I have largely profited by Mr. Lupton's translation of the verses. Dhammapāla's brief résumé is given in full.

when the ladies in fine array asked him: 'What are the celestial nymphs like, my lord, for whose sake you live the holy life?' he taught them the Norm in connection with impermanence, etc., repulsing their insinuating conduct:

Behold the tricked-out puppet-shape, a mass
Of sores, a congeries diseased, and full
Of many purposes and plans, and yet
In whom there is no power to persist![1] (769)
Behold the tricked-out form, bejewelled, ringed,
Sheathèd in bones and skinny envelope,
By help of gear made fine and fair to see! (770)
Feet dyed with lac, with rouge the lips besmeared:
All good enough for dull wit of a fool,
But not for him who seeketh the Beyond! (771)
The locks in eightfold plait, eyes fringed with black:
All good enough for dull wit of a fool,
But not for him who seeketh the Beyond! (772)
Like a collyrium-pot,[2] brand new, embossed,
The body foul within is bravely decked:
All good enough for dull wit of a fool,
But not for him who seeketh the Beyond. (773)
The trapper set his snare. The deer came not
Against the net.[3] We've eaten of the bait—
Let's go![4] the while deer trappers make lament. (774)
Snapt is the hunter's snare! The deer came not
Against the net. We've eaten of the bait—
Let's go; the while deer catchers weep and wail. (775)

Raṭṭhapāla thereupon went through the air[5] to the Antelope Park of King Koravya, and seated himself on a stone slab. Now the Thera's father had had bolts put on

[1] *Cf.* verse 1020 *f.*
[2] Here Mr. Lupton has somewhat missed the point.
[3] *Nāsādā* = *na sanghaṭṭesi* (Commentary).
[4] Or, 'we go.'
[5] The older chronicle in the *Majjhima Nikāya* does not mention this feat of the Thera's, nor the father's measures.

his seven doors, and had sent men to prevent him from getting out, and to take off his yellow robes and clothe him in white.[1] Hence the Thera's going through the air. Then the king, hearing where he was seated, went to him, and with courteous greeting asked him thus: 'Master Raṭṭhapāla, in this world men renounce it for some kind of misfortune—illness, loss of king, wealth or family. But you who have suffered no such thing, why have you left the world?' Then the Thera replied: 'The world passes away, is transient; the world is without refuge or providence; the world has no stronghold; the world is wanting and destitute, dissatisfied, the slave of craving.' Thus showing his separate condition, he recited a parallel in verse:

> Men[2] of much wealth I see in the world:—
> Riches acquiring they err in not giving.
> Make out of greed a great hoard of their wealth,
> Yea, hankering yet after ever more pleasures. (776)
> The king having forcibly conquered the earth,
> To the shore of the ocean, holding the land
> This side of the sea, may yet all unsatisfied
> Hanker after the further side also. (777)
> See where both king and full many another man
> Nursing their cravings come to their dying.
> Paupers becoming,[3] they put off this body,
> For never content lies in pleasures of this world. (778)
> Kinsfolk bewail him with tresses dishevelled,
> Crying: 'Alas! would our kin were immortal!'[4]
> Him in his shroud envelopt they bear away;
> Raising a pyre they forthwith cremate him. (779)

[1] The layman's colour.

[2] The metre, till verse 789, is in the Triṣṭubh (Vedic) metre, of the 5 + 5 feet variety.

[3] *I.e.*, in their wishes (Commentary).

[4] Paraphrased by *aho vata* (lengthened *metri causā*, '*gāthā-sukhattaṃ*') *amhākaṃ ñāti amarā siyan* (? *siyun*) *ti*.

He lies a-burning, by forks being prodded,
Clad in one garment, stripped of all riches.
Never to one who is dying are kinsfolk
Refuge, nor friends, nay, nor even neighbours. (780)
His wealth is annexed by his heirs, but the being[1]
Goeth according to all his past actions.
Never doth wealth follow after the dying,
Nor children, nor wife, nor wealth, nor a kingdom. (781)
Never is long life gotten through riches,
Nor is old age ever banished by property.
Brief is this life, all the sages have told us;
Transient it is, and essentially changing. (782)
All feel the Touch,[2] both the poor and the wealthy;
Touched is the wise man no less than the fool.
But the fool, smitten down by his folly, lies prostrate;
The wise man, when feeling the Touch, never trembles. (783)
Wherefore far better than riches is wisdom,
Whereby we arrive even here at the terminus.
For from not reaching the goal[3] the dull-minded
Work wicked deeds in delusion, reborn
In spheres whether high or whether of no account.[4] (784)
Cometh a man to the womb and in other worlds
Findeth rebirth, being caught in Saŋsāra,
Round sempiternal of livings consecutive;
Him one of little wit follows believing,
Cometh to birth both here and in other worlds. (785)
E'en as a thief who is taken in burglary,
By his own act is condemned as a criminal,[5]

[1] *Satto.* [2] Paraphrased by *aniṭṭhaphassaŋ pāpunanti.*

[3] *Anadhigataniṭṭhattā* (Commentary).

[4] *Bhavābhavesu.* This curious term is so paraphrased: *mahantā mahantesu bhavesu.*

[5] Quite literally: is ruined (*haññati*), as being of evil nature.

So is the race, after death, in another world,
By its own doing condemned as a criminal. (786)

For by the charm, sweet and diverse, of sense-desire,
One way or other the mind is unbalanced;
And seeing the evil in sensuous pleasures,
Therefore, O King, have I gone all forsaking. (787)
Fall as fruit from the tree all the sons of men,
Youthful and aged, when breaks down the body,
This too seeing, O King, have I gone forth.
Better the safe, sure life of religion. (788)

Full of high confidence[1] I left the world
And joined the Order of the Conqueror.
Blameless my going forth has been, and free
From debt I live on my allotted share.[2] (789)
Looking on sense-desires as fire alight,
On gold and silver as a [noxious] knife,
[On life] from entry in the womb as ill,
And on the fearsome peril of the hells:— (790)
Seeing, I say, great evils everywhere,
Thereat was I with anguish sore beset.
Then to me, pierced and wounded as I was,
Came fourfold victory: o'er sense-desires,
O'er rebirth, error, ignorance, VICTORY![3] (791)

The Master hath my fealty and love,[4]
And all the Buddha's bidding hath been done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (792)

[1] This is the dominant note in the Pali term *saddhā*, 'faith.' *Cf.* Dr. Neumann's *Zuversicht*, rather than *Glaube*. The *śloka* metre re-enters here. In the *Majjh.* the poem ends with (788).

[2] *Cf. Sisters*, verse 110.

[3] Expansion of *sampatto āsavakkhayaṃ*.

[4] =verses 604, 605, 687.

The Good for which I bade the world farewell,
And left the home to dwell where home was not,
That highest Good have I accomplishèd,
And every bond and fetter is destroyed.[1] (793)

Then the Thera, having thus taught the Norm to King Koravya, went back to the Master. And He thereafter, in the assembly of the Ariyans, declared Raṭṭhapāla foremost of those who had left the world through faith.[2]

CCLII

Mālunkyā's Son.

The story of this venerable one is given in Canto VI. (CCXIV.), wherein the Thera, established in arahantship, uttered a psalm by way of teaching his kinsfolk about the Path. But in this poem the Thera, not yet an arahant, had asked the Master for doctrine in brief, and he received this response: 'What think you, Mālunkyā's son, things which you have never seen, heard, smelt, tasted, touched, or perceived, of which you have no present impression, nor of which you wish you might have sensations and perception:—do you feel desire, or longing, or fondness for them?' 'No, lord.' 'Here, then, Mālunkyā's son, when you do get any sensation or perception of things, you will have just the sensations or perceptions only. And inasmuch as this is so, and you will get no [greed, ill-will, or illusion] thereby, or therein, either here or elsewhere, or hereafter, this, even this, is the end of pain.[3]

[1] = verse 136. [2] *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24.

[3] That is, you can use sense and intellect without craving being engendered. I have inserted the bracketed words from Buddhaghosa's Commentary on this passage in his *Sāratthapakāsinī*. *Cf.* the Thera's emphasis on *taṇhā* in his former poem. The Commentary follows almost verbatim the Sutta *Sangayha* in the 'Saḷāyatana-Saṃyutta' (*Saṃy. Nik.*, iv. 72), where the poem also occurs.

And Mālunkyā's son, showing how well he had learnt that doctrine so summarized, expressed it in these verses:

Sight of fair shape bewildering lucid thought,[1]
If one but heed the image sweet and dear,
The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow, (794)
And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
Divers emotions rooted in the sight,
Greed and aversion,[2] and the heart of him
Doth suffer grievously. Of him we say,
Thus heaping store of pain and suffering:
Far from Nibbāna! (795)

Sound,[3] smell, taste, touch, bewildering lucid thought,
If one but heed the image sweet and dear,
The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow, (796)
And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
Divers emotions rooted in the sense,
Greed and aversion; and the heart of him
Doth suffer grievously. Of him we say,
Thus heaping store of pain and suffering:
Far from Nibbāna! (797-803)

Object, idea,[4] bewildering lucid thought,
If one but heed the image sweet and dear,
The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow,
And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow (804)

[1] See verse 98 and *n.* 'Lucid thought' is better for *sati* than 'self-control,' to which *sati* conduces.

[2] *Vihesā*, aroused, says the Commentary, when the object is the reverse of agreeable. More probably the enmity born of greed. *Cf. Dialogues*, ii. 55.

[3] Each sense is given a separate stanza.

[4] *Dhammaŋ ñatvā—i.e.*, the aspect of cognition as an act of mind, supplementing, or, it may be, independent of, sense-impressions.

Divers emotions rooted in idea,
Greed and aversion; and the heart of him
Doth suffer grievously. Of him we say,—
Thus heaping store of pain and suffering:—
Far from Nibbāna! (805)

He who for things he sees no passion breeds,
But mindful, clear of head, can suffer sense,
With uninflamèd heart, nor staying clings; (806)
And as he sees, so normally he feels;[1]
For him no heaping up, but minishing:
Thus doth he heedfully pursue his way.
Of him, building no store of ill, we say:—
Near is Nibbāna! (807)

He who for things he hears, or smells, or tastes,
Or for things touched and felt no passion breeds,
But mindful, clear of head, can suffer sense
With uninflamèd heart, nor staying clings; (808)
And as he hears, or smells, or tastes, is touched,
Or doth perceive, so normally he feels;
For him no heaping up, but minishing:
Thus doth he heedfully pursue his way.
Of him, building no store of ill, we say:—
Near to Nibbāna! (809-817.)[2]

Then the Thera rose, saluted the Master and departed, not long after so developing insight that he won arahantship.

[1] The rest of consciousness follows its *gocara*, or normal procedure (Commentary).

[2] As before, each sense is assigned a complete stanza. The Buddha, according to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, accords warm praise to Mālunkyā's son's rendering.

CCLIII

Sela.[1]

Reborn in this Buddha-age, in Anguttarāpa,[2] in a brahmin family, at the brahmin village of Āpaṇa, he was named Sela. And he dwelt there when adult, proficient in the three Vedas and in brahmin arts, teaching mantras to 300 brahmin youths. Now at that time the Master, leaving Sāvatthī, toured in Anguttarāpa with 1,250 bhikkhus. And divining the maturity of insight in Sela and his pupils, he halted at a certain wood. Then Keniya, the ascetic, having invited the Master and his band for the following day, made preparation of much food. And Sela with his 300 visited the hermitage and asked: 'What now, Keniya, is a minister of the King expected?' and so on. Keniya replied: 'I have invited the Buddha, the Exalted One for to-morrow.' Now Sela, thrilled with joyful enthusiasm at the word 'Buddha,' sought out the Master straightway with his youths, and after exchange of courtesies seated himself at one side. Contemplating the Exalted One, he thought: 'He has all the marks of one who is either a world-emperor, or a Buddha rolling back the veil of the world; yet I know not whether this religious Brother be a Buddha or not. But I have heard that they who are Exalted Ones, Arahants, Buddhas supreme, reveal themselves when their praises are uttered; for one who is not such a Buddha, when some one in his presence praises the virtues of a Buddha, is irritated and dissatisfied, because he has not won the

[1] Both story and poem form the greater part of the 'Sela-Sutta' in the *Sutta-Nipāta* and in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (ii. 146). Dhammapāla is strangely silent over these older versions. His own version is briefer and, except for the more evolved myth alluded to below (p. 314, *n.* 2), more simple. His use of *ādi*, 'and so on,' seems, however, to hint at a more standard account as known to him.

[2] In the *Sutta-Nipāta Commentary* this is the country about the River Mahī, north of the Ganges. Āpaṇa means 'bazaar,' 'market.'

serene confidence of Buddhas,[1] and cannot endure the allusions.[2] What if I were now to praise the Samana Gotama to his face with suitable verses? So he began:-

O thou of perfect form and beauty rare,
Of fairest parts[3] and lovely to behold,
Exalted One! thy colour like fine gold,
Thou valiant spirit, with the dazzling teeth, (818)
Whose body shows the features that betray
The man of perfectly adjusted parts,
Yea, all the traits that mark the Super-Man; (819)
Thou with the eyes so clear, thy countenance
So fair, broad,[4] straight, majestic, thou dost shine
As doth the sun, the centre thou of all
The chosen band of brethren gathered round. (820)
Thou bhikkhu noble of aspect, whose skin
Resembleth gold, say, what is friar's life
To thee with presence so supremely fair? (821)
A Prince thou dost deserve to be, a Bull
Drawing the chariot of the world's empire;
Lord of the earth from end to end foursquare,
A conqueror, of Jambudipa chief. (822)
Nobles and wealthy lords thy vassals be,
Thou sovran lord of lords, thou king of men,
Take thou thy power, O GOTAMA, and reign! (823)

Then the Exalted One, fulfilling Sela's wish, replied:

'A king, O Sela, verily am I;
King of the Norm, above me there is none.

[1] This is based on the conviction that they have the genuine intellectual and moral qualities required in a Buddha, and that what they teach is true and its results certain (*Ang. Nik.*, ii 8).

[2] These negative clauses are not in the *Sutta-Nipāta* narrative.

[3] In the Commentary *sujāto* is 'perfect in presence,' as to height and breadth. On these proportions, see *Dialogues*, ii. 14-16.

[4] *Brahā;* the Commentary reads *brahmā*, excellent—*i.e.*, in proportions.

And by my doctrine[1] do I turn the wheel
Of sovereignty, wheel irreversible.' (824)

Then Sela to win confirmation spoke again :[2]

Wholly enlightened thou dost own thyself:
'King of the Norm, above me there is none
And by my doctrine do I turn the wheel
Of sovereignty '—so sayst thou, GOTAMA. (825)
Who is the general of my lord the King,
Disciple following in the Master's steps?
Who after his example turns the wheel? (826)

Now the venerable Sāriputta was seated at the right of the Exalted One, his head shining in beauty like a pile of gold. And showing him the Exalted One said:

'The wheel I set a-going of the Norm,
Above which, Sela, there is none, that wheel
Doth Sāriputta after my example[3] turn,
Who hath become like Him-who-Thus-hath-Come. (827)

All that which should be known is known by me,
All culture of the mind, that have I wrought,
Whate'er should be renounced I have renounced,
Hence, brahmin! am I Buddha—one Awake. (828)

[1] *Pariyatti-dhammo*, the Norm in its literary form, or formulated doctrines (Commentary).

[2] I omit from the text the glosses 'thus Sela said,' etc., which hamper the Pali metre.

[3] *Ang. Nik.*, i. 23. *Anu*, in *anuvatteti*, *anujāto*, is intended to express conformity, likeness, and not so much succession in time. *Cf.* the latter term in *Iti-vuttaka* (trans. *Sayings of Buddha*), § 74, where it is applied to children whose lives resemble those of their parents. In becoming an Ariya, says the Commentary, Sāriputta became of like birth or caste (*jāti*) with the Tathāgata. Sāriputta did not live to succeed the Master as leader.

Subdue thy doubts regarding me, brahmin!
Have faith in me. Hard, hard it is to win
Repeated seeing—[as thou mayest now]—
Of them who rise on earth Buddhas Supreme. (829)
And 'tis of such whose advent in the world
Is difficult and rare, that I in sooth
Am one, O brahmin! yea, a Buddha I,
Surgeon and Healer,[1] over whom there's none. (830)
Supreme my place and past compare my work,
In crushing the assaults of Māra's hosts.
All that is hostile lieth 'neath my sway,
And I rejoice for no whence cometh fear.' (831)

Then Sela the brahmin, so convinced by the Exalted One as to wish to take orders, said:

'Now pay good heed, sirs, to the words that He
Who sees, Healer and Hero, speaks to us,
Impressive as a forest lion's roar. (832)
Supreme in place and past compare in work,
Who crusheth the assaults of Māra's hosts:— (833)
Who that hath seen him would not feel convinced,
And were he never so obscure of birth?[2]
He who is fain for me may follow me;
And whoso is not fain may go his way;
But I will in this Rule renounce the world,
'Neath him who is so noble and so wise.' (834)

Then the brahmin youths also, because they had attained to the requisite conditions, replied:

'If to thy judgment, sir, this Rule of him,
The Supreme Buddha, doth commend itself,
We too will in that Rule renounce the world,
'Neath him who is so noble and so wise.' (835)

[1] *I.e.*, of greed, hate and illusion (Commentary).

[2] Lit., 'one of dark descent,' paraphrased as *nīcajāto*.

Then Sela, delighted because those youths shared in his resolve, showed them to the Master and asked for ordination:

These thrice one hundred brahmins with clasped
hands
Beseech thee, O Exalted One, that we
May lead the holy life beneath thine eye. (836)

Then the Exalted One, inasmuch as in past ages Sela, as teacher of just those 300, had sown the root of merit, and now in the last life had produced both his own insight and their maturity, discerned that they were ripe for ordination and said:

'Well, Sela, is the holy life set forth,
Clear to be seen and heard; swift is the fruit,[1]
Wherein not futile is the coming forth
For one who earnestly doth train himself.' (837)

Thereupon the Exalted One said: 'COME YE, BHIKKHUS! And they, by his mystic power endued with the robes and bowl of bhikkhus of long-standing,[2] did obeisance and began their studies for insight, attaining arahantship on the seventh day. Thereat they came to the Master and confessed aññā thus, Sela speaking:

Lo! thou who seest all, 'tis eight days since
We came and refuge found. In one se'nnight,
Exalted One! we're trainèd in thy Rule. (838)
Thou art Buddha! our Master thou! and thou
The mighty Seer who Māra didst o'erthrow.
Thou who all evil tendencies hast purged,
And crossed [the flood of life's eternal sea],
'Tis thou dost aid the sons of men to cross. (839)

[1] *Paccakkho* is the paraphrase of *sandiṭṭhiko*; *akāliko*—lit., 'not-time-ish'—is explained as where fruition is to be won immediately after [each] path, without interval of time. The *Sutta-Nipāta Commentary* explains in practically identical terms.

[2] This legendary feature is not in the *Sutta-Nipāta* story.

Thou hast transcended every cause of birth,
And shattered every poison-growth within,
Thou even as a lion, grasping nought,
Hast banished every source of fear and dread. (840)
Three hundred bhikkhus lo! before thee stand,
With claspèd hands outstretched to honour thee,
Stretch forth thy feet, O hero! suffer them,
Thine arahants,[1] their Master to salute. (841)

CCLIV

Bhaddiya, son of Kāḷī of the Godhas.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in a clan of Sākiyan rājas,[2] he was named Bhaddiya. And when adult, he left the world together with Anuruddha and the other four nobles, while the Master was staying at the Mango Grove of Anupiyā. And entering the Order, he won arahantship. Him (as the result of a primeval vow and efforts on his part), the Master in conclave at Jeta Grove, ranked as the best among those bhikkhus who were of aristocratic birth.[3] And he, dwelling in the bliss of fruition, in the bliss of Nibbāna, while in the forest, beneath a tree, in any lonely spot, was ever breathing forth the exclamation: 'Ah, what happiness! ah, what happiness!' Now bhikkhus hearing him told the Master; to whom Bhaddiya, when summoned, admitted the habit, adding: 'Formerly, lord,

[1] Nāgas. On this term, see Udāvi's psalm (CCXLVII.).

[2] I have not met elsewhere with the Godhas, but Kāḷī is recorded in *Saŋy.*, v. 396, as having been honoured by a visit from the Master at Kapilavatthu, and commended for her confession of faith as a believer in the First Path (*sotāpatti*). She is spoken of as Kāḷigodhā the Sākiyaŋ, and addressed as 'Godhe. It is not clear as to what was the political relation between rāja Bhaddiya and Suddhodana, who, n the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, is also termed simply rāja; not 'mahārāja,' as once in this Commentary. *Cf.* Rhys Davids *Buddhist India*, p. 19 *ff.* Bhaddiya's story occurs in *Udāna*, ii. 10.

[3] *Ang. Nik.*, i. 23. Such had greater difficulties to overcome. *Cf.* *Sisters*, verse 517; *Majjh. Nik.*, iii. 129 *f.*

when I was ruling my principality, I was well provided with protection, yet even so I was ever fearful, nervous, distrustful. But now that I have renounced all, I am no longer in that state.' And before the Master he uttered his 'lion's roar,' thus:

What delicate gear was mine to wear,
When riding on my elephants,
What dainty fare was mine to eat,
Prepared by art from rice and flesh![1] (842)
To-day a happy winner,[2] stanch,
Pleased with what scraps his bowl is filled,
In contemplation, grasping nought,
Lives Bhaddiya, the Godhā's son. (843)
In cast-off rags attired, and stanch,
Pleased with what scraps his bowl is filled,
In contemplation, grasping nought,
Lives Bhaddiya, the Godhā's son. (844)
Seeking his daily alms and stanch,
Pleased with what scraps, etc.[3] (845)

In triple robe, no more, and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (846)
Taking each house in turn, and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (847)
With one good meal a day,[4] and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (848)
Eating from bowl alone and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (849)
Refusing aftermeals and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (850)
Haunting the lonely woods and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (851)

[1] The things specified are types of a life in all these respects luxurious (Commentary).

[2] There is here a word-play on *bhadda-Bhaddiya*.

[3] In every gāthā the three lines of refrain are to be understood.

[4] *Ekāsanī*: one 'sit-down meal' only in the day.

Sheltered by shade of tree[1] and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (852)
'Neath open sky, unsheltered, stanch,
Pleased, etc. (853)
Haunting the charnel-fields and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (854)
Seated no matter where and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (855)
Resting in sitting posture,[2] stanch,
Pleased, etc. (856)

Simple and few his wants and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (857)
With mind content, serene, and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (858)
Secluded, much alone and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (859)
Detached, aloof [from men] and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (860)
With surging energy[3] and stanch,
Pleased with what scraps his bowl is filled,
In contemplation, grasping nought,
Lives Bhaddiya, the Godhā's son. (861)

Renouncing costly vessels wrought
In gold and lac, this earthen bowl
I grasped, and thus the second time
Anointment's consecration won.[4] (862)
Guarded by lofty circling walls,
And mighty gates with watchtowers high
And men-at-arms with sword in hand,
So was I wont in dread to dwell. (863)

[1] *I.e.*, instead of by a roof.

[2] Verses 844-856 enumerate twelve of the thirteen Dhutangas, or extra austerities, optional to bhikkhus. Enumerated in *Milinda*, ii. 268. *Cf. Majjh. Nik.*, 77th Sutta.

[3] Verses 857-861 refer to practices incumbent on all bhikkhus without option.

[4] Verse 97, spoken also by an ex-prince.

To-day a happy winner, see,
At ease, all fear and fright removed,
In forest meditation plunged
Dwells Bhaddiya the Godhā's son. (864)
Firm planted on the moral code,
In clarity[1] and insight trained,
In due succession have I won[2]
Release with every fetter gone ! (865)

CCLV

Angulimāla.

He was reborn in this Buddha-Age as the son of the brahmin, Bhaggava,[3] who was chaplain to the King of Kosala. On the night of his birth all the armour in the town shone.[4] The King's state armour too, so that he, seeing it as he lay in bed, could get no sleep, but was nervous and alarmed. The chaplain that night consulted the stars and concluded that his son was born in the conjunction of the thieves' constellation.[5] At dawn he waited on the king and asked if he had slept well. 'How could I have slept well, teacher?' replied the King, 'my armour was lit up all night. Now what can that presage?'

[1] *Sati*, which is intelligent awareness. *Cf.* verse 794, *n.*

[2] On this 'succession,' see Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, pp. 141-150.

[3] Not identifiable with the Bhaggava, at whose hermitage the Prince Siddhattha first studied after his renunciation. See *Sisters*, p. 2.

[4] I have given this quaint legend—invented to explain a nickname?—in full, as affording a means of comparing the scholastic journalism of Buddhaghosa (Commentary on *Majjhima Nikāya*, 'Sutta 86') and of Dhammapāla. The two narratives differ in details, and are probably mutually independent and approximately contemporaneous. The story was a popular one; it occurs in the *Avadāna-Ṣaṭaka* (No. 27), and is referred to (*Milinda*, ii. 355). *Dhammapada*, verses 173, 422, refer to it, but the Commentary and that on *Jātaka V.*, No. 537, both refer to Buddhaghosa's account. Was the babe brother to Jenta, CCXVIII.?

[5] On this 'brahmin art,' *cf. Dialogues*, i. 16 *f.*, 20 *f.* I do not know which star or stars are meant.

'Fear not, your majesty, in my house a child is born. Through his influence the armour in the whole town was lit up.' 'What then will he become, teacher?' 'The child will become a thief.' 'Single-handed, or leader of a gang?' 'Single-handed, sire.' 'Had we not better kill him?' 'If single-handed, he can be held in check.'

Now because he was born vexing the King's mind he was named Hiŋsaka. But afterwards when what was seen was seen no more, he became known as Ahiŋsaka.[1] Through former Karma he had the strength of seven elephants. And while he studied under the first teacher at Takkasilā, he respectfully waited on the latter and his wife, so that he was frequently with them at meals and so forth. But the other brahmin youths could not endure him,[2] and at length brought about discord between him and the brahmin teacher, persuading the latter against him. Because of his pupil's great strength, the brahmin devised a stratagem for his ruin, and said: 'Ahiŋsaka, you have now finished as my pupil: give me my honorarium.' 'Very good, teacher, how will you have it?' 'Bring me a thousand human right-hand fingers.' For he expected that Ahiŋsaka would for shame bring one only, and could then be punished. Thereat Ahiŋsaka's long heaped-up ruthlessness came to the front, and girding on armour, he went to the Jālini forest,[3] in Kosala, and from a cliff near the high road watched the passers-by, and rushing down smote off their fingers and hung them on a tree, till the vultures and crows had stripped the bones of flesh. Then making a garland of the fingerbones, he hung it round his shoulders as if decked for sacrifice. From that time he was called Fingerwreathed (Angulimāla). And when through his deeds the road became tabu, he entered the villages, and these became deserted. Then the King proclaimed: 'Let

[1] Our nearest equivalents are Nocens and Innocens, the latter once a favourite Christian name. Dr. Neumann's Wagnerian 'Friedreich,' etc., is wider of the mark. According to *Pap. Sūd.*, he was named Ahiŋsaka, or Abhiŋsaka, from the first.

[2] In the *Majjhima Nikāya Commentary* they were 'aliens' (*bāhirakā*).

[3] 'Snare Wood.'

a strong force come that we may quickly take the bandit.' And Angulimāla's mother, of the Mantāni brahmins,[1] said to her husband: 'Our son is a thief and committing this and that. Send for him, bid him to stop doing these things.' But he replied: 'I have nought to do with sons of that sort; let the King do as he will.' Then she in love, took provisions and set out, saying: 'I will bring my son and stop him.'

The Exalted One thought: 'If she comes to him, Angulimāla will kill her to make up his thousand fingers. This is his last birth. If I do not go there might be great loss. I will speak to him.' So after his meal he travelled the thirty leagues along the road, and warning off cowherds and the like, approached the Jālini Wood. Now Angulimāla had just seen his mother, and was reckoning on her finger to make up his number, when the Exalted One showed himself between them. Then said the son: 'Why should I kill my mother for a finger? Let my mother live! Let me rather go for that recluse's finger.' And drawing his sword he stalked the Exalted One. Then the Exalted One exerted such magic power that, even though he was walking at his usual pace, Angulimāla could not, even running, overtake him, but panting, pouring sweat, unable to lift his feet, stood like a stake and cried: 'Stop, friar!' The Exalted One said: 'Tho' I walk, yet have I stopped, and do you, Angulimāla, stop!' Then the thief thought: 'They speak the truth, these Sākiyan friars, yet he says he has stopped, whereas it is I who have stopped. What can he mean?' So he asked:

Thou who art walking, friar, dost say: 'Lo! I have stopped!'
And me thou tellest, who *have* stopped, I have *not* stopped!
I ask thee, friar, what is the meaning of thy words?
How sayest thou that thou hast stopped, but I have not? (866)

[1] *Cf.* IV.

Then the Exalted One replied :

Yea, I have stopped, Angulimāla, evermore,
Towards all living things renouncing violence;
Thou holdest not thy hand against thy fellow-men,
Therefore 'tis I have stopped, but thou still goest on. (867)

Thereat Angulimāla, as the Exalted One stood there revealing his true virtue, remembered what he had heard rumoured about him and, his insight reaching maturity, rapture pervaded his being, like a sheet of water spreading over the whole earth. And saying to himself, 'Great is this lion's roar. This can be none other, methinks, than the Samaṇa Gotama ; to help me the Exalted One is come hither !' he said :—

O long is it since mighty sage by me revered,
A friar, to this forest great, hath found his way!
Lo! I will readily forego a thousand crimes,
Hearing the righteous doctrine in this verse of thine. (868)

And so[1] the bandit doffed[2] his armour and his sword
And threw them down a cliff, into a pit, a chasm.
Before the Welcome One, low worshipping, the thief
Straightway besought the Buddha's leave to be enrolled. (869)
Thereat the Buddha, mighty Sage most pitiful,
Master of all the world and eke of all the gods,
Spake then these words to him, saying : 'Yea, COME, BHIKKHU !'
And e'en thereby to him was bhikkhu-status given. (870)

[1] According to the Commentaries, the bandit speaks these words then and there. At verse 871 begins Angulimāla's song of triumph as arahant.

[2] *Anvākāsi* (*Pap. Sūd.*, *anvākāri*) paraphrased as *khipi*, *çhaḍḍesi*.

He who in former days a wastrel living,
In later day no more so spends his time,
He goeth o'er the world a radiance shedding,
As when the moon comes free in clouded sky. (871)
To whomsoe'er the ill deeds he hath wrought,
By a good life are closed up and sealed,[1]
He goeth o'er the world a radiance shedding
As when the moon comes free in clouded sky. (872)
Surely a brother who in youth doth give
Himself to live within the Buddha's Rule,
He goeth o'er the world a radiance shedding
As when the moon comes free in cloudy sky. (873)

Thus abiding in the joy and ease of emancipation, he went into the town for alms. And men threw, here a clod, and there a stick at him, hitting him on the head, so that he came back to the Vihāra with broken bowl[2] and sought the Master. The latter admonished him saying: 'Suffer it, brahmin, you have to suffer it. The result of your actions, for which you might have been roasted for centuries in purgatory, you are feeling now in this life.' Then the Thera, summoning up a heart of love for all beings without distinction,[3] said:

O let my foes but hear the Norm as told to me,
And hearing join with me to keep the Buddha's Rule!
O let my foes but minister to men of peace,
Who e'en have taken to their hearts that holy Norm! (874)
O let my foes from time to time but hear that Norm
From them who tell of gentleness, and who commend
Affection, and to what they hear, their actions suit! (875)

[1] *Pithīyati* the Commentary connects with the closing of a door.

[2] The *Majjhima Nikāya* gives a more coloured picture: 'With broken head and flowing blood, cut and crushed.' In the *Dhammapada Commentary*, iii., 169, he is represented as dying after uttering these verses.

[3] *Cf.* I., pp. 4, 5. *n.* 1.

For such a foe would verily not work me harm,
Nor any other creature wheresoever found.
He would himself attain the peace ineffable,
And thus attaining cherish all both bad and good.[1] (876)

The[2] conduit-makers lead the stream,
Fletchers coerce the arrow shaft,
The joiners mould the wooden plank,
The self 'tis that the pious tame. (877)
Some creatures are subdued by force,
Some by the hook, and some by whips;
But I by such an One was tamed
Who needed neither staff nor sword. (878)

Innocens! such the name I bear,[3]
While Noxious in the past was I;
To-day most truly am I named,
For now I hurt not any man. (879)

[1] *Tasa-thāvare:* in Childers 'feeble-strong,' but admittedly a term of doubtful meaning. Dhammapāla has 'all beings.' Buddhaghosa says: *Tasā* are called *sataṇhā, thāvarā, nittaṇhā* (having craving and the opposite).

Dr. Neumann, who in these three gāthās takes *disā* to mean, not 'foes,' as do both Commentaries, but the quarters of the firmament (*disā, disāyo*), lets himself go in an invocation to *die Lüfte*, entirely in the style and words of the German Romantic poets of the last century. The result is lovelier as poetry, if not after Thera-precedent, as observed by the Commentators he derides. The Thera's regret is that the men, 'relatives of his many victims,' do not know how changed he is, nor the virtues of that which has changed him.

[2] See XIX. The metre in (878) reverts to the śloka. The Thera, having uttered the foregoing for his own protection (Buddhaghosa), and to deliver others from evil (Dhammapāla), now declares his own accomplished work.

[3] 'I bear' accords better with our Commentary, which gives Hiŋsăkă as the Thera's original name, and Ahiŋsaka as that given him on his conversion. Buddhaghosa's version is perhaps more plausible. *Cf.* p. 319, *n.* 1. It must, too, be remembered that his record was spotless till he tried to pay his college fee.

Once an obnoxious bandit I,
Known by my name of Finger-wreathed,
Till toiling mid the awful flood,
I refuge in the Buddha found. (880)
Once were my hands imbrued with blood;
Known was my name as Finger-wreathed.
O see the Refuge I have found,
With every craving[1] rooted out! (881)
Me who had wrought such direful deeds,
Fast going to my place of doom,
Me all that doing's aftermath
Hath touched e'en here—and freed from debt
Now take I my allotted share.[2] (882)

'Tis a fool's part heedless to waste his life:—
Such are the folk who will not understand.
He who is wise doth foster earnestness
As he were watching o'er his chiefest wealth. (883)
Give not yourselves to wastage in your lives,
Nor be familiar with delights of sense.
He who doth strenuously meditate,
His shall it be to win the bliss supreme. (884)

O welcome[3] this that came nor came amiss!
O goodly was the counsel given to me!
'Mong divers doctrines mooted among men,
Of all 'twas sure the Best I sought and found. (885)
O welcome this that came nor came amiss!
O goodly was the counsel given to me!
The threefold wisdom have I made mine own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (886)

Deep in the wild beneath some forest tree,
Or in the mountain cave, is't here, is't there,
So have I stood and let my throbbing heart (887)

[1] *Bhavanetti*, 'guide to rebirth' = *taṇhā*. See verse 604, *n.* 1.
[2] See verse 789.
[3] Pilinda-Vaccha's verse (IX.).

Transported beat. Happy I seek my rest,
Happy I rise, happy I pass the day,
Escaped from snare of evil—ah! behold
The Master's sweet compassion shown to me! (888)

A child born of good brahmin stock was I;
Of pure and high descent this side and that.
This day the Welcome One doth call me son,[1]
The Master, yea, the Sovereign of the Norm. (889)
Gone is all craving, nowhere have I hold.
Guarded the gates, and well controlled the sense.
Of this world's misery spewing forth the root,
From every poison-taint am I immune.[2] (890)

The Master hath my fealty and love,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore:
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more.[3] (891)

CCLVI

Anuruddha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the house of Amitodana the Sākiyan, he was named Anuruddha.[4] Thus his elder brother was Mahānāma the Sākiyan, the son of the Master's paternal uncle. And he was reared most delicately and luxuriously, in a different house for each of the seasons,

[1] The *Dhammapada Commentary* relates (iii. 170) that when Angulimāla passed away, and the Master heard of it, he said: 'My son, bhikkhus, has reached Parinibbāna.' 'Lord, has he so reached who did kill so many people?' 'Yea, he did evil when he had not one virtuous friend, but when he found one, he strove earnestly, wherefore his evildoing is closed up by good.'

[2] *Cf.* CXVI.

[3] = verses 604, 792.

[4] Both text and legend give one of his names in a previous birth, in Kassapa Buddha's time (verse 910). The Br. manuscript misspells the father's name (correctly given in the *Anguttara Nikāya Commentary*) as Amittodhana. See further, *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 224 *ff.* On the dancers, etc. (*nāṭakā*), see *ibid.*, iii. 225, *n.* 1.

and was surrounded with dancers and mimes, enjoying a divinely good fortune. And when he was summoned with the Sākiyan rājas to form a guard for the Master, he went to him in the Mango Wood at Anupiyā, took orders, and within the period of the rains, acquired celestial vision. Again, receiving an exercise under the tuition of the General of the Norm, he went into the East Bamboo Wood, and studying, mastered seven of the thoughts of a great man, but could not learn the eighth. The Master, discerning this, taught it to him, teaching him the great course of the lineage of the Ariyans.[1] Remembering this lesson, Anuruddha developed insight and realized arahantship, accompanied by supernormal and analytic powers.[2] Him the Master ranked foremost among those who had attained the celestial eye.[3] And he, dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, reviewed one day his achievement. And thrilled with joy, he breathed forth this psalm:

Forsaking mother, father, all his kin,
Sister and brother, quitting joys of sense,
Sits Anuruddha rapt in reverie. (892)
By dance and song attended, by the sound
Of cymbals in the morn awaked:—not so
Were pure religion to be reached, too fain
Was I in Māra's precincts to abide. (893)
And now that all those things are left behind,
Fain with full heart to keep the Buddha's Rule,
Yea, passing over all the mighty Flood,
Sits Anuruddha rapt in reverie. (894)

[1] The eight thoughts (*Ang. Nik.*, iv. 228 *ff.* where the dialogue is given) are that the Dhamma is for one who—(1) has few wants; (2) is contented, serene, (3) much alone, (4) strenuous, (5) introspectively mindful, (6) concentrated, and (7) wise; (8) delights in freedom from obsessions.

The course of the lineage of the Ariyans (*ariyavaṃsapaṭipadā*) in *Ang. Nik.*, ii. 26, is simply contentment with three of the bhikkhu's 'four conditions,' or necessaries—raiment, food, and shelter—and with exercise or study, and selective or pruning culture (*bhāvanā, pahāna*).

[2] A unique variation: *abhiññāpaṭisambhidāparivāraṃ arahattaṃ.*

[3] *Ang. Nik.*, i. 23. *Cf.* above, p. 32, *n.* 2; *Dialogues*, i. 91.

Sights, sounds and tastes, odours and things to
touch,
That please and charm,[1] leaving all these behind,
Sits Anuruddha rapt in reverie. (895)
From quest of alms he cometh back alone,
An unencumbered[2] silent sage; from heap
Of rubbish to renew what garb he hath
Doth Anuruddha seek, sane and immune. (896)
He seeketh, taketh, washeth, dyeth, wears
The shabby gear,[3] this sage deliberate :—
For such is Anuruddha, sane, immune. (897)
He who is big with wants and discontent,
Is puffèd up[4] and cleaveth to his kind,
Displayeth qualities corrupt and vile. (898)
And is he mindful, having few desires,
Contentedly serene and ne'er upset,
Delighting in seclusion, blithe of heart, (899)
Aye strenuous :—his qualities are good
And such as to enlightenment belong,
And he, sane and immune,—saith the Great
Seer. (900)

He knew my heart's intent, the Master, he
Whose peer the world hath not, he came to me
By mystic power with body wrought of mind.[5] (901)

[1] *Cf.* verse 455.

[2] Lit., unseconded, unmated (*cf.* v. 54, 541). The Commentary paraphrases this by *nittaṇho*, without craving. *Cf. Bud. Psy.*, p. 278; *Sutta Nipāta*, v. 740; and *Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 25, where *faith* is the 'mate.' As Anuruddha, in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, is the type of an affectionate, loyal comrade-bhikkhu (Suttas 32, 128), he could not well be typical of the *monachist*, like Ekavihāriya (CCXXXIV.). See also verse 155.

[3] The first Dhutanga. *Cf.* CCLIV., verse 844.

[4] *Uddhato*, often, as here, made synonymous with want of balance, as in our 'swelled head.'

[5] Verses 901-903 are in *Ang. Nik.*, iv. 235, ending the lesson referred to. 'As if made of mind . . . let this body be as this mind : thus by process of will-fixing *iddhi*' (Commentary). *Cf. Compendium*, p. 61, *adhiṭṭhāniddhi*. The *Anguttara Cy.* (i. 28), quotes verses 901-903.

To me, when further truths I wished to learn,
The Wake, the Buddha [that last truth] revealed;
He who in freedom from obsessions[1] joyed
That freedom from obsessions taught to me. (902)
And I who heard the blessèd Norm abode
Fain only and alway to keep his Rule;
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.[2] (903)

Ne'er have I rested supine five and fifty years,[3]
'Tis five and twenty years since sloth was over-
come. (904)

No heaving breath left as He lay;
The mind in Jhāna's steadfast stay,
With thought from every craving free,
Fixed on the Peace incessantly:
So passed the Man Who Saw away. (905)

With mind unshaken, as they came,
He suffered pangs of death in peace;
Stole o'er His heart the last release:
Nibbāna of the unfed flame.[4] (906)

The last things these that now we see of Him,—
Touch and the other senses of the Sage—
No other conscious states[5] shall come to be,
When one that's wholly Wake doth pass away. (907)

Now, a spirit,[6] who in a former birth had been his attendant, seeing the Thera old and feeble, came, out of

[1] *Papañca*, a word here interpreted as simply 'the (ten) *kilesas*, lust,' etc. *Cf.* p. 343, *n.* 4, and *Bud. Psy.*, p. 327 *f.*

[2] *Cf.* verse 561 and *Sisters*, verses 187, 194, 202.

[3] *Cf.* verse 856.

[4] Verses elsewhere ascribed to Anuruddha at the Buddha's passing away (*Dialogues*, ii. 176; *Avadāna*, 100). On the two versions (in *Dialogues*, line 4, is: . . . *yaŋ kālam akarī munī*, 'the seer died'), *cf.* Oldenberg's discussion, 'Studien zur Geschichte des buddhistischen Kanon,' *Nachrichten der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1912. p. 168 *f.*

[5] *Dhammā.* [6] *Devatā.*

her former love for him, and bade him aspire to rebirth among the gods. But he made answer:

> Sojourn amid the company of gods
> Never again, seducer,[1] comes for me.
> Destroyed is all renewal of rebirth.
> Now is there no more coming back to be. (908)

Then the other bhikkhus, not seeing the goddess, were wondering to whom the Thera was speaking. To show his mystic power to them he said this verse:

> He who e'en in a moment by a thousand ways can take
> Purview of all the world, he is for Brahmā's heaven fit.[2]
> But here's a brother versed in power of magic who doth see
> What time [both men and gods], thou goddess, die and come to be. (909)

He now unfolds his former Karma:—

> Lo! I was Annabhāra long ago,[3]
> A poor man working for my daily bread,
> Then I to Uparițțha, the recluse
> Of holy fame, made humble offering. (910)

[1] Addressed, according to the Commentary, to the goddess. In *Saŋy. Nik.*, i. 200, where the goddess's verses are given, Jālinī (seducer, ensnarer) is said to be her name. *Cf.*, however, below, ver. (1181).

[2] The Commentary reads *sa Brahmakappo* as *saha-Br°*, as in the frequent term *sa-Brahmako*, etc. But this seems more strained than the interpretation above, in which, with a more literal rendering, I follow Dr. Neumann. The Commentary does not explain *devatā* in the vocative, but elsewise the verse does not parse correctly. *Sa bhikkhu* I take as *eso bhikkhu*. See verse 1181, *n.* 1.

[3] This episode is the latest recorded in the prose legend of his lives before 'our Buddha's' time. The name Annabhāra, 'food-bearer,' (*cf. Ang.* iii. 122) is doubtless framed to suit the legend or *vice versa*. Annabhāra works for a Councillor Sumana of Benares, who, on hearing of how the former abstained from a meal to feed a Silent Buddha, rewarded him and set him up in trade.

Then was I born within the Sākiyan clan,
As Anuruddha known; by dance and song
Attended, and by clang of cymbals waked.[1] (911)
But I beheld the Buddha, the Awake,
The Master, for whom no whence cometh fear.
In him my heart believed and was at rest,
And from the home I sought the homeless life. (912)
I know my former lives, and where and how
I lived in years gone by; among the gods
Thirty and Three I stood of Sakka's rank. (913)
Seven times a king of men I held my sway,
Lord of the earth from end to end foursquare,
A conqueror, of Jambudīpa chief,[2]
Using no force or arms I ruled by right.[3] (914)
Thence seven, and other seven spans of life,
E'en fourteen former births I recognize,
E'en then when in the world of gods reborn. (915)

In fivefold concentrated ecstasy,[4]
My heart goes up in peace and unity.
Serene composure have I made my own;
My vision as a god's is clarified. (916)
I know the destinies of other lives:—
Whence beings come and whither they do go;
Life here below, or other-where of life—
Steadfast and rapt, in fivefold Jhāna sunk. (917)

The Master hath my fealty and love,[5]
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.

[1] *Pabodhano.* [2] See verse 822.

[3] Seven among gods, seven among men (Commentary). The so-called 'celestial eye,' or sight is dealt with in verses 916, 917.

[4] *Samādhi—i.e.*, of *Fourth* Jhāna—based on his power of *abhiññā* (Commentary). The 'fivefold' quality, according to the Commentary, is not the Four Stages, with the First divided (see *Bud. Psy.*, p. 52), but a somewhat similar list of suffusion of—(1) zest; (2) pleasure; (3) *ceto*, ? will or intellect; (4) light; (5) a representative image. The fivefold Jhāna (917) is not so characterized. I have not as yet met with this classification elsewhere.

[5] = verse 891, etc.

Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (918)

In Veḷuva,[1] in Vajjian land 'twill be
That life shall reach its final term for me;
And I 'neath bamboo-thicket's shade that day,
Sane and immune, shall wholly pass away. (919)

CCLVII

Pārāpariya.

His story has been recorded above.[2] Now those verses he spoke in the Master's lifetime, himself not yet arahant, touching the governance of the six powers (five senses and mind). But these verses he uttered after the Master had passed away, and when his own passing away was at hand. And in them he declared the future of bhikkhus under a perverted Norm.

Now the first stanza was placed by the Compilers.

These be the thoughts that came to a Brother,
Seated beneath the great forest's[3] fair blossoms,
Lone and aloof, in deep contemplation:— (920)

How is the conduct of the Brethren changed
Since when the Sovereign of the world, the Man
Supreme, was yet abiding on the earth! (921)
Raiment to shield from chilly winds, to hide
What should be hid, enough, no more, they sought,
Enjoyed contentedly whatever came. (922)
Whether the food was excellent or poor,
Whether 'twas much or little, they partook
To keep life going, free from greedy whims. (923)

[1] According to the Commentary this was Hatthigāma, near Vesālī.

[2] CCXLIX.

[3] In the great wood of *sāl* trees (Commentary, 948). There was a 'Mahāvana' at Kapilavatthu, at Vesālī, and on the Nerañjarā in Magadha. Pārāpariya was a Sāvatthī Thera; hence one cannot identify the wood.

The requisites for men as living things,
And medicine too as means to live:—for these
Not fervently they cared, as care they did
How to destroy the poisons of the mind. (924)
In the deep forests 'neath the shade of trees,
In caverns, in the bosom of the rocks,
Detachment studying and developing:—
So lived they making that their instant quest. (925)
Of lowly, humble soul and frugal ways,
Gentle of heart, pliant and apt in mind,
Of gracious manner, speech not scurrilous,
Intent on good [for others and for self].[1] (926)
Pleasant and lovely therefore in their lives:—
Their goings, their enjoyments, their pursuits,—
Like the smooth tenour of a stream of oil. (927)
For them every intoxicant was dead,
Mighty in Jhāna they, mighty for good:
Now are those Elders wholly passed away.
Few now-a-days there be like unto them. (928)

From dearth of good conditions and insight,
The Conqueror's Rule, compact of all that's best
In plan and mode, crumbles and wears away. (929)
Bad the conditions and corrupt the age,
Wherein e'en they, who for the life detached
Had made good start, and to the higher things
That yet remain [might follow on],—e'en they (930)
From the swift growth of all that doth corrupt,
Do influence for evil many folk.
Methinks they juggle with [the consciences
Of] fools as devils sport with the insane. (931)
By the corruptions overcome, such men,—
Pursuing here and there what doth corrupt,
As one who calleth loud what he hath got,—[2] (932)

[1] So the Commentary. Ver. 926-8 show the *Ariyavaṃsapaṭipadā.*

[2] The three foregoing gāthās are full of difficulties, which, for me, are not always made intelligible by the Commentary. *Upaṭṭhita-vivekāya* is *suvisuddhasīlacārā pi samaṇā. Sesadhammakā* is, lit.

They quarrel 'mongst themselves, forsaking quite
The blessed Norm, and, after errors gone,
Do ween:—Lo! this is better, this is best. (933)
They who have turned their back on wealth and wife
And child, and left their home, if they but get
Spoon-alms, will do things that beseem them not. (934)
They eat until they are replete, then down
They lie supine, and when awake, discourse
Concerning matters which the Master blamed.[1] (935)
All arts and handicrafts they highly rate
And practise:—such are bhikkhus' duties deemed,
The while from inner conquest they abstain. (936)
And clay and oil and powder for the bath,
Water and food and lodging they present
To laymen, in the hope of richer alms; (937)
Yea, toothsticks also and kapiṭṭha fruit,[2]
Petals of flowers to chew, and curries choice,
Mangoes[3] and cocoanut, myrobalan. (938)
In drug-purveying they as doctors be,[4]
In business matters like the laity,
Like courtezans do they parade their gear,
And play the lord like any noble squire. (939)

'remainder-of-Norm-ish.' 'Consciences' is interpolated. For *sayaŋgahe*, etc., *sasangāme* is *suggested*, as the battle-cry of Māra, captain of the *kilesas*. These, standing for evil or sin in general are greed, hate, dulness, conceit, error, perplexity, sloth, distraction, impudence, imprudence. Dr. Neumann cites only the first, over-simplifying the evil conditions.

[1] Abstemiousness, lying on the side only, and avoidance of certain topics belonged to a bhikkhu's duties. *Cf. Bud. Psy.*, p. 358; *Dialogues*, i. 245 (for 'heroes,' understand 'champions, athletes'); *Ang. Nik.*, i. 114; *Bud. Suttas*, 227.

[2] Apparently a kind of apple. *Cf. Milinda*, i. 262. Identified in Childers's Dictionary as *Feronia elephantum*.

[3] Mangoes, the Commentary says, typify many fruits, such as citrons, cocoanuts, etc.

[4] The practice of medicine and surgery for gain is disallowed for bhikkhus (*Dialogues*, i. 25 *f*.).

Adulterators they, tricksters and cheats,
Unscrupulous, by many stratagems,
In things of this world freely they indulge. (940)
Pursuing ways and methods fit for fraud,
Seeking a livelihood[1] by cunning craft,
They draw together plenteous store of wealth. (941)
To settle business is the Chapter called,
Not in the interests of the holy Norm.
And when they preach to others, 'tis but gain
That is their motive not the good of men. (942)
Many there be without the Order's fold
Who brawl and quarrel o'er the Order's gains:
Insolent spirits they, all unashamed
To live on offerings to others given. (943)
Some too there are who lacking piety,
Though with head shaved, and with the yellow robe,
Yearn all the while to be revered,
And hanker after favours, treats, and gifts. (944)

Thus when so much as now is fallen away,
No easy thing it is, as it was then,
Either to touch and win the unattained,
Or to hold fast what hath been touched and won. (945)
As one who shoeless walks in thorny brake,
Calling up heedfulness at every step,
So should the sage in township make his tour. (946)
Remembering the saints of other days,
And recollecting how it was they lived,
E'en though to-day be but the after-time,
He may yet win the Ambrosial Way of Peace. (947)

Thus in the sāl-wood spake the good Friar,
Well-trained and practised as to his faculties.
Then to the Saint came the Peace of the Passing—
Came to the Seer for whom was no rebirth. (948)

[1] *Jīvikatthā* (where Dr. Neumann's rendering is ingenious, if strained) is paraphrased by *jīvikappayojanā; ājīvahetukā.*

CANTO XVII

POEMS OF THIRTY VERSES

CCLVIII

Phussa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the ruler of a province,[1] he was named Phussa, and was trained in all the accomplishments of noble youths. But because of the conditions to which he had attained, his heart hung not upon worldly desires, so that when he heard a certain great Thera preach the Norm, he believed, and entered the Order. Practising himself in Jhāna, he thereby established insight, and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Now one day an ascetic named Paṇḍara-gotta[2] heard him teach the Norm. And seeing around the Thera a company of bhikkhus all of virtuous conduct, trained and controlled in body and mind, that ascetic thought: 'Excellent i' faith is this system! Long may it prevail on earth!' And he asked the Thera: 'How will it be, your reverence, with the progress of bhikkhus in the future?'

To explain this situation the Compilers first placed this verse:

Paṇḍarasa-gotta, hermit,
Seeing such a goodly audience,
Modest, quiet, contemplative,
Questions asked, addressing Phussa:— (949)

[1] *Maṇḍalikaraññño.* See p. 83, *n.* 5.

[2] The Commentary gives Paṇḍa, Paṇḍara, Paṇḍarasa, as equally valid. Nothing more is known of him; but it may be he is connected with the Paṇḍarangas, a set of 'Wanderers' in the days of Bindusāra and his son Emperor Asoka. *Samantapāsādikā*, *Vinaya*, iii., 300.)

What in the days to come will be your aims,
And what will be your tendencies[1] and what
Will be your customs and observances?[2]
To me who ask thee do thou this declare. (950)

PHUSSA.

List to my words, Seer, Paṇḍarasa named,
And store them in thy mind attentively;
I will pronounce concerning things to come.[3] (951)

Hasty of temper and malign,
Arrogant, hypocritical,
Deceitful, envious, bickerers:
Thus many in those days shall be; (952)
Deeming they know the depths of truth,
While standing at the water's edge.
Flighty, irreverent towards the Norm;
And mutually irreverent. (953)

Yea, many evils on this earth
Shall in the future come to pass.
This Norm of ours so well set forth
The stupid-minded will corrupt. (954)
When in the Conclave voice and vote
Are giv'n, men, tho' in virtue poor,
Will forward be, in backers strong,[4]
Scurrilous and unscholarly. (955)
When in the Conclave voice and vote
Are given, they of virtuous mind
And honesty will weaklings be,
Of shamefaced mood and little zeal. (956)

[1] =*kiṃ-disajjhāsayā* (Commentary).

[2] =*vārittacārittavanto* (Commentary).

[3] Analogous predictions of dangers besetting the Order in the future (*anāgata-bhayāni*, etc.) are ascribed, in several discourses, to the Buddha (*Ang. Nik.*, iii. 105-110; *cf.* pp. 176 *f.*, 247 *f.*, 329 *f.*, 340).

[4] =*pakkhabaḷena balavanto* (Commentary).

Silver and gold, fields, sites and herds,[1]
Slaves, maids and men, in days to come
The undiscerning will accept. (957)
And foolish ones in testy mood,
Lacking in ethical restraint,
Will truculently go about
Like wild things spoiling for a fight. (958)
Sobriety they will not know:—
They will be draped in robe of blue,[2]
Hypocrites, stiff-necked, obstinate,
Chatterers, skilled diplomatists,[3]
Counterfeiting the saints of old. (959)
Hair sleek with oil, and frivolous mien,
And eyelids with collyrium dyed,
And swathed in robe of ivory hue:
Thus will they go about the streets. (960)
The yellow robe, that goodly dye,
That freed souls wear without disgust,
The Banner of the Arahant,
Creates in them but queasiness,
Who hanker after robes of white. (961)
Greedy of gain they will become,
Sluggish and poor in energy;
Finding fatigue in woodland haunts,
Around the township will they bide. (962)
And ever bent on wrongful ways,
Without restraint, as pupils apt,
They'll follow those who get most gifts. (963)
But they to whom no gifts are given,
Will find nor honour nor regard;
Though they be men of worth and charm,
No following will be theirs that day. (964)

[1] *I.e.*, for building, or fallow ground—'*akatabhūmibhāgo vatthu;*' 'herds,' lit., goats, representing all cattle (Cy.). *Cf. Vin. Texts*, iii. 389 *f.*

[2] 'Dyed of inappropriate colour generally' (Commentary).

[3] *Cf. JPTS*, 1885, p. 53; *Milinda*, ii. 258; *Iti-vuttaka*, p. 112. The Commentary in places defines in the same words as Buddhaghosa (*Ang. Nik.*, ii. 26).

Scorning their own, the yellow gear,
Some will wear red of foreign dye,[1]
And others will be found to wear
White robes of some sectarian flag. (965)
Dishonour toward the yellow robe
They in those days will show; bhikkhus
Will not consider what it means. (966)
Want of discernment such as this
Was tragedy unthinkable
To that wise beast who lay o'ercome
By pain, wounded, in dire distress.[2] (967)
For the Six-tusker then beheld
The well-dyed flag of arahants,
And thereanent the elephant,
Pointing the moral, verses spake: (968)
'*Who suffers vice, yet dons the saffron robe,*
Keeping apart from self-control and truth,
Unworthy he to wear the saffron hue. (969)
Who vice rejects, steadfast in virtuous ways,
And yokes himself to self-control and truth,
Worthy is he to wear the saffron hue.'[3] (970)
Immoral, stupid and perverse,
A wanton doer, one whose heart
Wavers, whose mind is overcast:
Unworthy he of saffron robe. (971)

[1] On *milakkhurajanaŋ rattaŋ* the Commentary has *kāḷakarajanena rattaŋ*, 'the nasal *ŋ* being inserted *metri causâ*' in *milakkhurajana-rattaŋ*.

[2] *Ruppato*, dat. of *ruppaŋ*; *sarīravikāraŋ āpajjato* (Commentary). *Cf. Sutta Nipāta*, v. 331.

[3] From the *Chaddanta* (Six-tusker) *Jātaka*, v., No. 514. The elephant, who, it was claimed, was the Bodhisat (destined to become a Buddha), is trapped in a pit by the craft of a hunter, who, to avoid creating suspicion of harm in the beast's mind, disguises himself as a bhikkhu! The Jātaka verses are also incorporated in the *Dhammapada*, verses 9, 10. *Cf. Kāsāva-Jātaka*, ii., No. 221. On the word-play, *kasāva*, 'vice,' *kāsāva*, 'yellow dye,' see M. Müller's *Dhammapada*, SBE, x. 5, *n*. 9. The citation of this ancient gāthā, and its story, by another book of the Khuddaka-Nikāya is of historical interest.

He who with virtue blest, is freed
From passion, is intent in heart
Whose hopes and purposes are white:[1]
Worthy is he of saffron robe. (972)
A fool with mind puffed up, distraught,
For whom no moral code exists:
Gear white of hue doth he deserve.
For saffron robe what use hath he? (973)
Brethren and Sisters, in that day,
With hearts corrupt, and impious,
Will bully and humiliate
Such as have trained their hearts in love. (974)
And fools e'en by their Elders taught
Rightly to wear and use the robe,
For want of wit will listen not,
Perverse and wanton doers all. (975)
And so the fools, instructed thus,
Lacking in mutual respect,
Will not their tutors' word obey,
No more than vicious hack its groom. (976)

Thus in the age that is to come
Will be the course and tendencies
Of bhikkhus and of bhikkhunīs,
When the last time shall be at hand.[2] (977)
Until this time of mighty dread
That now is not shall come to pass,
Be ye of gentle, docile hearts,
Filled with a mutual regard. (978)
Be loving and be pitiful
And well controlled in virtue's ways,

[1] *Cf.* verse 549. *Suvisuddhamano vitakko anāvilasankappo vā* (Cy.).

[2] 'What,' asks the Commentary, 'is the last time (*pacchimo kālo*)? "From the Third Council" (at Patna, in Asoka's reign) is a reply disputed by some. For there are five stages (*yugāni*) in the [life of the] Sāsana: *Vimutti, samādhi, sīla, suta, dāna.* They follow in this order, till only the outward signs (*linġamattaŋ*) survive.'

Strenuous, bent upon the goal,
And onward ever bravely press. (979)
That danger doth in dalliance lie :—
That earnestness is sure and safe :—
This when ye see, then cultivate
The Eightfold Path, so shall ye touch,
So make your own,[1] the Deathless Way. (980)

Thus spake the Thera to his congregation. Now just these verses were his confession of aññā.

CCLIX

Sāriputta.

His story and that of Moggallāna the Great[2] are taken together. Æons ago, in the days of the Buddha Anomadassi, they were playmates, named Sarada and Sirivaddha, sons, the one of an eminent brahmin, the other of a great landowner. Sarada succeeded to his father's estate, but oppressed with the general doom of all creatures, he left the world to seek a path of release, inviting Sirivaddha to do likewise. 'I cannot,' answered Sirivaddha, but he yielded when Sarada, as a Rishi, had been visited by the Buddha. Now all Sarada's followers became arahants after hearing Anoma, the chief disciple, preach the Norm. But Sarada himself, being pre-occupied in mind, was unable to penetrate to the Paths and the Fruits. Thereupon both Sarada and Sirivaddha aspired, in presence of the Buddha, to occupy, like Anoma, the post of chief disciples to a Buddha in the future. This the Buddha promised should come to pass in the days of Gotama Buddha. There is no record of their subsequent kamma, but before our Exalted One arose, Sarada was reborn not far from Rājagaha, at the township

[1] 'Touch'—*i.e.*, 'realize,' Commentary reading *phusantā*.
[2] See CCLXIII. Dhammapāla's account of the legend is here somewhat condensed.

of the Upatissas,[1] of Rūpasārī the brahminee, and on the same day Sirivaddha was born, not far from Rājagaha, at the township of the Kolitas, of Moggalī the brahminee. And because each was the son of the head of his family, the one was named Upatissa, the other Kolita. Both boys[2] were reared in luxury, and excelled in all accomplishments. But seeing the crowds one day assembled for the hill-top fair[3] at Rājagaha, they both, because their insight had attained maturity, beheld how, within a century, all that folk would fall into the jaws of death, and with agitation they decided to seek a doctrine of release. And they left the world in the school of the Wanderer Sañjaya, agreeing each to tell the other if he first arrived at Amata.

In Sañjaya's teaching they found nothing genuine, and pursued their quest, asking recluses and brahmins, till through Assaji the bhikkhu, they found the Exalted One,[4] and were by him ordained with the laying on of the hand and the words: COME, BHIKKHUS. Made Stream-winners by Assaji's summary of the Norm,[5] they had no need to study, for each of the other three Paths. Why? Because of their consummate knowledge even as disciples. Thereby the Venerable Moggallāna, on the seventh day, at the village of Kallavāla in Magadha, overcame sloth and torpor by the Master's injunction, and listening to an exercise on elements,[6] won the topmost point, while the Venerable Sāriputta, half a month after his ordination, won it while dwelling with the Master in the Sukarakhata Cave[7] at Rājagaha; while

[1] Nālaka. Upatissa was his family name, Vanganta his father's name (*Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 84, see above, CCXXXVIII.).

[2] Their close friendship is described in detail in the *Dhammapada Commentary*, i. 90 *ff*. ('Aggasāvaka-vatthu,' on verses 11, 12).

[3] *Giraggasamajja*. On *samajja*, see *Dialogues*, i. 7, *n*. 4.

[4] Fully described in *Vinaya Texts*, i. 144 *ff*.; hence I have greatly condensed the narrative here.

[5] Viz., that the Buddha explained all things *causally*.

[6] I cannot trace this particular exercise in the Nikāyas, but there are several that may have served such a purpose—*e.g*, in the *Dhātu-Saṃyutta*, ii. 143 *ff*.; also 248; iii. 227 *ff*.; *Ang. Nik*., iii. 245, 290.

[7] Or Sūkara. The name is not met with elsewhere. *Cf*. *Dhammapada Commentary*, i. 96.

Dīghanakha, the Wanderer, his sister's son, was being taught the 'Vedanāpariggaha' Suttanta.[1] Thereafter the Master, in conclave at Jetavana, ranked Sāriputta chief among his disciples in wisdom and insight.

And he, established in the position of General of the Norm, working for the good of beings, one day thus declared his aññā before his fellow-disciples :

Whoso according to his powers
Is virtuous,[2] saintly, clear in mind,
Earnest his purpose to perform,
Who loveth introspective work,[3]
Well concentrated and intent,
Lone and detached, blissful, serene :
This man is rightly Bhikkhu named. (981)

When he of food or moist or dry partakes,[4]
Let him not fully satiated be.
Lean in the stomach, temperate at meals,
And watchful let the bhikkhu wend his way.[5] (982)
Hath he but eaten mouthfuls four or five,
Let him drink water :—here is sure enough
Refreshment for a bhikkhu filled with zeal. (983)
Things that are seemly let him get and take :—
Raiment that's worn for this specific end :—
Comfort enough for bhikkhu filled with zeal. (984)

[1] *I.e.*, the 'Dīghanakha-Suttanta' (*Majjh. Nik.*, i., No. 74). It is called as above in the *Dhammapada Commentary*, *loc. cit.*, and in *Sumangala-Vilāsinī* on *Dīgha*, ii., XIV., § 10.

[2] The Commentary paraphrases *yathācārī* as *yato kāyādīhi saŋyato, saŋvuto hutvā carati*, which is merely exegetical; *-sato* is for *-santo*.

[3] *Ajjhattarato*. This apparently curious term—lit., delighting in what is of one's self, or personal—occurs in a verse repeated four times in the Sutta-Pitaka: *Dīgha Nik.*, ii. 107; *Saŋy. Nik.*, v. 263; *Dhammapada*, verse 362; *Udāna*, vi. 1. In *Dialogues*, ii. 113, it is rendered 'with inward joy,' the Commentary only paraphrasing by *niyaka*, 'one's own' (*Therīgāthā*, ver. 469). Here our Commentary paraphrases by 'delighting in the practice of meditative exercise.'

[4] The metre here changes from a long irregular one to śloka.

[5] *Paribbaje* = *vihareyya* (Cy.). Quoted in *Mil.* ii. 350; *Jāt. Cy.*, ii., 293.

And when he sitteth cross-legged on his couch,
If but his knees be screened from falling rain,[1]
'Tis ease enough for bhikkhu filled with zeal. (985)

Whoso hath looked on pleasure as but pain;
Who hath discerned in pain the piercing dart;
Saw no abiding self betwixt the two:—[2]
What world will hold, what fate detain that man? (986)

Ne'er give me one with evil in his heart,
Inert, inactive, and intractable,
Knowing but little of the holy Norm.
What world will hold, what fate detain that man?[3] (987)

He who is learnèd in the holy Norm,
Can understand, is thoroughly intent
On moral base, and knit to inward calm:—
Let him for me the head and foremost stand. (988)

Whose heart is to obsessions[4] given o'er—
A deer seduced by fascination's snare—
He from Nibbāna goeth far astray,
To utmost haven fails to find the course. (989)

[1] This is the first of the gāthās quoted in the *Milinda* as Sāriputta's (ii. 280). Some of them are not traceable in the Canon. The Commentary explains: 'Of whom, so seated in his hut, the rain does not wet the knees.'

[2] Referring to the doctrine in *Saŋy. Nik.*, iv. 207; *Iti-vuttaka*, § 53. The ethical point is self-mastery with regard to the three modes of feeling on occasion of sense. The usual reference to the third mode, neutral feeling, is 'hath looked on it as impermanent' (*aniccato*). Here it is *anattato*. The Commentary has *nāhosīti*: *yathābhūtāvabodhe na attaniyābhinivesanaŋ ahosi.*

[3] Lit.: By what in the world what may be? Quoted, *but not verbatim*, in *Milinda*, ii. 332. Dr. Oldenberg inclines to think *anācāro* may be more correct than *anādaro*, intractable (*Theragāthā*, p. 89, *n.*).

[4] The difficult word *papañca*. See Dr. Neumann's note at this passage and ours (*Dialogues*, ii. 312). The former renders it by *Sonderheit*, *Vielheit*, diversity, plurality. But when the danger in

But he who from obsessions clears the heart,
Delighting in that path where these are not,
He to Nibbāna surely finds the way,
To utmost haven safely steers his course. (990)

Now one day the Thera, seeing where his younger brother Revata[1] was dwelling—a waterless jungle of thorn and acacia trees—commended him, saying:

In village or the wild, in vale, on hill,
Where'er the men of worth, the arahants,
Their dwelling make, delightful is that spot. (991)
Delightful are the forests, where no crowd
Doth come to take its pleasure; there will they
Who are released from passions find their joy.
Not seekers they for sense-satiety. (992)

Again, the Thera showing kindness to an unfortunate brahmin named Rādha, caused him to leave the world and enter the Order.[2] Afterwards, while on tour, he admonished Rādha, pleased with his gentle behaviour:

As one who shows where treasures hidden lie,
So is the man of wisdom who discerns
What to avoid, and utters sage rebuke:—
If such an able guide ye see and heed,
For you who follow, better 'tis, not worse. (993)

Now one day, the Master not going himself to suppress the corrupt settlement of the Assaji-Punabbasu bhikkhus

---

those is opposed to 'concentration,' 'selection,' 'simplicity,' etc., the word opposed to *ekatta* is, so I find, *nānatta*, not *papañca*. *Papañca* is defined as threefold: 'craving,' 'conceit,' and 'error' (*diṭṭhi*). In the *Vibhanga*, p. 390, *papañcitāni* are nine forms of speculation (*diṭṭhi*) about future individual existence, a content shared by the terms *maññitāni* (conceits), *phanditāni* ('vapourings,' imaginings), *sankhatāni* (mental concoctions). *Cf.* my note *JRAS*, 1906, 246 *f.*

[1] *Cf.* XLII., CCXLIV.

[2] This is more fully related in *Dhammapada Commentary* ('Rādha-thera-vatthu'), ii. 104 *ff.*, on verse 76. Rādha is probably the aged Thera of CXXVII., ordained by Sāriputta.

on Kiṭā Hill,[1] Sāriputta went instead with Moggallāna and their followers. And when Sāriputta's admonition was disregarded, he spake thus:

One should exhort, one should instruct, forbid,
Hinder that which is mischievous and wrong.
So acting, by the good is one beloved;
'Tis only evil-doers who take dislike. (994)

When the brethren were saying that he whom the Master was teaching—namely, Dīghanakha the Wanderer[2]—was fully prepared by his antecedents, Sāriputta interposed, saying: That was not so:

Another was't to whom He taught the Norm—
The Exalted One, the Buddha, He who Sees—
For while the Norm was being taught I heard,
Seeking for good with hearing all attent. (995)
And not in vain, I trow, my listening,
For I have won release, am sane, immune.
Nor to attain the vision of my past,
Nor for the means to see—the eye divine— (996)
The mystic power to read the thoughts of men,
Discern decease, rebirth in earth and heaven,
Nor for the ear celestially attuned
Had I to pitch and to adjust the mind.[3] (997)

The next three stanzas were spoken of him, when, dwelling at the Dove's Cave Vihāra, he took no injury from the Yakkha's blow:[4]

1 On this section of the first schismatics, see *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 347 *ff.* *Cf.* iii. 211; *Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 109. The hill was near Sāvatthī.

2 See above, p. 84, *n.* 5.

3 *Paṇidhi me na vijjati.* See Sāriputta's story—his needing no intermediate studies.

4 This quaintly told episode is in *Udāna*, iv. 4. The Vihāra is not as yet met with elsewhere. In that work the concluding three lines are said to have been spoken of him by the Buddha. Verses 998-1000 are ascribed also to Revata (CCXLIV.).

Seated at foot of tree, with shaven head,
Wrapped in his cloak, in wisdom ranked supreme,
The Thera Upatissa musing deep, (998)
His thought transcending acts percipient,[1]
Disciple of the supreme Buddha, he
Thus far in Ariyan silence was immersed. (999)
E'en as a mountain-crag unshaken stands,
Sure-based, a Brother with illusions gone,
Like to that mountain stands unwavering. (1000)

Now one day, through the Thera's absence of mind, the lap of his robe hung down. And a novice said: 'Your reverence, it should be draped around you.' Then Sāriputta, nodding, said: 'Good, you have done well to say so!' And going a little way, he draped his robe round him. And showing that for such as he that was a fault, he said:

The man of blameless life, who ever seeks
For what is pure, doth deem some trifling fault,
That is no heavier than the tip of any hair,
Weighty as [burden of the gravid] cloud.[2] (1001)

Again he showed the equanimity of his mind in respect to living or dying with the verse:

Not fain am I to die nor yet to live.
I shall lay down this mortal frame anon
With mind alert, with consciousness controlled. (1002)
With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
Delight in living. I await the hour
Like any hireling who hath done his task.[3] (1003)

Again, in teaching the Norm, he uttered these verses:

On both sides [of the scene we look,] and lo!
'Tis dying, not the dearth of death [we see],

[1] He was in Fourth Jhāna (Commentary). But *avitakka* is reached as early as the second stage.
[2] Also in his brother's poem, = verse 652.
[3] = verse 606. These, again, come into Revata's verses.

Be it the backward or the forward view.[1]
Fulfil ye then your course, lest ye be lost!
See that this moment pass not by for nought![2] (1004)
E'en as a border city guarded well
Within, without, so guard ye well yourselves!
See that the moment pass not and be lost,
For many mourn in woe that moment past. (1005)

Now one day, seeing the venerable Koṭṭhita the Great, he spoke three stanzas proclaiming his excellence:[3]

Whoso serene and calm, dead to the world,
Can utter wisdom's runes with wit unswelled,
Unruffled, he doth shake off naughty things,
As they were forest-leaves by wind-god blown. (1006)
Whoso serene and calm, dead to the world,
Can utter wisdom's runes with wit unswelled,
Unruffled, he doth strip off naughty things,
As they were forest-leaves by wind-god blown. (1007)
Calm and serene, by vice unharassed; free
From all that hinders clarity of mind,
Lovely in virtue, of discerning wit,
He should End-maker be of suffering. (1008)

The following was said concerning the Vajjians who believed in Devadatta,[4] and approved of his doctrine:

Some[5] souls there be on whom none should rely,
Be they housefolk, or e'en among recluses.

[1] Standing in middle-life and looking at old age or youth (Commentary). In these four lines the śloka is exchanged for an irregular species of verse. Read *ubhayena-m-idaṃ*.

[2] *Cf.* verses 403, 653; *Sisters*, verse 5.

[3] Curiously enough the first is ascribed to Koṭṭhita himself. See II.

[4] On the career of Devadatta, first cousin to the Buddha, see *Vinaya Texts*, i. 228 *f.*, 233 *ff.*, especially 239 *ff.* *Cf. Milinda*, i. 162 *ff.* Sāriputta, who had previously sung his praises, was appointed to proclaim him a renegade, whose very virtues were untrustworthy.

[5] On *ekatiyesu* (Cy *ekaccesu*), see Trenckner, *Pali Miscellany*, p. 56

Such as have once been good and turned to bad,
And then from bad have veered to good again. (1009)
Desires of sense, ill-will, torpor and sloth
In the bhikkhu, distraction of the mind,
And doubt:—five cankers of the heart[1] are these. (1010)
Whoso can suffer both extremes of fate:
The favour and disfavour of the world,
The while he bides in sober earnestness,
Unwavering his concentrated mind:—(1011)
Him, musing ardent and unweariedly,
With intuition fine and delicate,
Zealous to slay the tendency to grasp:—
Him 'a good man' indeed should others call. (1012)

To draw yet other distinctions, instancing the Master and himself, he uttered these verses:

The mighty ocean, the extended earth,
The mountains, yea, the firmament[2] afford
No picture meet to show how excellent
Th' emancipation of our Master's mind. (1013)
The Elder Brother, very wise, intent,
Who after His example turns the Wheel,
Is like to earth, to water, and to fire,
In that he feels no fondness nor disgust.[3] (1014)
He hath the topmost place for wisdom now,
Mighty in intellect, a mighty sage;
Not dull is he though he seem dull of wit;[4]
Ever in blissful cool he wends his way. (1015)

[1] These five 'Hindrances' are here classed as Kilesas, or *kelisa* (*Bud. Psy.*, 310 *ff.*)—so also the (Br) Cy.='*cittupakkilesā*.'

[2] 'That which is divided into East, and so on' (Commentary).

[3] The Master was, deliberately and magnanimously, as equable with regard to things desirable and undesirable as were the elements, unconsciously, says the Commentary. The bhikkhu had to cultivate the earth-mind, water-mind, to the same end (*Majjh. Nik.*, i. 423; *Ang. Nik.*, iv. 374; *cf. Jāt.*, iii. 247; *Milinda*, i. 258; ii. 308, 311).

[4] *Cf.* verse 501. 'Owing to the simplicity of his wants.' Com-

To show the completion of his life's task, he said:

The Master hath my fealty and love,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore;
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more.[1] (1016)

And when he came to his utter passing away, he thus admonished the brethren assembled around him:

Press on with earnestness and win the goal!
This the commandment that I give to you.
Lo! now my going-out complete will be.
From all am I released and utterly.[2] (1017)

CCLX

Ānanda.

Deceased from the Tusita heaven, together with our Bodhisat, he took birth in the family of Amitodana the Sākiyan.[3] And because the kinsfolk said, 'He is born bringing you happiness' (Ānanda), so they named him. When he was grown up, and the Renunciation, Supreme Enlightenment and Wheel-rolling had taken place, and the Exalted One had finished his visit to Kapilavatthu, Ānanda renounced the world with Bhaddiya[4] and the others, and was ordained by the Exalted One. Not long after he heard a discourse by Puṇṇa of the Mantānis,[5] and completed the First Path.

---

mentary, reading, for *mahāmuni*, *mahamati*, and quoting the Buddha's eulogy of Sāriputta, *Majjh.*, iii. 25.

[1] = verses 604, 792, 891, 918.

[2] Ascribed to his brother, Revata, when the latter also was dying (verse 658). *Cf.* the Buddha's last words, *Dialogues*, ii. 178.

[3] *Cf.* the genealogical table in Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 52, where, according to authorities later than Dhammapāla, he is made son of Suklodana, another brother of Suddhodana. Here he is made brother (possibly half-brother) to Mahānāma and Anuruddha (see CCLVI.).

[4] *Cf.* CCLIV.

[5] *Cf.* IV.

Now during the first twenty years of the Exalted One's Buddhahood, his personal attendants were not permanently such. One day it was Nāgasamāla,[1] who, taking bowl and cloak, walked [after him]; another day Nāgita,[2] another day, Upavāna,[3] Sunakkhatta,[4] Cunda the novice,[5] Sāgata,[6] Meghiya.[7] Usually the Master did not favour one more than the others. But one day the Master, seated in the Buddha's seat of supremacy, in the cell of the Fragrant Chamber, surrounded by the brethren, addressed them thus: 'I, bhikkhus, am now advanced in years;[8] and some bhikkhus, when they have been told, "Let us go this way," take another way, and some drop my bowl and cloak on the ground. Do ye know of a bhikkhu to be my permanent body-servant?' Then a righteous thrill went through the brethren, and the venerable Sāriputta arose, and, bowing to the Exalted One, said: 'I, lord, will wait upon you.' Him the Exalted One rejected, and Moggallāna the Great also. And all the great disciples said, 'We will wait upon you,' save only Ānanda. But he just sat in silence. Then they said to him: 'Brother, do you, too, ask the Master for the post of attendant?' 'If I did ask, what sort of post-gaining would that be? He himself will say of whom he approves.' Then the Exalted One said: 'Ānanda, bhikkhus, is not to be urged by others; if he knows it of himself, he will wait upon me.' Then the brethren said again: 'Get up, brother Ānanda, ask the Master for the post.'

1 *Cf.* CLXXXVI.

2 *Cf.* LXXXVI.

3 *Cf. Dialogues*, ii. 151.

4 *Cf. Dialogues*, iii., XXIV., §§ 3, 4.

5 Apparently not Cunda the Great (CXXXI.). He was attendant on Sāriputta till the latter died. He then announced the death to Ānanda and the Buddha (*Saṃy. Nik.*, v. 161 *f.*).

6 *Cf. Vinaya Texts*, ii. 2 *ff.*; *Jātaka*, i., No. 81.

7 *Cf.* LXVI.

8 Judging by Ānanda's account of his term as constant attendant, in verses 1039-1043, the Buddha will have been at this time fifty-six years old. The twenty years of temporary attendance added to these twenty-five just make up the period of the Buddha's ministry.

Then Ananda stood up and said: 'If, lord, the Exalted One will refuse me four things and grant me four things, then will I wait upon the Exalted One. Will he never give me any choice garment or food gotten by him, nor a separate "fragrant cell," nor go if he has received an invitation? For if he do not deny me these things, some will say: "Where is the burden [of such service]? Ānanda serves that he may get clothes, good fare and lodging, and be included in the invitations." And further, will the Exalted One go when *I* have received invitations? Will he suffer me to bring those to him who have come from afar and around to see him? Will he, when I am perplexed, suffer me to come to him? Will he repeat to me doctrines he has taught while I was present? For if he do not grant me these things, some will say: "Where is the advantage [in such service]?" If when I am asked to bring the Exalted One to a meal next day he will not come, or if he will not consent to see whom I would bring, people will put no trust in me, and will say he shows me no attention. And if he do not explain the doctrine and its divisions, they will say: "Friend, do you not know, however much you follow him like his shadow?" If, then, the Exalted One will grant me these eight boons, I will wait upon him.' And the Exalted One granted them.[1]

So from that day thenceforth Ānanda waited upon him of the Ten Powers, bringing him water and toothpick, washing his feet, accompanying him, sweeping his cell, and so forth. During the day he kept at hand to mark the Master's: 'This should be procured,' 'That should be done.' And at night, taking a stout staff and lantern, he would go nine times round the 'fragrant cell,' making response if the Master called that he might not succumb to drowsiness.

Then the Master, in Ariyan conclave at the Jeta Grove,

[1] Buddhaghosa's account of Ānanda's judicious contract (Commentary on *Anguttara*, i. 24 *f.*) is more coherent than that in our Burmese manuscript of Dhammapāla's Commentary. I have used its help in the above, somewhat condensing both accounts.

ranked him the foremost bhikkhu in five respects: erudition, mental vigilance, power of walking, steadfastness, ministering care.[1] . . . And so this great Brother, remaining yet a student after the Master had passed away, when admonished by the bhikkhus[2] and alarmed by a fairy[3]—as has been related above—thought, 'To-morrow[4] the Council will take place, but it is not suitable that I, who am doing a student's work, should go to the assembly to recite the Doctrine with the Masters, the Elders.' Then zeal awoke in him, and far through the night he practised insight on the Terrace. His efforts yet unrewarded, he entered the Vihāra, and seated on his couch, and desirous to lie down, he inclined his body. His head had not touched the pillow, nor his feet left the ground, when in that interval his heart was freed from the intoxicants without any grasping whatever, and he won sixfold abhiññā. Therefore he entered the Council Hall.

Now the verses he had uttered from time to time were collected, and included in the Brethren's Psalms at the recital of the Khuddaka-Nikāya.[5]

The first stanzas were delivered in admonition to those bhikkhus whom he saw consorting with Devadatta's partisans:

With slanderer and man of wrath,
With the mean-hearted and malign[6]
No commerce should the wise man hold.
Evil is concourse with the bad. (1018)
With the believer and the wise,
The gentle and the learnèd man[7]
Communion should the wise man hold.
For blest is concourse with the good. (1019)

[1] *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24 *f.*
[2] *Vinaya*, ii. 288.
[3] *Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 199. *Cf.* above, CXIX.
[4] *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 373 *f.*
[5] The fifth and concluding section of the *Sutta-Piṭaka*, containing, *inter alia*, the present work.
[6] Lit., delighting in ruin (of others). On Devadatta, see preceding poem.
[7] *Pesalo*, amiable, is, in the Commentary, having charming virtue (*piyasīlo*).

The following verse was uttered, when the lay-follower Uttarā was suffering her own beauty to dispose her to sensuality, and in order to make her understand the frailty of the body. Some say it was spoken in admonition of those who lost their heads at sight of Ambapālī :[1]

Behold the tricked-out puppet shape, a mass
Of sores, a congeries diseased, teeming
With many purposes and plans, and yet
In whom there is no power to persist. (1020)
Behold the tricked-out form, bejewelled, ringed,
All sheathed in bones and skinny envelope,
By help of gear made fine and fair to see.[2] (1020*a*)

The next two verses were a psalm uttered by the Thera when he had won arahantship that night on his couch :

Much learn'd in holy lore and eloquent,
The leal henchman of the Buddha he ;
Now hath the burden fallen from his back.[3]
Released, the Gotamid lies down to rest. (1021)
For him the deadly cankers live no more ;
Gone are the chains, the barriers all behind ;
In blissful cool he bears his final frame,
For ever past the power of birth and death. (1022)

Wherein are founded and set up the truths
Taught by the Buddha of the Sun's great line :—
The Path that to Nibbāna straight doth lead—
There, too, stands Ānanda the Gotamid.[4] (1023)

[1] I can trace neither episode. See verses 769, 770. Uttarā, a lay-follower, has a story in the *Dhammapada Commentary*, iii. 302 *ff*, but it is not that alluded to above.

[2] Dr. Oldenberg allows for the *pe*, 'etc.,' in the manuscripts, only one verse (769), but the Commentary gives verses 769, 770, in full.

[3] *Pannabhāro*, 'a fallen-burden-er' (*Majjh. Nik.*, i. 139, etc.). This, a qualification in Bunyan of the new convert, is in Buddhism a culminating event for the arahant.

[4] The Commentary makes a Great Brahmā god vindicate Ānanda's rank as arahant on his entry at the Council by these words. *Cf.* above, Khujja-sobhita, CLXXV. On the Sun lineage of the Gotama clan, *cf.* XXVI. and CXXXIX.

Now one day Moggallāna the brahmin cattle-herd[1] asked the Thera: 'You are very learned in the Buddha's Rule. How many of the doctrines your Master taught do you keep in your mind?' The Thera replied:

Eighty-two thousand from the Buddha's self
I've learned, from brethren yet two thousand
more:
Hence four and eighty thousand texts in all
The number that for me have currency.[2] (1024)

One day the Thera showed a man of desultory life the danger of no culture thus:

Whoso but little knowledge hath,
That man grows old as doth an ox.[3]
His fleshly bulk is multiplied,
But understanding groweth not. (1025)

The following verses he said concerning a bhikkhu who despised another as less learned than himself:

The learnèd man who doth despise,
For knowledge, him who little knows,
Is as a blind man who doth bear
A lamp:—so 'tis borne in on me.[4] (1026)
Wait on the men of learning; look
That learning nowise injured be;
For 'tis the root of holy life;[5]
Hence bear the Doctrine in your hearts. (1027)
Knowing the sequence of the text,[6]
And versed in what the text doth mean,

[1] Ānanda's interlocutor in the 'Gopaka-Moggallāna-Sutta' (*Majjh. Nik.*, iii. 7 *ff.*), where, however, this question does not find a place.

[2] *Pavattino*, 'that proceed'; the better way, in Buddhist psychology, of expressing the popular 'keep in mind' (*dhāreti*).

[3] *I.e.*, not seeking the good of parents, kin, or anyone (Commentary).

[4] *I.e.*, while his knowledge benefits others, his pride darkens his own progress (Commentary).

[5] The fulcrum for saintly effort (Commentary).

[6] *I.e.* if half a stanza is given, he can supply the other half (Commentary).

Apt to interpret and explain:[1]
This scholar grasps the Norm aright,
And well its sense doth ascertain. (1028)
By patience eager purpose grows,[2]
Up surges effort; then he weighs;
Thus timely exercising will,[3]
Within he grows composed, intent. (1029)

Who in the Norm is widely versed
And bears its doctrines in his heart,
Disciple of the Buddha, wise,
Eager to understand the Norm:[4]
Such as he is, him follow ye. (1030)
Who in the Norm is widely versed
And bears its doctrines in his heart,
Of the great Master's treasure Ward,[5]
An eye is he for all the world,
Whom all should honour and revere,
Who in the Norm is widely versed. (1031)
Who in the Norm takes his delight,[6]
Doth love and con it over well,
And lets it live in memory,
That brother from the holy Norm
Will ne'er secede nor fall away. (1032)

1 *Nirutti* here represents the other three *paṭisambhidās* as well (Commentary). *Cf. Sisters*, p. 17, *n.* 1.

2 *Chandikato hoti*. In *Vibhanga*, p. 208, *chandīkatā*, the corresponding abstract noun, is synonymous with *kattukamyatā*, desire to do. The Commentary paraphrases by *chandajāto*. Hence apparently *-kato* signifies 'formed' or 'set up,' and not 'done' or 'fulfilled.'

3 *Padahati*.

4 *Dhammaviññāṇaŋ ākankhaŋ: dhammaviññāṇasankhātaŋ dhammaññāṇaŋ*. *Viññāṇaŋ* is knowing on occasion of, or in connection with, sense-objects. It is probably used here *metri causâ* for *ñāṇaŋ*, for I cannot match such usage of the term.

5 *Kosārakkho*: an allusion to his usual (Commentarial) title of *Dhammabhaṇḍāgārika*, Treasurer of the Norm.

6 Lit., having the Doctrine as his pleasaunce (*Dhammapada Commentary*, 364).

One day he stirred up a listless, slothful bhikkhu thus:

Art thou so heavy, loth to act?
Life hourly ebbing, canst not rise?
To give thy body pleasures gross
So greedy? Whence should come to thee
The happy ease of holy friar? (1033)

The following verse the Thera uttered on hearing of the passing away of the General of the Norm:[1]

The firmament on every hand
Grows dim, yea, all confusèd stand
The truths I seemed to understand.[2]
Gone is the noble friend we love,
And dark is earth and heaven above. (1034)

* * * * *

And is the comrade passed away,
And is the Master gone from hence?
No better friend is left, methinks,
Than to mount guard o'er deed and sense.[3] (1035)
They of the older time are gone;
The new men suit me not at all.
Alone to-day this child doth brood,
Like nesting-bird[4] when rain doth fall. (1036)

The next stanza was spoken by the Master, and the next by the Thera, delighting to do his will:

Full many folk from divers regions come
To see. Forbid them not as hearers of the Norm;
Suffer them to behold me, 'tis the hour. (1037)

[1] Sāriputta. The first part of the verse is put in Ānanda's mouth when passing on the news brought by Cunda, Sāriputta's attendant, to the Master (*Saŋy. Nik.*, v. 163). Verses 1035 *f.* were presumably uttered later, after the Great Decease. Possibly the Br. MS. has omitted the introductory sentence from the Commentary.

[2] 'The doctrines (*pariyattidhammā*) I had well learnt, even about death' (Commentary).

[3] *Cf. Dialogues*, ii. 177 *ff.*, on the need, in bereavement, of *kāyagatā sati*.

[4] 'Gone to its nest in the rainy season' (Commentary).

Full many folk from divers regions come
To see. The Master opportunity
Doth give. The Man who Sees forbiddeth
none.[1] (1038)

The next five stanzas were spoken to show his position as chief attendant:

For five-and-twenty years a learner I;
No sensual consciousness arose in me.
O see the seemly order of the Norm![2] (1039)
For five-and-twenty years a learner I;
No hostile consciousness arose in me.
O see the seemly order of the Norm! (1040)
For five-and-twenty years on the Exalted One
I waited, serving him by loving deeds,
And like his shadow followed after him. (1041)
For five-and-twenty years on the Exalted One
I waited, serving him with loving speech,
And like his shadow followed after him. (1042)
For five-and-twenty years on the Exalted One
I waited, serving him with loving thoughts,
And like his shadow followed after him. (1043)
When pacing up and down, the Buddha walked,
Behind his back I kept the pace alway;
And when the Norm was being taught, in me
Knowledge and understanding of it grew. (1044)

But I am one who yet has work to do,
A learner with a mind not yet matured;
And now the Master hence hath passed away,
Who e'er to me such sweet compassion
showed![3] (1045)

O! then was terror, then was mighty dread,
Then stiffened hair and quivered creeping nerve,

1 *Cf.* Ānanda's sixth request, p. 351.

2 *Cf.* XXIV., *n.*

3 *Cf. Dialogues*, ii. 158 *f.*, where Ānanda laments and the Master comforts him; again *ibid.*, p. 177, for the next verse.

When he, endowed with every crowning grace
The All-Enlightened Buddha passed away. (1046)

The three following stanzas were added by the members of the Council in praise of the Thera :

Who in the Norm is widely versed,
And bears its doctrines in his heart—
Of the great Master's treasure Ward—
An eye was he for all the world,
Ānanda, who is passed away. (1047)
Who in the Norm is widely versed,
And bears its doctrines in his heart—
Of the great Master's treasure Ward—
An eye was he for all the world,
Dispelling gloom in darkest place. (1048)
Sage of the tireless ministry,
Foremost in mindful vigilance,
Foremost in steadfast fortitude,[1]
Upholder of the holy Norm,
Of all its jewels living mine :—
Our Elder Brother, Ānanda. (1049)

And this verse he said as he lay a-dying his last death :

The Master hath my fealty and love,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more.[2] (1050)

[1] *Gatimanto, satīmanto, dhitimanto*, strictly nominative plurals, are explained in the Commentary as adjectives to *isi*, and are presumably a poetic liberty. The first is explained as *paññāṇagati*. Buddhaghosa, however (Commentary on *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24), dwells on Ānanda's untiring activity and readiness to act in his Master's service.

[2] See verse 1016 and notes there given.

CANTO XVIII

PSALM OF FORTY VERSES

CCLXI

Kassapa the Great.[1]

OUR Master had already arisen, and was turning the Wheel of the Norm, and staying at Rājagaha, when at the brahmin village of Mahā-tittha in Magadha, this Thera was reborn as Pippali-māṇava, the son of the chief wife of Kapila the brahmin. Four years later Bhaddā Kapilānī was reborn of the chief wife of the Kosiya-gotta brahmin at Sāgalā in the kingdom of Madda.[2] Now Pippali-māṇava refused to marry. 'While you live,' he told his parents, 'I will take care of you: afterwards I shall leave the world.' But to appease his mother he had a statue made of a beautiful maiden, dressed in crimson and ornaments, and showed it her saying: 'Mother, if I find anyone like this, I will lead the domestic life.' His mother was a clever lady, and sent brahmins forth, with the statue, on that quest. They came to Sāgalā, and setting the statue by the river's edge, sat down apart. Now Bhaddā's nurse, who had bathed her charge, and gone down again for her own bath, saw the statue, and thinking: 'What! is my

[1] The legend, in their former and their last lives, of Mahā-Kassapa and his wife (see *Sisters*, p. 47 *ff.*), itself fit subject for a poem, is too long to reproduce in full, and is here greatly condensed. It follows very closely the version given in the Commentary on the *Ang. Nik.*, i. 23. Under Vipassi-Buddha they were a brahmin couple, with but one cloak between them for outdoor wear. This Kassapa presented to the Buddha. They were husband and wife in many rebirths.

[2] *Cf. Jāt.* v. (No. 531), 283, 289 ; vi. (No. 545), 280.

young lady so ill bred?' slapped it on the cheek, and discovered it was not Bhaddā, but a gold statue. The brahmins accosted her, inquiring about her mistress, and she brought them to the house of Kosiyagotta, where they were made welcome. And they sent word to Kapila: 'We have got the maiden; do you act accordingly.' But Pippali-māṇava and Bhaddā, being both unwilling to marry, wrote secretly each to the other, thus—He: 'Bhaddā!' and she: 'Sir!' 'May you obtain a ménage suitable to your birth and fortune. I shall leave the world. Do not act so as to regret hereafter.' Now the two letter-bearers met, questioned each other, read the letters, and said: 'Look at the work of these children!' Throwing away the letters in the forest, they wrote others and took them. So the marriage was celebrated. But the wedded pair spent the night separated by a chain of flowers. And when Pippali-māṇava's parents died, he and Bhaddā decided one day, after they had dined and talked together, to renounce the world.

And they got out yellow raiment from their wardrobes, and cut off each other's hair, slung bowls from their shoulder, passed out through their weeping servants, to all of whom they gave their freedom, and departed together, Pippali-māṇava walking in front.

And looking back, he thought: 'Here is Bhaddā Kapilānī, a woman worth the whole of India, walking at my heels. Someone seeing us will think: "These have renounced the world, but cannot do without each other." So, falsely accusing us, they may incur danger of purgatory.' And he told Bhaddā this, and she agreed that a woman must needs be a hindrance to the male recluse. So they settled, at the cross roads, that he should go right and she left. Then the earth, though it could bear all Sineru, trembled at the weight of such virtue.[1] And the supreme Buddha, seated in the fragrant chamber of the great vihāra in the Bamboo Wood, knew what the earthquake signified, and gathering eighty chief Theras

[1] The second of the eight causes of earthquakes in *Dialogues*, ii. 144.

together, he walked three leagues on the road, and seated himself at the foot of the Bahuputtaka Banyan,[1] between Rājagaha and Nālandā. And though he was clad in a ragged robe, the Buddha-rays shone forth from him and darted to and fro, and the tree took on different colours. Then Kassapa the Great[2] perceived: 'This will be our Master, through whom I have left the world.' And bending low, he said: 'The lord, the Exalted One, is my Master! I am his disciple.' And the Exalted One said: 'Sit, Kassapa, and I will show thee thine inheritance.' And in three homilies he gave him ordination. So they returned to Rājagaha, Kassapa exchanging his new robe for the Master's old one,[3] and with humility and zeal determining to practise the thirteen dhutangas.[4] And on the eighth day thereafter he won arahantship with thorough grasp of the spirit and letter of the Norm. Him the Master pronounced chief among those who undertook the extra austerities. And he, by way of showing the charm of detachment, told his experiences, in admonishing the brethren, thus:

I.

On seeing bhikkhus mingling with crowds, and frequenting laymen's houses:

Walk not where many folk would make thee
chief.
Dizzy the mind becomes,[5] and hard to win
Is concentrated thought. And he who knows:
'Ill bodes the company of many folk,'
Will keep himself aloof from haunt of crowds. (1051)

[1] *I.e.*, of the Many Sons; presumably (with its Cetiya) a votive tree for parents praying for offspring.

[2] Here the name he is known by suddenly appears. It was presumably that of his gens.

[3] One gathers that the Buddha wore the ragged robe intentionally. The episode is described in charming detail, but is omitted for brevity.

[4] See p. 317, *n*. 2.

[5] *Vimano, vikāribhūtacitto* (Cy.).

Go not, O sage, to hearths of citizens.
Who[1] greedy seeks to taste life's feast entire,
Neglects the good that brings true happiness. (1052)
A treacherous bog it is, this patronage
Of bows and gifts and treats from wealthy folk.
'Tis like a fine dart, bedded in the flesh,
For erring human hard to extricate. (1053)

II.

An exhortation to bhikkhus to practice content respecting the four necessaries of life:

Down from my mountain-lodge[2] I came one day
And made my round for alms about the streets.
A leper there I saw eating his meal,
[And as was meet, that he might have a chance,[3]]
In [silent] courtesy I halted at his side. (1054)
He with his hand all leprous and diseased
Put in my bowl a morsel; as he threw,
A finger, mortifying, broke and fell. (1055)
Leaning against a wall I ate my share,
Nor at the time nor after felt disgust. (1056)
For only he who taketh as they come
The scraps of food, medicine from excrement,[4]
The couch beneath the tree, the patchwork robe,
Stands as a man in north, south, east, or west. (1057)

III.

When he was asked, in his latter years: 'How is your reverence able at your time of life day after day to climb the hills?

Where some do perish as they climb the rocks,
Heir of the Buddha,[5] mindful, self-possessed,

[1] *Cf.* verse 124, and CCXXIX., verses 494, 495.
[2] *Pabbatasenāsanattā* (Commentary). Quoted in the *Milinda*, ii. 330.
[3] A chance of winning the distinction of ministering to an arahant (so the Commentary).
[4] *Gomuttaparibhāvitaharitakādi* (Cy.).
[5] *Cf.* XVIII.

By forces of the spirit fortified,
Doth Kassapa ascend the mountain brow. (1058)
Returning from the daily round for alms,
Kassapa mounts some craggy coign and sits
In meditation rapt, nor clutching aught,
For far from him hath he put fear and dread. (1059)
So[1] mounting to some craggy coign he sits,
In meditation rapt, nor clutches aught,
For he 'mong those that burn is cool and still. (1060)
So[1] mounting to some craggy coign he sits,
In meditation rapt, nor clutches aught;
His task is done, and he is sane, immune. (1061)

IV.

On being asked further: 'But why does your reverence at your time of life dwell in the mountain-jungle? Is not the Bamboo Grove, or others like it pleasant to you? he replied:

Those upland glades delightful to the soul,
Where the kareri spreads its wildering wreaths,[2]
Where sound the trumpet-calls of elephants:
Those are the braes wherein my soul delights. (1062)

[1] The text repeats also the line, 'Returning,' etc.

[2] The *kareri* is called in Childers' Dictionary—I do not know on what authority; it is apparently not in Sanskrit literature—the *Capparis trifoliata* tree. It gave the name to a pavilion, or *maṇḍala-māla*, in the Jeta Grove at Sāvatthī (*Dialogues*, ii. 4; *Udāna*, iii. 8). From the expression above, *karerimālā-vitatā*, I am much tempted to see in the plant the musk rose-tree (*Rosa moschata*) of Nepal and the North-Western Himālayas, which is still known in some dialects as *karer*, and is thus described in Dietrich Brandis's *Indian Trees* (London, 1906): 'A thorny shrub climbing to the tops of lofty trees, flowering branches hanging down in rich festoons. Flowers, white, . . . in large compound terminal corymbs. Found at a height of from two to eleven thousand feet. Nearly allied to the *Rosa sempervirens* of the Mediterranean region.' Could the 'caper' tree be described as making a glade *mālāvitatā*, 'enwebbed' or 'festooned with wreaths,' as well as a climbing rose?

Those rocky heights with hue of dark blue
clouds,
Where lies embosomed many a shining tarn
Of crystal-clear, cool waters, and whose slopes
The 'herds of Indra' cover and bedeck:
Those are the braes wherein my soul delights.[1] (1063)
Like serried battlements of blue-black cloud,
Like pinnacles on stately castle built,
Re-echoing to the cries of jungle folk:
Those are the braes wherein my soul delights. (1064)
Fair uplands rain-refreshed, and resonant
With crested creatures' cries antiphonal,
Lone heights where silent Rishis oft resort:
Those are the braes wherein my soul delights. (1065)

Here is enough for me who fain would dwell
In meditation rapt, mindful and tense.
Here is enough for me, who fain would seek
The highest good, a brother filled with zeal. (1066)
Here is enough for me, who fain would dwell
In happy ease, a brother filled with zeal.
Here is enough for me who give myself
To studious toil, so am I filled with zeal. (1067)
Clad with the azure bloom of flax, blue-flecked
As sky in autumn; quick with crowds
Of all their varied wingèd populace:
Such are the braes wherein my soul delights. (1068)
Free from the crowds of citizens below,
But thronged with flocks of many wingèd things,
The home of herding creatures of the wild:
Such are the braes wherein my soul delights. (1069)
Crags[2] where clear waters lie, a rocky world,
Haunted by black-faced apes and timid deer,
Where 'neath bright blossoms run the silver streams:
Such are the braes wherein my soul delights. (1070)

[1] = XIII., Vaccha of the Woods.

[2] = CXIII., Vaccha of the Woods and CCXL., verse 601, Sankicca.

For that which brings me exquisite delight
Is not the strains of string and pipe and drum,[1]
But when, with intellect well poised, intent,
I gain the perfect vision of the Norm. (1071)

V.

When admonishing bhikkhus delighting in secular activities and greedy as to gifts of things needful for life, he said :

Let not a brother occupy himself
With busy works ; let him keep clear of folk,
Nor strive [to copy nor to emulate].
Who greedy seeks to taste life's feast entire,
Neglects the good that brings true happiness.[2] (1072)
Let not a brother occupy himself
With busy works ; let him keep clear of this
That nowise tendeth to his real good ;
The body toils and suffers weariness,
And thus afflicted he attains no calm. (1073)

VI.

The following verses were spoken to admonish on certain occasions :

By mere repeating with a muttering lip,[3]
We see not e'en ourselves for what we are ;
And so, stiff-necked, we go about and deem :
'A better man am I than he, than they!' (1074)
No better, truly, is the fool, and yet
He deems himself to be the better man.
But him, poor creature of a stiff-necked mind,
Commend not they who truly understand. (1075)

[1] Lit., the five kinds of musical instruments ; = verse 398.
[2] *Cf.* verses 494, 1052.
[3] *Oṭṭhapahatamattena, sajjhāyakaraṇavasena* (Commentary). *Cf.* *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 164.

Who is not exercised about himself,
In this way or in that:[1]—'the better man
Am I'; 'no better, I'; or 'I am worse,'
Or yet again 'I am as good as he'— (1076)
He who doth really know, and speaketh truth,[2]
Whose heart in righteousness is well composed,
And holdeth fast the saint's serenity,[3]
Him do they praise, who truly understand. (1077)

He who among his fellow-brethren wins
No reverence, is far from the good Norm
As is the firmament far from the earth.[4] (1078)
But they who well have planted modesty
And eke discretion alway in their heart,
They in the holy life do richly thrive;
For them rebirths are ever at an end. (1079)

A brother who, though clad in patchwork robe,
Is of a puffed-up and unsteady mind,
As 'twere a monkey in a lion's hide,
No glory from his gear august doth gain. (1080)
But who, with uninflated, steadfast mind,
Is prudent, with his senses well controlled,
He shineth glorious in a patchwork robe,
As lion in the sombre mountain cave. (1081)

VII.

On witnessing the gods of the Brahmā world doing obeisance to the Venerable Sāriputta, and marking how the Venerable Kappina smiled:

See how they stand, those thronging deities
Of mystic potency and glorious,
Ten times a thousand, all of Brahmā's heaven, (1082)

[1] *Vidhāsu.* Nine such modes of self-conceit are documented in *Vibhanga*, p. 389. *Cf. Bud. Psy.*, § 1116; *Ang. Nik.*, iii. 359.

[2] The Commentary reads, not *tathāvādiŋ*, but *tathā tādiŋ : iṭṭhādis ι tādi-bhāvappattiyā.* The former reading is less forced.

[3] *Arahattaphalasamāpattisamāpajjanena* . . . (Commentary).

[4] = verse 278.

Around our valiant Captain of the Norm,
Great son of Sārī, calm and rapt in thought,
Acclaiming him with claspèd hands upraised:— (1083)
'Hail thou, humanity's aristocrat!
Glory to thee, O thou supremest man!
Lo! past our thinking are thy ranging thoughts; (1084)
O wondrous are th' Enlightened of the world![1]
Their intuition, how profoundly deep,
Beyond the powers to which we testify,
Though we be skilled as archer splitting hairs!'[2] (1085)

Then, seeing Sāriputta thus adored
By hosts divine, saint most adorable,
A smile stole o'er the face of Kappina.[3] (1086)

VIII.

The Thera's 'lion's roar' concerning himself:

In the whole field of Buddha's following,
Saving alone the mighty Master's self,
I stand the foremost in ascetic ways;
No man doth practise them so far as I. (1087)

The Master hath my fealty and love,[4]
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (1088)

For never thought for raiment, nor for food,
Nor where to rest doth the great mind affect,
Immeasurable, of our GOTAMA,

[1] *Buddhānaŋ: Cf. Dialogues*, ii. 2; *Itivuttaka*, § 68.

[2] A phrase elsewhere associated with Sāriputta's intellectual powers. See his brother's verse, XL.

[3] Kappina the Great. *Cf.* CCXXXV. We have seen this tribute of the gods produce the same effect on the Master. *Cf.* CCXLII., verses 629, 630.

[4] = verse 1050 and *passim*.

No more than spotless lotus-blossom takes
A mark from water;[1] to self-sacrifice[2]
Continually prone, he from the sphere
Threefold[3] of new becoming is detached. (1089)
The neck of him is like the fourfold tower
Of mindfulness set up; yea, the great Seer
Hath faith and confidence for hands; above,
The brow of him is insight; nobly wise,
He ever walketh in cool blessedness. (1090)

[1] *Cf.* verse 701; also the preceding verses in that poem with the concluding similes above.

[2] *Nikkhamma.*

[3] The three planes of existence: *kāma-bhava*, or *-loka*, *rūpabhava*, *arūpabhava*. See *Compendium*, p. 185.

CANTO XIX

PSALMS OF FIFTY VERSES

CCLXII

Tālapuṭa.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in an actor's family, he acquired proficiency at theatres suited to clansmen,[1] and became well known all over India as leader of a company of actors. With a company of five hundred women and with great dramatic splendour he attended festivals in village, township and royal residence, and won much fame and favour. Now when he had been giving performances at Rājagaha[2] with his usual success, his ripening insight prompted him to visit the Master. And seated at one side, he said: 'I have heard it said, your reverence, by teachers and their teachers, when speaking of actors, that the actor who, on the stage, counterfeiting truth, amuses and delights his audience, will be reborn after death among the gods of laughter. What does the Exalted One say on this point?' Thrice the Exalted One rejected the question, saying: 'Ask me not of this, director.' But when asked the fourth time, he said: 'Director, those persons who induce sensual, misanthropic, or mentally confused states in others and cause them to lose earnestness, will after death be reborn in purgatory. But if he thinks as you have heard, then his opinion is wrong. And the fate of one who thus holds wrong opinions is to be reborn either in purgatory, or as an animal.' Thereupon Tālapuṭa wept. 'Said I not to

[1] *Kulānurūpesu naccaṭṭhānesu.*

[2] *Nagaravasīnaŋ samajjaŋ dassetvā.*

you, director, "Ask me not concerning this?"' 'Not for this reason, your reverence, do I weep, that the Exalted One has thus spoken concerning the future state, but because older actors have deceived me, saying that an actor holding a public performance is reborn in a happy life.'

Then Tālapuṭa listened to the Master's teaching, and receiving faith, was ordained, and after due study won arahantship. Thereafter, showing in varied detail how he had restrained and chastened his heart to deeper understanding, he uttered these verses:

I.

When shall I come to dwell in mountain caves,
Now here, now there, unmated [with desire],
And with the vision gained
Into impermanence
Of all that into being doth become—
Yea, this for me, e'en this, when shall it come to
be?[1] (1091)

O when shall I, who wear the patchwork cloak,
Be a true saint of yellow robe,
Without a thought of what is 'mine';
And from all cravings purified,
With lust and hate, yea, and illusions slain,
So to the wild woods gone, in bliss abide? (1092)

O when shall I, who see and know that this
My person,[2] nest of dying and disease,
Oppressed by age and death,
Is all impermanent,
Dwell free from fear lonely within the woods—
Yea, when shall these things be? (1093)

[1] The metre of the text is Triṣṭubh throughout. In trying to reproduce the wistful yearning of the opening, I have had the 'Choric Song' of Tennyson's 'Lotus-Eaters' in mind. *Ekākiyo*=*ekeko*.

[2] *Kāyo*, literally, group, including not body only, but the mental groups (Commentary). 'Nest': *cf. Iti-vuttaka*, § 43.

O when shall I with insight's whetted sword
Have cut it down, this creeper of Desire,[1]
With all its tendrils twining far and strong,
Breeder of many fears,
Bearer of pain and woe—
Yea, even this! when shall it come to be? (1094)

O when shall I have power to draw the blade
Of insight, fiery splendour of the Saints,
And swiftly shatter Māra and his host,
While in the victor's posture seated still—[2]
Yea, when shall these things come to be? (1095)

O when may I in pious companies
Be seen among all such as hold the Norm
In reverence, given to noble toil
With them who see the heart of things,
With masters over sense—
Yea, when shall these things come to be? (1096)

O when will slackness, hunger, thirst,
No more distress me, nor the wind, the heat,
Insects and creeping things wreak scathe on him,
Who on the Fastness of the Crag[3]
Doth mind his own high needs—
Yea, when shall this thing come to be? (1097)

O when shall I with thought composed, intent,
And clarity of insight come to touch
That which the mighty Seer understood—
The Four, the Ariyan Truths,
So passing difficult to see—
Yea, even this, when shall this come to be? (1098)

[1] *Taṇhā-latā.* A favourite simile in the Canon. *Cf.* verse 761.
[2] The whole line is implicit in the word *sīhāsane*, 'in the lion's seat,' or 'on a throne.' Commentary: *thirāsane aparājitapallanke.*
[3] Giribbaja. See CCXXXIV., 545, *n.*

O when shall I, yoked to the avenues of calm,
With deeper vision see the things of sense
Innumerable—sights and sounds,
Odours and tastes and tangibles,
And all the inner objects of the mind
As things ablaze and burning—[1]
Yea, when cometh this for me? (1099)

O when shall I abide [unmoved]—
Because of speech abusive not downcast,
Nor when, again, my praise is sung,
Be fillèd with complacency—[2]
When cometh this for me? (1100)

O when as so much firewood, bindweed, straw,
Shall I esteem the factors of my life,[3]
With all the countless objects known by sense,[4]
Internal or without,
Judging them all alike—
[Hollow, impermanent][5]—yea, this for me, O
when? (1101)

O when will [break above my head]
The purple storm-cloud of the rains,
And with fresh torrents drench my raiment in
the woods,
Wherein I wend my way
Along the Path the Seers have trod before—
Yea, when shall this thing come to be? (1102)

[1] *Cf. Sisters*, verses 200, 351. The Commentary, in sampling the 'things of sense,' specifies, among 'inner objects,' things as pleasant and as painful; but they include also concrete perceptions (as distinct from each mode of sensation), images, ideas, etc.

[2] This was a great step for one of Tālapuṭa's art to surmount.

[3] *Khandhe.*

[4] *Dhamme.* Commentary: *rūpadhamme.*

[5] *Aniccādivasena c'eva asārādi-upamānavasena* (Commentary).

O when shall I, hearing the call adown the woods
Of crested, twice-born[1] peacock [as I lie
At rest] within the bosom of the hill,
Arise and summon thought and will
To win th' Ambrosial—
Yea, when shall this come to be? (1103)

O when shall I, by spiritual powers upborne,
Cross over Gangā, Yamunā,[2] Saraswatī
Unsinking, yea, float o'er the awful mouth
Of hell-flung ocean waters—
Yea, when shall this come to be? (1104)

O when, like elephant in battle charging,
Shall I break through desire for joys of sense,
And to rapt contemplation given,
Shun all the marks of outward loveliness—
Yea, when shall these things come to be? (1105)

O when, like some insolvent pauper pressed
By many a dun discovering hidden store,
Shall I be filled with joy,
In that I have attained
The [refuge of] the mighty Master's Rule?
Yea, when shall this thing come to be? (1106)

II.[3]

'Tis many years since thou, my heart, didst urge:
'Come now, enough of this house-life for thee!'
See then! I've left the world. Wherefore, O heart,
Dost lack devotion to thy task? (1107)

[1] *Dvija*, a generic name for oviparous creatures, 'born of the mother and of an egg' (Commentary).

[2] *Cf.* p. 159. See also Additions, etc.

[3] 'Now, having shown the course of his thoughts before he renounced the world, he, being in the Order, shows in what ways he admonished his heart so as to attain' (Commentary).

Have I not, O my heart, been urged by thee:
'On Fastness of the Crag
Bright-plumaged passengers of air,
Greeting great Indra's thunder with their cries,
Do give him joy who ponders in the wood.' (1108)

In social circle friends beloved and kin,
The joys of games, of art, delights of sense:—
All have I put away to come to this.
Well then, O heart, art thou not pleased
with me? (1109)

'Twas only for myself I acted thus,
For no one else [made I this sacrifice].
Why then lament when comes the time to arm?
This life is all a-quake!—so I beheld.[2]
And I renounced the world and chose the Ambrosial
Way. (1110)

Hath he not said—who sayeth all things well,
The best of beings,[3] great Physiciän,
Tamer and driver of the sons of men—
Unsteady is the heart like [jigging] ape,[4]
So hardly may that heart,
With passions not o'ercome, be held in check. (1111)

For varied, sweet, entrancing are desires of sense,
Wherein the ignorant majority
Entangled lie. They do but wish for ill
Who seek to live again,
Led by their heart to perish in the Pit. (1112)

[1] *I.e.*, to study (Commentary).
[2] *Cf. Sisters*, p. 188, verses 200, 201.
[3] Lit., of bipeds. *Cf. Sisters*, verse 432. Dr. Neumann cites one other instance: *Epigraphia indica*, iii., p. 3131, 6.
[4] See Ps. CXXIII.

'There in the jungle ringing with the cries
Of peacock and of heron wilt thou dwell,
By panthers and by tigers owned as chief.[1]
And for thy body cast off care;
Miss not thine hour, thine aim!'[2]
So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1113)

'Create, develop[3] thou the Ecstasies,
The fivefold moral Forces and the Powers,
The seven Wings of Wisdom
And the four Grades of concentrated will;[4]
Touch thou the Triple Lore
Within the Buddha's Rule':—
So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1114)

'Create, develop in thy life the Path
Whereby thou mayest win Ambrosia—
The way of progress and egress,
Founded upon the ending of all Ill,
Eightfold, purging from all that doth defile':—
So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1115)

'This mind and body shouldst thou scrutinize
And hold as "ill"; and all the source of ill
Do thou put far from thee;
Yea, here and now make thou an end of ill!'—
So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1116)

'And understand that transiency is ill,
Is empty, without soul, is bane and bale;
Restrain thy mind's discursive vagrancies':—
So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1117)

1 'Because of the exercise of universal love' [*mettā(brahma) vihāratāya*] (Commentary).

2 *Mā virādhaya* is the text in the Commentary, and the comment *mā virādhehi*, 'miss not this moment so hard to win.' *Cf.* verse 403.

3 For *bhāvehi* the Commentary gives 'cause to arise, make to grow.'

4 The numbers are given in the Commentary. The last refer to the four Iddhipādas. *Cf. Compendium*, p. 180, *d*, *e*, *f*, *c*, and above, verse 437.

'Shaven, unsightly, and apostrophized[1]
When come for alms, with skull-like bowl in hand[2]
Among the citizens,
Do thou now give thyself
Wholly to carry out the Master's Word, the Seer's':—
So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1118)

'Walk thou well-disciplined within the streets,
With mind unfettered by the sense-desires
Of them that live therein.
Be like the moon a fortnight old in cloudless sky:'[3]—
So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1119)

'He who in forest dwells and lives by alms,
Who haunts the field of death, wears patchwork robe,
Refrains from lying down,[4]
He ever finds the true ascetic joy':—
So wast thou wont, my heart to urge on me. (1120)

'As one who, having planted trees, seeks fruit,
Dost thou now, finding none, desire to cut
Thy tree down at the root?'—
Such was the parable thou mad'st, my heart,
When thou the unstable and th' impermanent
Didst urge on me. (1121)

Thou unseen thing that knowest from afar,[5]
Rising in single file, no more thy word
Will I obey. For thy sense-born desires
Lead but to woe, to bitter fruit, to brooding fear.
Henceforth toward Nibbāna's peace alone
I'll set my face and walk. (1122)

[1] Dhammapāla, reading also *abhisāpam-āgato*, refers to *Itivuttaka*, § 91. His Commentary on that work has *abhilāpo ti akkoso*.

[2] *Cf.* p. 113, *n.* 1. [3] *Cf.* verse 306. [4] *Cf.* verse 856.

[5] *Cf. Dh'pada*, ver. 37; *Comy.*, i. 304. The latter work is largely in literal agreement with our Commentary on this and the next

I did not leave the world when out of luck,
Nor as a shameless joke, nor from a whim,
Nor was I banished in disgrace,
Nor seeking livelihood,
When I did give consent, my heart, to thee. (1123)

'Good men do praise small needs and much
content,
Yea, and renouncing of hypocrisy,
And the assuaging of all pain':—
Thus didst thou, O my heart, exhort me then.
Now go'st thou back to all thy former loves. (1124)

Craving and ignorance and loves and hates,
And things of beauty, all the pleasant thrills
And charm of sensuous joys:—these have I
vomited,
Nor may I strive to come once more to things
thus spurned. (1125)

Where'er my life has fallen, O my heart,
Thy word have I obeyed.
In many births thou'st not been vexed with me.
And *this* is all thy gratitude:—
This individual compound self,
With all the suffering wrought by thee
A-down the long, long æons of my life. (1126)

---

phrase. Consciousness has no visible properties, and cannot move in space the width of a spider's thread, but knows its object without such contact. Again, it is a series of units of mental life arising singly. 'Two, three consciousnesses do not arise together. One ceases, another rises.' It is just possible that what the Pali suggests to *us*—'Thou formless, lonely traveller afar!—may be nearer what Tālapuṭa meant than the psychological interpretation of the scholastics. Nevertheless, when the lines elsewhere suggest romance to the latter, they do not stifle it. Anyway, the characteristic Buddhist *difference* is interesting.

'Tis thou, O heart, dost make us what we are.
Thou makest, we become. A brahmin now,
Then are we nobles, yea, a king, a seer,[1]
Burgess one day, and serf the next are we,
Or e'en a deity—and all
In virtue of thine agency alone; (1127)

Through thee alone have we been Asuras,
Thou working, have we been through hellish
doom;
Again, one day, in realm of beasts reborn,
Or Petas, by thine agency alone. (1128)

Nay now, thou shalt not dupe me as of old
Time after time, again, ever again,
Like mountebank showing his little masque;[2]
Thou playest guileful tricks with me,
As with a lunatic.[3]
Tell me, my heart, wherein am I at fault? (1129)

Once roamed this heart a-field, a wanderer,
Wherever will or whim or pleasure led.
To-day that heart I'll hold in thorough check,
As trainer's hook the savage elephant.[4] (1130)

To me the Master did insist[5]:—this world
Was transient, temporal, without a soul.
Now, heart, leap forward in the Conqueror's Rule,
And bear me o'er the great forbidding floods.[6] (1131)

For thee, O heart, things are not as of yore.[7]
'Twill not suffice that I within thy power
Fall back to live once more.

[1] In *rāja-d-isi* the *d* is inserted to link the two words (Cy.).
[2] Reading *cāraṇikaŋ*. See Additions, etc.
[3] *Cf.* verse 931; *JPTS*, 1889, p. 203.
[4] See LXXVII., p. 76.
[5] *Adhiṭṭhāhi*, an uncommon use of this word.
[6] Of *Saŋsāra* (Commentary).
[7] *Cf.* verses 126, 280.

Gone forth am I 'neath the Great Master's Rule.
Men such as I now am no forfeit will endure. (1132)

Mountains and seas, the rivers, earth itself,
The quarters four, the intervening points,
The nadir, yea, and all the heavens above[1] :—
Three planes of being[2] each impermanent
And all of them forlorn—
Where canst thou then, my heart, find ease and rest? (1133)

Since I've the goal so firm, so sure, O heart,[3]
What wilt thou do [to make me turn]?
No more be't mine, my heart, to follow thee.
None, in good sooth, would touch a bag
That opened at both ends. Fie! then,
On that full thing flowing with issues nine.[4] (1134)

O [thou wilt love the life], be't on the crest
Of caverned cliffs, where herd boar and gazelle,
Or in fair open glade, or in the depths
Of forest freshened by new rain—'tis there
Lies joy for thee to cavern-cottage gone.[5] (1135)
Fair-plumed, fair-crested passengers of air
With deep blue throats and many-hued of wing,
Give greeting to the muttering thundercloud
With cries melodious, manifold; 'tis they
Will give thee joy whiles thou art musing there. (1136)

[1] *Disā ti devalokā* (Commentary). [2] *Cf.* verse 1089.

[3] The Commentary reads: *Dhitipparan ti dhiti-parāyanaŋ paraŋ maŋ thirabhāve ṭhitaŋ . . . maŋ cāletuŋ na sakkhissasī ti attho.* This seems preferable to reading 'fie!' (*dhī!*) here, and 'fie!' again in the same gāthā.

[4] Reading with the Commentary *ubhato*. This otherwise unintelligible line then falls into its place in quaint but pointed contrast to the figure of the body. *Cf.* verses 279, 1151.

[5] An attempt to reproduce the Pali alliteration—*guhāgehagato.*

And when the god rains on the four-inch grass,[1]
And on the cloud-like crests of budding woods,
Within the mountain's heart I'll seated be
Immobile as a lopped-off bough,[2] and soft
As cotton down my rocky couch shall seem. (1137)

Thus will I do e'en as a master should.
Whate'er is got, be it enough for me.
And like a tireless tanner dressing hides,[3]
I'll make thee soft as catskin finely dressed. (1138)

Thus will I do, e'en as a master should.
Whate'er is got, be it enough for me.
I'll lead thee in my power by force of will,[4]
Like a fierce elephant by skilled mahout. (1139)

With thee at length well tamed and steadfast grown,
Like trainer with a steed well purged of vice,
Then can I tread the Path of happy fate,
Haunted by them whose hearts are guarded
well. (1140)

And to the object thou shouldst think upon
I'll bind thee by the power that training gives,
As elephant by strong cord bound to post.
So when I have thee guarded well, and trained
By clarity of thought, thou shalt become
Unleaning on all forms of future life. (1141)

When by the aid of insight thou hast dammed
Thine errant course, by study hast restrained,

1 'Resembling a crimson blanket' (Commentary) reminds us of our clover-fields.

2 Lit., 'like a log without appurtenances' (Commentary). *Cf.* LXII.

3 *Cf.* this simile in *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 128. The Commentary reads, for *taŋ taŋ karissāmi*, *nahanta-kassāmi*.

4 *Viriyena.*

Turned it along the avenue [of truth],[1]
So thou canst see how all things do become :—
Rise into being and are then dispersed—
Then shalt thou be the [child and] heir of Him :
Knower and Teacher of the Things Supreme. (1142)

On the fourfold hallucination set,[2]
As village lout didst drive me, O my heart.[3]
Come now and follow him, the Merciful,
Great Seer for whom all bonds and chains are
broke. (1143)

Like creature of the wild roaming at large
In the fair flowering jungle, so thou too
Hast gone up on the lovely cloud-wreathed crest.
There on the mountain, where no crowd can come,
Shalt find thy joy, O heart, for never doubt
But thou shalt surely win to the Beyond.[4] (1144)

They who remain subservient to thy will,
Male or female, enjoy what thou dost give,
Delight in ever coming back to be :—
Unknowing, in the wake of Māra's power,
These all, O heart, retainers are of thee.[5] (1145)

[1] *Pathe* is paraphrased by *vipassanāvīthiyaŋ*.

[2] *I.e.*, holding the impermanent as permanent, and the ugly (*asubhaŋ*), the painful, the soulless, as beautiful, pleasant, and having a soul respectively. The last illusion, in the Br. MS. Comy. is either worded unusually—*attani attā ti* ('in one's 'self' a 'soul'), or the scribe has omitted the *an* from *anattani* ('in the soul-less a soul').

[3] *Gāmaṇḍalaŋ*. The Commentary first reads *gāmandalaŋ* ; then, in commenting, *gāmantalaŋ*, but explains this to mean *gāmandārakaŋ* —'my good heart, thou draggest (*parikaḍḍhasi*) me around, hither and thither as if I were a (stupid) village-lad.' Dr. Neumann reads for *gā*, *go*.

[4] Lit.: 'Thou shalt beyond-become, look down upon or become superior to.' Commentary: 'Thou shalt stand firm by the ruin of (thy) saŋsāra.'

[5] The last verse, as well as 1143, would fit better if placed a little further back in the poem.

CANTO XX

POEM OF SIXTY VERSES

CCLXIII

Moggallāna the Great.

His story is told in that of the venerable Sāriputta.[1] After he had been ordained a week, and while he was occupied with his duties near the hamlet of Kallavāla[2] in Magadha, torpor and sleepiness assailed him, so that the Master aroused him with the words: 'Moggallāna, idleness is not the same as Ariyan silence.' Conquering his weakness by merely hearing an exercise on Elements given him by the Master, he attained the highest insight that a Buddha's disciple can reach. At another time the Master, in conclave at the Jeta Grove, pronounced him foremost in supernormal power of will (*iddhi*). And the verses which he spoke while thus gifted were collected in a series by the compilers of the Doctrine at the time of the Council:

I.

When exhorting the bhikkhus:

We forest-dwellers, beggars all,
  Pleased with the scraps placed in our bowl,
The hosts of Māra we can smash[3]
  If we have well learned self-control. (1146)

[1] See CCLIX.

[2] See *Ang. Nik.*, i. 23. On *iddhi*, see *Compendium*, 60 *f.*

[3] On the Optative in *emu*, *cf.* E. Müller's Pali Grammar, p. 109.

We forest-dwellers, beggars all,
Pleased with the scraps by which we're fed,
Māra and hosts let's sweep away,
As elephant a rush-built shed.[1] (1147)
We who at root of shady tree
Work at our task persistently,
Pleased with the scraps placed in our bowl,
The hosts of Māra we can smash
If we have well learned self control. (1148)
We who at root of shady tree
Work at our task persistently,
Pleased with the scraps by which we're fed,
Māra and hosts let's sweep away,
As elephant a rush-built shed. (1149)

II.

To a courtesan who sought to allure him:[2]

Thou with that little hut of framework bony
And flesh encased by sinewy stitchery:—
Fie on thee, fie! thou full of smells unseemly,
Finding thyself in limbs that are not 'thou.'[3] (1150)
O bag of muck enwrapped in skin! O witch
With ulcered breast! nine are the streams
That on thy body trickle night and day; (1151)
Thy body nine-streamed and malodorous,
Maker of bonds:[4]—that let a bhikkhu shun
As one would ordure, would he fain be clean. (1152)

[1] *Cf.* verse 256; *Saŋy. Nik.*, i. 156.

[2] According to *Sisters*, p. 52, this was Vimalā, of Vesālī notoriety. She became a lay-adherent, then a bhikkhunī, eventually an arahant.

[3] *Paragatte.* On *para-*, 'other,' see *Sisters*, verse 101, *n.* 3: *parato disvā*. *Cf. Majjh*, i. 435; *Ang.* iv. 422. The Cy. adds: *gattabhūte kaḷevare mamattaŋ karosi*: 'thou makest *mineness* with regard to the *be-limbed* carcase.' Apparently there is no reference to another's limbs.

[4] The Commentary reads *kariparibandhaŋ*, but omits the *kari-* from its analysis: *sammāpaṭipatti paribandhabhūtaŋ*.

Did but folk know thee as thou art, as I
Do know thee, they would shun thee from afar
As they would shun a cesspool in the rains. (1153)

Then that woman felt ashamed and bowed before the Thera saying :

Yea, O great hero, even so it is
As thou, O holy friar, hast pronounced.
And herein many miserably fail
And faint, as in a swamp an aged ox. (1154)

The Thera :

He who would fancy he can paint the sky
With yellow, or maybe some other hue,
Is to defeat foredoomed, and only that. (1155)
My heart is like that sky, beyond thy reach,
For it is well controlled within and calm.[1]
Wherefore bring not thine evil thoughts to me,
As bird that flies bewildered into flame. (1156)

Behold the tricked-out puppet-shape, a mass
Of sores, a congeries diseased, teeming
With many purposes and plans, and yet
In whom there is no power to persist.[2] (1157)

III.

Concerning the passing away of Sāriputta Thera :[3]

O ! then was terror, then was mighty dread,
Then stiffened hair and quivered creeping nerve,
When he, endowed with every crowning grace,[4]
The venerable Sāriputta passed away. (1158)

[1] = verbatim, the last line of verse 1146. *Cf. Majjh*, i. 127.
[2] *Cf.* verses 769, 1020.
[3] *Cf.* verse 1046.
[4] The Commentary instances 'virtuous conduct, self-control,' etc.

O transient are our life's experiences!
Their nature 'tis to rise and pass away.
They happen in our ken, they cease to be.
O well for us when they are sunk to rest![1] (1159)

They who our fivefold organism see
As something 'other,' not the self, not soul,[2]
They penetrate the delicate things [of truth]
As arrow-point doth pierce a tip of hair. (1160)
They who behold our life's experience
As something 'other,' not the self, not soul,
They've pierced the subtle [mysteries of truth]
As arrow-point doth pierce a tip of hair. (1161)

IV.

Spoken concerning Tissa Thera:[3]

As one down-smitten by impending sword,
As one whose hair and turban are aflame,
So let the brother, mindful and alert,
Go forth, all worldly passions left behind. (1162)

Spoken concerning Vaḍḍhamāna Thera:

As one down-smitten by impending sword,
As one whose hair and turban are aflame,
So let the brother, mindful and alert,
Go forth, all lust of living left behind. (1163)

[1] The Commentary gives these lines in full. They amount to a proverb for Buddhists, and familiarity with them is probably the reason why, though they occur but this once in these poems, the manuscripts used by the editor of this text give only the first line, with 'etc.' added. See *Dialogues*, ii. 175; 176, *n.* 1; 194. Dhammapāla makes no comment. I prefer to treat *sankhārā* as phenomena *subjectively* considered (experiences); things as *known* and *felt*; in Buddhist phrase, *sankhārā* of deed, word, and thought. *Cf.* verses 1175, 1180, *n.* 3.

[2] *Tattha* parato *ti anattato; tassa attagāha-paṭikkhepa-dassanaŋ k'etaŋ, ten'āha no ca attato ti* (Commentary). (No license is given for anything so revolutionary as to call the five classes of sensations five khandhas. *Cf.* Neumann.)

[3] Verse ascribed to the Buddha, addressing Tissa, XXXIX., and Vaḍḍhamāna, XL.

V.

Spoken in connection with the 'Act of the Terrace' Dialogue:[1]

By Him advised, who, perfectly evolved,[2]
For the last time a mortal body bore,
My foot uplifting with my toe I shook
The Terrace by Migāra's Mother built. (1164)

VI.

Spoken concerning a certain bhikkhu:[3]

Nothing hath *this* to do with tepid slackness,
Not by a little toil canst gain Nibbāna,
Deliverance from every tie and chain. (1165)
See this young brother, this among you peerless!
Mara and all his host hath he defeated,
And [therefore] weareth he his final frame. (1166)

VII.

Concerning his own detached life:

The lightnings flash e'en in the rocky cave,
Smiting Vebhāra's crest and Paṇḍava,
And in the mountain-bosom hid, a child
Of the incomparable Master sits,
Ardent in contemplative ecstasy.[4] (1167)

[1] 'Pāsādakamma-Suttanta.' See *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 337. The Dialogue is, in the Majjhima, named the 'Māra-tajjaniya-Sutta[nta]' (spurning of Māra)—another difference of title that is not without interest. The toe-feat is only alluded to in the verses appended to the Suttanta. Migāra's mother = Visākhā, mother also of Thera Migajāla, CCXVII. Dh'pada Cy. i., p. 384 *f.*

[2] *Bhāvitattena*, lit., by him who had the state of being developed or practised—*i.e.*, who had finished the entire course of developing body and mind—namely, the Buddha.

[3] Two bhikkhus are apparently contrasted; but the Commentary mentions only the one first referred to, as being 'slack and sensuous,' and not the second one.

[4] = verse 41, Sirivaḍḍha's psalm.

VIII.

Entering Rājagaha for alms, he admonishes a nephew of Sāriputta Thera, a brahmin of wrong opinions, who on seeing Kassapa the Great felt repugnance, as if he had seen the goddess of ill-luck herself:

The seer calm and serene, dead to the world,
Whose dwelling is remote, aloof from men,[1]
The heir of Buddha, Wake and Chief of all,
Greeted with honour by great Brahmā's self; (1168)
Behold him, calm, serene, dead to the world,
The sage who dwells remote, aloof from men,
The heir of Buddha, Wake and Chief of all:—
Brahmin, give greeting low to KASSAPA! (1169)
He who a hundred generations back
Can trace descent, all brahmin ancestors,
Himself as graduate and Veda-wise,
Again, again among mankind reborn, (1170)
Though he as teacher in the Vedas three
Past-master rank, wouldst honour him for *that*,
To him thy homage were not worth a straw. (1171)

He who before he breaks his fast can touch
Mental emancipation's eight degrees,
In grade ascending and so back again:—[2]
Then, only, cometh forth to seek for alms:— (1172)
Assault[3] thou not a bhikkhu such as this.
Refrain from digging up thyself, [thy good]![4]
Appease, brahmin, and gratify thy mind
In [contemplating] such an arahant.

[1] *Cf.* Kassapa Thera's characteristics, CCLXI., 1057 *ff.*

[2] *Dialogues*, ii. 119. 'Touch,' *ap(h)assayi* = *samāpajji*.

[3] *Āhari*, paraphrased by *āsādeti*. *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 373; *Milinda* text), 100.

[4] So the Commentary.

Swiftly lift up thy hands and greeting give.
Set not that head of thine in jeopardy.[1] (1173)

IX.

When admonishing a bhikkhu named Poṭṭhila:

He doth not yet behold the blessed Norm
Who hath eternal living in his train;
From course precinct he wandereth afar,
Straying in error's devious dangerous ways. (1174)
Like to a worm obscene besmeared with dung,
He walloweth in the tainted things of life,[2]
Plunged in pursuit of favours and of gain,
Bare [of true profit] goeth Poṭṭhila. (1175)

X.

In praise of the venerable Sāriputta:[3]

Yonder behold where SĀRIPUTTA goes
So nobly fair! Emancipated he
By contemplation rapt, and purity,[4]
And all his inner self is well composed. (1176)
Exempt from moral scathe, all fetters broke,
In higher Vedas versed, slayer of Death,
Worthy that men should bring him offerings;
Incomparable field for great reward.[5] (1177)

[1] Lit., let not your coiffure be undone! (ironically spoken). On the risk, see *Dialogues*, i. 116. The brahmin is stated to have begged forgiveness for his want of courtesy.

[2] *Sankhārā*. Poṭṭhila is the subject of *Dhammapada Commentary*, iii. 417 *ff.*, on verse 282.

[3] Mogallāna speaks to himself (Commentary).

[4] See *Dialogues*, ii. 70. Lit., 'freed-on-both-sides.'

[5] A favourite metaphor for the Order generally. Merit accrues to pious supporters, as a harvest from seed. *Cf.* (1087).

XI.

Spoken by the venerable Sāriputta in praise of Moggallāna the Great Thera:

See how they stand, those thronging deities[1]
Of mystic potency and glorious,
Ten times a thousand, Brahmā's ministers,
Acclaiming MOGGALLĀNA reverently:— (1178)
'Hail thou, humanity's aristocrat!
Glory to thee, thou highest among men!
Perished for thee are the intoxicants,
And thou, O lord, most worthy art of gifts! (1179)
In honour held by men and gods alike,[2]
Uprisen as the conqueror of death,
As lotus from the water takes no smear,
So thou in changing world dost not adhere.'[3] (1180)

He who e'en in a moment by a thousand ways can take
Purview of all the world,[4] as were he Brahmā's very self.[5]
Yea, here's a brother versed in power of magic[6] who doth see
What time doth suit [for gods and men] to die and come to be.[7] (1181)

[1] *Cf.* 1082; also 629.

[2] The Commentary suggests, as an alternative reading, 'by the man-god, the Exalted One, who is uprisen,' etc.

[3] *Cf. Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 547. *Sankhāragate*, born amid phenomena, he adheres not to the slime of craving and error; *na upalimpati* (*sic*) *katthaci pi, anissito ti attho* (Commentary). *Cf.* the slight metrical irregularity in *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 812, where *sankhāra's* are detailed as *diṭṭhasutaṃ-mutesu.*

[4] The world of space (Commentary).

[5] *Here* (*cf. n.* to verse 629) *sa-Brahmakappo* is explained as *Mahā-Brahma-sadiso.*

[6] On *iddhi*, *cf. Compendium*, p. 71, with *Dialogues*, i. 87 *f.*

[7] Here the Commentary makes no effort to associate *devatā*, deity spirit, angel, with a particular being, as in Anuruddha's poem, verse 911. This leaves the use of *devatā* a little unusual. Moggallāna's vision is as that of a deva—'a devatā is that bhikkhu!'

XII.

Moggallāna the Great speaks, affirming his own gifts:

Now Sari's son by wisdom, virtue, self-control
Excelleth all; here let this brother stand supreme. (1182)
But I can instantly innumerable times
Create a living shape; skilled to transform myself
As other, yea, all magic power have I at will.[1] (1183)
He of the Moggallānas, in the Rule of Him
Who stands alone,[2] hath perfected his powers;[3]
In contemplative ecstasy and higher lore
Expert, valiant and self-controlled hath burst his bonds,
As doth the elephant a rotten fibre rope.[4] (1184)

The Master hath my fealty and love,[5]
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore;
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (1185)
The Good for which I bade the world farewell,[6]
And left the home to dwell where is no home,
That highest good have I attained and won,
And all that bound and fettered me is gone. (1186)

[1] See *n.* 6, p. 389. [2] *Asitassa, taṇhānissāyādi rahitassa.* (Cy.)

[3] *Jātaka* i. (text) 17[89]

[4] *Cf. Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 29. In Suttanta 141 of the *Majjh. Nik.* these great 'twin brethren' are thus characterized by their Master: 'Sāriputta is as she who brings forth, Moggallāna is as the nurse of what is brought forth. The former trains for the fruit of the first Path, the latter for that of the highest. The former is able to teach and make plain the four Ariyan truths.'

[5] = 604, 656, 687, 792, 891, 918, 1016, 1088, 1050.

[6] = 136, 380, 605.

XIII.

In reproof of Māra who, had entered and then left the Thera's bowels:[1]

What sort of hell was it where Dussi cooked
In anguish, when he injured Vidhura,
Disciple, holy Kakusandha too? (1187)
'Twas the infernal realm of iron spikes,
A hundred points, each dealing bitter pain.
This sort of hell it was where Dussi cooked
In anguish, when he injured Vidhura,
Disciple, holy Kakusandha too. (1188)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much—
Disciple of the Buddha—dost assail,
Black-hearted sprite! to misery thou must go.[2] (1189)

Far in the midst of ocean, palaces
Have stood an æon, exquisite, with hue
Of beryl-stones, flashing like crests of flame.
There dance full many nymphs in divers hues:— (1190)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much—
Disciple of the Buddha—dost assail,
Black-hearted sprite! to misery thou must go. (1191)

Incited by the Buddha's self I wrought,
With all the Bhikkhu-Order looking on,

[1] Told in *Majjh. Nik.*, i., 50th Sutta. *Cf.* verse 1164. Dussi, a name for Māra in a previous life. Kakusandha, Buddha next but two before Gotama. Vidhura (or Vidhūra, *cf.* Oldenberg's ed. *in loco*; Br. Cy. Vidūra), one of his two chief disciples. The hell of the spikes was one of the many purgatories. The Commentary, for a description of it, refers to the Devadūta-Sutta (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 188 *ff.*). On the fiend's singular retreat, *cf.* Uppalavaṇṇā's poem, *Sisters*, p. 114

[2] = verse 25.

My foot uplifting, with my toe I shook
The Terrace by Migāra's Mother built.[1] (1192)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much, etc.,
. . . (verse 1191) thou must go. (1193)

I who my foot uplifting, with my toe
Caused Vejayanta's terraced fane to shake,
Rigid as iron by my magic power,
And thro' the deities sent thrill of dread:—[2] (1194)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much, etc.,
. . . thou must go. (1195)

He who in Vejayanta's terraced fane
Did take Sakka the deity to task :—[2]
'Come, friend, and didst thou really understand
Release through end of craving [taught to thee]?'
To whom Sakka made answer truthfully— (1196)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much—
Disciple of the Buddha—dost assail,
Black-hearted sprite! to misery thou must go. (1197)

Who catechized great Brahmā's very self,
Seated in conclave in Sudhammā's hall:—[3]
'Come tell me, friend, hast thou to-day the views
Which in the days gone by were views of thine?
Or seest thou now the glory of thy heaven,
How age by age it all is passing by?' (1198)

[1] *Cf.* verse 1164, and *n.*

[2] Related in *Majjh. Nik.*, i., No. 37, 'Cūḷataṇhakkhaya-Sutta'; referred to *as such* by the Commentary. *Cf. Saṃy.* i. 234 *f. Dhp. Cy.* i. 273.

[3] *Lit.*, 'Brahmā having a conclave present.' This is related in *Majjh. Nik.*, i., No. 49, 'Brahmanimantika-Sutta'; referred to by the Commentary as 'Baka-Brahma Sutta.' The Commentary reads *ṭhito sabhaṃ*, but adds only: 'This is the Sudhammā hall in the Brahma-world, not that in the Tāva-tiṃsa realm. There is no celestial world without its Sudhammā hall.'

To whom Brahmā made answer truthfully:—
'My lord, no longer do I hold the views,
Which in the days gone by were views of
mine. (1199)
I do behold the glory of my heaven,
How age by age it all is passing by.
To-day I hold it false what once I said:—
"I am eternal; permanent am I!"' (1200)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much, etc.,
. . . thou must go. (1201)

Who in emancipation['s ecstasy][1]
Hath touched great Neru's topmost pinnacle,[2]
Pubbavideha's forest world hath seen,[3]
And men that live on that remotest plain:— (1202)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much, etc.,
. . . thou must go. (1203)

Fire doth not think: 'Lo! I will burn the fool!'
But if the fool lay hands on blazing fire,
The fire must burn and he must needs be
burned. (1204)
Thus, Māra, thou on One who Thus hath Come[4]
Hast made attack, but 'tis to thine own hurt,
As when a foolish child doth touch the fire. (1205)
Demerit hath the Evil One begot,
Who made attack on One who Thus hath Come.
What? dost imagine, O thou Evil One,
That evil brings thee not its sure reward? (1206)
For this that thou hast done, long will it be,
Before that evil dieth out, O Death.[5]

[1] *Jhāna-vimokhena* (Commentary).

[2] Mount Sineru, or Meru, the hypothetical centre of the world.

[3] The eastern of the four great continents grouped round Meru.

[4] *Tathāgata* is here clearly, in the Commentary explicitly, applied to a Thera Arahant.

[5] *Antaka*, or 'Ender' (of a span of life); used of Māra, in these poems, only here and in *Sisters*, verses 59, 62.

Aroint thee, Māra, from the awakened mind![1]
Against the brethren cease thy wicked plots. (1207)

Thus in the forest of Bhesakaḷā[2]
Did Māra by a Brother censured stand.
Thereat the rated imp, dejected sore,
E'en where he stood, did vanish quite away. (1208)

Thus verily did the venerable Moggallāna the Great utter his verses.

[1] *Buddhamhā* (*abl.*), applied to a disciple. [2] *Cf.* verse 18.

CANTO XXI

POEM OF SEVENTY-ONE VERSES: CALLED ALSO 'THE GREAT NIPĀTA'

CCLXIV

Vangīsa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvatthi, in a brahmin family, he was named Vangīsa, and was taught the three Vedas. And he won favour as a teacher by tapping on skulls with his finger-nail, and discovering thereby where their former occupants were reborn.[1] The brahmins saw in this a means of gain, and taking Vangīsa toured about in villages, townships and royal residences. And for three years Vangīsa had skulls brought to him and divined. Persuading the people to believe in him, he won fees of 100 and even 1000 (? *kahāpaṇas*). And the brahmins took him about wherever they chose to go. Now he heard of the Master's virtues, and wished to visit him, but the brahmins objected, saying: 'Gotama the recluse will pervert you by his craftiness.'[2] But Vangīsa heeded them not and went, seating himself at one side. The Master seeing him asked: 'Vangīsa, do you know any art or craft?' 'Yes, Master Gotama, I know the skull-spell. By that, tapping

[1] The same story is told of Migasira, also a brahmin of Kosala (CLI.), and is probably another bifurcated legend. In the *Saŋyutta-Nikāya*, the 8th Book is entirely devoted to such of Vangīsa's improvisations as are contained in the following xii sections, together with prose episodes followed, in outline only, by our Commentary. The remaining verses (1263-78) are contained in the Sutta-Nipāta (verses 343-58), as are also verses (1227)-(1230).

[2] An allegation frequently made by rival teachers. *Cf. Majjh. Nik.*, i. 375; *Saŋy. Nik.*, iv. 341.

on a skull with my finger-nail, have I, for three years past ascertained where rebirth has taken place.' The Master let him be shown the skulls of individuals reborn in purgatory, as man, as god, and of one who had passed utterly away. Divining concerning all but the last, of that he could make nothing. Then the Master: 'Art not able, Vangīsa?' 'Let me make quite sure, said Vangīsa, and he turned it round again and again till the sweat stood on his brow—for how will he know the going of the arahant? And he stood there silent and shamed. 'Art tired, Vangīsa?' 'Ay, Master Gotama, I cannot find out where this one has been reborn. If you know, tell it.' 'Vangīsa, both this I know, and I know more than this:

He who of every creature knoweth well
Whence they decease and where they come to be,
Enlightened, well come, freed from every tie:
Him call I brahmin.
Whose destiny nor angel, god, nor man
Doth know, the arahant, sane and immune:
Him call I brahmin.'[1]

Then said Vangīsa: 'Well then, Master Gotama, give me this hidden lore.' And doing obeisance, he seated himself as the Master's pupil. But the Master said: 'Let us give you the marks of a recluse.' Then Vangīsa thought: 'I must at all costs learn this spell.' And he said to his fellow-brahmins: 'Do not think it amiss if I take orders. When I have learned this spell, I shall be first in all India, and that will bring you good fortune.' So he asked for ordination, and the Exalted One commanded Nigrodhakappa Thera, who stood near, to ordain Vangīsa. The Thera did so, and then saying: 'You must first learn the accessories of the spell,' gave him the exercise of the thirty-two constituents of the body,[2] and one on insight. Rehearsing the former, he established the latter faculty. And when brahmins came to ask whether he had acquired

[1] *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 643, 644. [2] See *Khuddaka-pāṭha*.

the art, he replied: 'What art-acquiring? Go ye hence; I have no more to do with you.' The brahmins said: 'There! he too has got into the power of Gotama the recluse, perverted by craftiness. What have we to do with you as teacher?' And they went away. But Vangīsa realized arahantship.

As arahant, he went to the Master's presence and magnified him in scores of verses, comparing him to the moon, the sun, space, ocean, mountains, the lion, the elephant. Him the Master, seated in conclave, pronounced foremost in facility of speech.[1] But what he said in verse, both before and after he became arahant, was collected and recorded by Ānanda and the other Theras at the Council as follows:

I.

Spoken when a novice, after having been affected by the sight of many gaily dressed women, who had approached the Vihāra, a feeling which he suppressed:[2]

Alas! that now when I am gone from home
Into the homeless life, these graceless thoughts
Sprung from the Dark should flit about my
mind.[3] (1209)
Were highborn warriors, mighty archers, trained
In champion bow-craft, such as never flee,
To scatter thousand arrows round about . . . (1210)
But women! Well, far more than those may come,
Yet shall they never wreck my peace of mind,
Firmly established in the truths I stand.[4] (1211)

[1] *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24.

[2] *Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 185 *f.* Vangīsa is there called the custodian or porter of the Vihāra, and the women were come to see it.

[3] *Kaḷato lāmakabhāvato* (Cy.). *Mārapakkhato. Saṃy. Cy.*

[4] This difficult passage is thus interpreted by the Commentary, with this explanation: 'A man taking a staff' (why not a shield?) 'can beat down a series of arrows, but every woman shoots five at once (assailing each sense), and is therefore more dangerous.' 'Truths' (*dhammesu*) mean doctrine generally, but especially the thirty-seven *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*. *Cf. Compendium*, p. 179 *f.*

For even in his presence[1] have I heard
The Buddha of the Sun's high lineage tell[2]
About the Path that to Nibbāna goes;
And there the love of all my heart is given. (1212)
Now that I alway in such mood abide,
Dost think, vile one, thou canst draw nigh to me?
Then will I do the like, O Death, and thou
Wilt ne'er discover which the way I take.[3] (1213)

II.

Spoken when suppressing his own feelings, aversion, and so forth:

I who have given up dislikes and dotings
In all that stirs the lay imagination,
May not make anywhere a haunt for lusting.
He who from jungly vice[4] hath gained the open,
From lusting free, 'tis he is truly Bhikkhu. (1214)
All things of visible shape here on earth dwelling,
Or in the upper air that's based on earth,[5]
Transient is all, and all away is wearing:—
Thus understanding they who think do walk.[6] (1215)
In all that makes for life[7] the folk cleave ever[8]
To what is seen and heard and touched[9] and thought.

[1] *Samukhā* (Commentary). [2] *Cf.* XXVI.

[3] *Cf. Sisters*, Uppalavaṇṇā and Māra, verse 231 *f.*

[4] On the jungle or forest as symbolical of lust or craving, *cf. Sisters*, Vaḍḍha's Mother, verse 208.

[5] According to the Commentary, *vehāsaŋ = devalokanissitaŋ; jagatogadhaŋ = lokikaŋ.*

[6] Reading *mutantā = pariññā* (Commentary).

[7] *Upadhīsu*, or substrates. The Commentary names only the five khandhas, but elsewhere three other categories are named (*Dhammapada*, verse 418; *SBE*, x., p. 94):—*kāmā* (sensuous desires), *kilesā* (vices, sins; *cf.* p. 78, *n.* i.), and *kamma.*

[8] *Gadhitāse.* Commentary: *paṭibandhacittā.*

[9] *Paṭighe.* Commentary: *ghaṭṭaniye, phoṭṭhabbe* (things to be struck, touched). It is of interest that Dhammapāla quotes the '*Sāratthapakāsinī*' (*Saŋyutta Commentary* by Buddhaghosa): *Sāratthapakāsiniyaŋ paṭighasaddena gandharasā gahitā*, etc.

Who here, desires suppressing, unaffected,
Adhereth nowhere, him [the wise] call Saint. (1216)
Who cleave to views mistaken eight and sixty,[1]
Their nature of the common average sort,
They're fixed in courses evil and unrighteous.[2]
But whoso to no sect whate'er doth go,
Nor clutcheth at blown straws [of vain opinion],[3]
A genuine bhikkhu he all men may know. (1217)
Fully endowed,[4] long since of self the master,
Candid yet wise, and free from craving's power,
A Saint, the way of peace he hath attainèd;
Serene and cool, awaits his final hour. (1218)

III.

Spoken when suppressing his own behaviour in connection with his facility of speech:

Renounce conceit, thou, Gotama's disciple![5]
Wholly from path of pride remove thy foot.
Since with that path some time infatuated,
Long ere to-day thou truly didst repent. (1219)
By self-deceit deceived this generation,
Destroyed by vanity, is doomed to woe.
For many an age reborn in purgatory
Will folk destroyed by pride lament their doom. (1220)

[1] Usually the speculative opinions described in *Dialogues*, i., 'Brahmajāla-Suttanta,' are referred to as sixty-two. Here, says the Commentary, the Pali (*i.e.*, text) is not exact as to a little more or less. The *Saṃy. Cy.* has *atha saṭṭhinissitā: atha cha ārammaṇānissitā.*

[2] *Cf. Jāt.* i. 259: *adhammasmiṃ niviṭṭho.*

[3] *Padulla-* occurs, I believe, in no other work. *Cf.* Böthlingk and Roth: *s.v. dul.* The Commentary has *duṭṭhullagāhī*; *Saṃy.*: *-bhāṇī*,

[4] *Dabbo.* Commentary, *dabbajātiko* (see *Ang. Nik.*, i. 354), *paṇḍito.* The latter word is used, in the *Jātaka Commentary* (vol. ii., p. 489 of text), to interpret *bindussaro*, the rich or full voice of the bird. The *Anguttara Cy.* interprets by *paṇḍita-jātiko*; *Saṃy. Cy.* by *dabbajātiko paṇḍito* (sic). Anyway, I do not see justification for dragging in the Thera Dabba (V.), as does Dr. Neumann.

[5] *Gotamagottassa Bhagavato sāvakattā attānaṃ Gotamagottaṃ katvā ālapati* (Commentary).

He weepeth not at any time, the Brother:
Path-victor who the Highest hath achieved.
Both fame and happy conscience[1] he enjoyeth.
'Norm-seër'[2] say, and rightly say the wise. (1221)
Hence in this life, sober and unimpeded,
Dispelled all hindering clouds, and clear in mind,
Renouncing pride and vain conceits entirely,
Let me be found End-maker and serene.[3] (1222)

IV.

One day as a novice he attended the venerable Ānanda, whom one of the King's ministers had bidden to visit him. There they were surrounded by women highly adorned, who, saluting the Thera and asking questions, heard him preach the Norm. But Vangīsa was excited and moved with desire. Then he, being a well-bred man of faith and integrity, thought: 'This my emotion growing is unsuitable for my present and future good.' And seated as he was, he confessed his state to the Thera, saying:

My sense with passion burns, my mind's aflame.
Take thou compassion on me, Gotamid!
O tell me truly of a putting out![4] (1223)

And the venerable Ānanda replied:

Because thy judgment is upset, perverse,
Therefore thy mind's aflame. Thou shouldst
 avoid[5]
The seeing lovely objects passion-linked. (1224)

[1] In its original sense of consciousness. 'Highest': *sammā*.
[2] *Dhammadaso*. In the *Saŋy. Nik.* 'Norm-lover,' *Dhammarato*.
[3] *Cf. Sutta Nipāta*, verse 520, and its context.
[4] *Nibbāpanaŋ*, a causing-to-go-out (of this fire or fever of passion). Later exegesis dwelt perhaps less on this sense of Nibbāna than on a going-out in the sense of departure or escape (*Compendium*, p. 168); yet see above, verse 691.
[5] = *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 340 *f.*

Compel thy steeled and well-composèd mind
To contemplate what is not fair to view,
Let there be heedfulness concerning sense.
And be thou fillèd with a sane distaste. (1225)
Study the absence of the Threefold Sign;[1]
Cast out the baneful bias of conceit.
Hath the mind mastered vain imaginings,
Then mayst thou go thy ways, calm and serene. (1226)

V.

Spoken after the Exalted One had taught the Sutta on 'Things Well-spoken,'[2] in praise of the Master:

Whoso can speak a word whereby
He works no torment to himself,
Nor causeth harm to fellow men—
That word is spoken well. (1227)
Pleasant the word that one should speak.
Speech that is grateful to the ear,
That lays not hold of others' faults:
Sweet is that word to hear. (1228)
Truth is the word that dieth not.
This is the old primeval Norm.[3]
On Truth and Good and Norm, 'tis said,
The saints do firmly stand. (1229)
That which th' Awakened speaks, the sure
Safe guide to make Nibbāna ours,
To put a lasting end to Ill—
That is the Word Supreme. (1230)

[1] Ascribed also to Sister Abhirūpa-Nandā, but, in her Psalm, inspired by the Buddha (*Sisters*, p. 23). 'Steeled,' *ekaggaŋ;* lit., one-pointed; 'study,' etc.: see things as transient, involving ill, soulless.

[2] *Saŋy. Nik.*, i. 188; *Sutta Nip.*, ver. 450 *f.*: 'To be well spoken, speech must not only be such, but also righteous, lovely, and true.' Vangīsa thereupon announces a wish to express himself. The Master consents, and Vangīsa, standing before him, embellishes the prose Sutta as verse.

[3] Here both Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla agree verbatim: *esa porāṇo dhammo cariyāpaveṇi; idham eva hi porāṇānaŋ āciṇṇaŋ na te* (Dh'pāla: *yan te na*) *alikaŋ bhāsiŋsu.* See also Additions, etc.

VI.

Spoken in praise of Sāriputta:

With insight into mysteries deep,
And richly dowered with learnèd lore,
Expert in paths both true and false,
The son of Sāri, greatly wise,
Teacheth the bhikkhus in the Norm. (1231)
He teaches first in outline brief,
And then expounds in full detail.
And like the myna-bird's sweet song,[1]
His exposition poureth forth. (1232)
And while he teaches, they who hear
His honeyed speech, in tones they love
Of voice enchanting, musical,
With ravished ears, transported hearts,
Delighted list his every word. (1233)

VII.

Spoken after the Exalted One had discoursed in the Pavāraṇā (Valediction or Dismissal) Suttanta:[2]

To-day, at full moon, for full purity
Five hundred brethren are together come.
They all have cut their fetters and their bonds;
Seers who are free from rebirth and from ill. (1234)
And as a king who ruleth all the world,
Surrounded by his councillors of state,
Toureth around his empire everywhere,
Driving throughout the lands that end in sea, (1235)

[1] *Sālikā*, lit., 'rice-kin,' just as we say 'siskin.'

[2] A meeting terminating the rainy season, when confession was invited. See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 325 *ff*. The Master (in the Suttanta, *Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 189) invites complaints against himself, and Sāriputta, on behalf of the others, gives him a clean bill, then receives the same himself.

So him, who is our victor in the fight,
The peerless Master of our caravan,
We followers attend and wait upon,
Who hold the triple lore, slayers of Death. (1236)
All we are sons of the Exalted One.
No sterile babbler[1] is among us found.
I worship him who strikes down craving's darts.
I greet the offspring of the Sun's great line. (1237)

VIII.

Spoken in praise of the Exalted One, who had been delivering a religious discourse to the brethren bearing upon Nibbāna:[2]

A thousand brethren, yea, and more than these
Attend around the Well-Come One, who here
Doth teach the Norm, the Pure, the Passionless,[3]
Even Nibbāna, where can come no fear. (1238)
They hearken to the Norm's abundant flow,
Imparted by the Very Buddha blest,
O wondrous fair the All-Enlightened shines,
With all the Band of Brethren seated round. (1239)
Mysterious spirit[4] thou, Exalted One!
The seventh in the lineage of the Seers,[5]
Like a great storm-cloud in the summer sky,
Thou on thy followers pourest precious rain. (1240)

[1] In our text *palāpo*, or babbler; in Burmese manuscripts of text and Commentary *palāso*, *phalāso*. *Pālaso*, having leaves, not fruit, means presumably 'sterile.' Both Commentaries, ours and the *Sāratthа-pakāsinī*, explain by *tuccho anto*, *sārarahito*, *dussīlo* (empty, deprived of pith, morally bad).

[2] Vangīsa again suggests that he should be allowed to speak (*Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 192).

[3] *Cf. Sisters*, verse 97.

[4] *Nāga*. *Cf.* above CCXLVII.

[5] The seventh of the Buddhas. The Nikāyas take only these into account in the past.

And one of these, from meditation come,
Full fain his gracious Master to behold—
Thy true disciple, mighty Hero, see!
Low at thy feet Vangīsa worships thee. (1241)

Then[1] the Exalted One asked: 'How now, Vangīsa, have you composed these verses beforehand, or did they occur to you just on the present occasion?' 'They occurred to me just now,' replied Vangīsa. ['Well then, let some more such verses occur to you.' 'Even so, lord' —and Vangīsa spoke further his praises:]

O'er Māra's devious ways he fares triumphant,
And every obstacle he breaketh down.
Behold him from all bondage our Deliverer;
Himself full fraught, he portions out the Norm.[2] (1242)
For he hath shown a Way by many methods
For crossing o'er the [fearsome fourfold] Flood;[3]
And we to whom he hath declared Ambrosia,[4]
Stand as Norm-seers inexpugnable. (1243)
Light-bringer, he hath pierced beyond, beholding
Past all those stations where the mind doth halt.[5]
The topmost heights knowing and realizing,
To us he maketh known the path of sight.[6] (1244)

[1] The Commentary quotes only the question and answer. The rest I take from the *Saŋy. Nik.* Dhammapāla only adds that the Master wished to show Vangīsa's gift to the brethren.

[2] One might render this clause—*asitaŋ va bhāgaso pavibhajja*[*ṃ*]—as Dr. Neumann does, by 'as a sickle having divided off by sections' (or sheaves), but (1) I hesitate to liken the Saviour of the Buddhists, *for them*, to a sickle; (2) both Commentaries agree that *asitaŋ* is, as in other gāthās, *e.g.* (1184), *anissitaŋ* (independent, himself needing nothing). I have taken *asita* as meaning *dhāta* (*cf. Jātaka Commentary*, vol. ii., p. 247, text, opposed to *chāta*, lacking). The main emphasis is on the Teacher's passing on to others what he has gained.

[3] *Cf.* XV., *n.* 2.

[4] Lit., that ambrosia being declared.

[5] Both Com. have *diṭṭhiṭṭhānānaŋ viññāṇaṭṭhānānaŋ vā.*

[6] Both Commentaries reject *dasaṭṭhānaŋ*, reading *dasaddhānaŋ*, and refer to the First Sermon delivered to the five recluses as the recipients of the *aggaŋ dhammaŋ*, neither explaining the term.

Lo! now in truths so well revealed, for trifling
What place is there 'mong them who learn his
Lore?
Hence zealously within that Master's System
Let each man train, and while he trains
adore. (1245)

IX.

Spoken in praise of the venerable Thera Aññā-Kondañña:[1]

Who next to our Great Waked One was awoke,
Brother Kondañña, strong in energy,
Who oft enjoyeth hours of blissful ease—
[The harvest] of complete detachment won—[2] (1246)
All that the Master's follower can win,
If he fulfil the training of the Rule—
All this Kondañña step by step hath won
By study strenuous and diligent. (1247)
Sublime in power and versed in triple lore,
Expert the thoughts of others to descry,[3]
Kondañña of the Buddha rightful heir,
Low at the Master's feet behold him lie. (1248)

X.

Spoken in praise of the venerable Moggallāna the Great, before the Exalted One, when the former discerned that the hearts of the 500 arahants, gathered together at Black Rock on Rishis' Hill at Rājagaha, were emancipated and free from the conditions for rebirth:[4]

High on the hilly slopes disciples sit,
Holding the triple lore, slayers of Death,

[1] *Saŋy. Nik.*, i. 193. *Cf.* CCXLVI.
[2] *Vivekānaŋ*, of the detachments—namely, three: of body, of mind, and that involved in Nibbāna.
[3] *Saŋy. Nik.*, i. 194.

Upon the pleasure of the seated Saint,
Who hath transcended all the power of ill. (1249)
And MOGGALLĀNA great in mystic power
Doth scrutinize in thought the hearts of all,
And thus examining he finds them freed,
And having nought wherefrom to be reborn.[1] (1250)
So do they wait upon that perfect Saint,
Who hath transcended all the power of ill,
And perfected on every hand his work—
So wait upon and honour GOTAMA. (1251)

XI.

Spoken in praise of the Exalted One, luminous by his own beauty and glory, when surrounded by the Order and the laity at the Gaggarā Lotus-lake, at Campā:[2]

As when th' obscuring clouds have drifted from
the sky,
The moon shines splendid even as a sun,
So thou, Angīrasa,[3] most mighty Seer,
Dost with thy glory all the world illume. (1252)

XII.

Spoken when reflecting, as a new-made arahant, on his experiences and on the Master:

Drunk with divining art,[4] of old we roamed
From town and village on to town again.
Then we beheld the All-Enlightened, Him
Who hath transcended all that we can know. (1253)

[1] *Nir-upadhiŋ.* See verse 1216, *n.*

[2] *Cf.* p. 82, *n.* 2; 134; 275. See also *Dialogues*, i. 144.

[3] *Cf.* verse 536, *n.*

[4] *Kāveyyamattā.* Wrongly translated by me elsewhere. Without the Commentary I had imagined Vangīsa as having been a troubadour, a *naṭa* or mime, like Tālapuṭa (CCLXII.). Imagination and a rhetorical facility he had, but one need not substitute a new legend for the old tradition. The term occurs again in *Saŋy. Nik.*, i. 110, where the

He in the Norm instructed me—the Seer,
Who hath transcended all the power of ill,
And when we heard that Norm our heart was glad,
And faith and trust therein rose up in us. (1254)
Hearing his Word concerning body, mind,
Sensations, objects of the same, and all
The data of our knowledge[1]—grasping these,
I left the world to lead the homeless life. (1255)
O surely for the weal of many folk
The advent is of Them-who-Thus-are-Come!—
Of women and of men who keep their Rule. (1256)
Yea, surely, and for highest good of those—
The Brethren and the Sisters, they who see
The order of what is, what may become[2]—
For them the Seer did win Enlightenment. (1257)
By Him-who-Sees, the Buddha, Kin o' th' Sun,[3]
Well taught in kindness to all things that breathe
Are the Four Ariyan, Four Noble Truths; (1258)
Even the What and Why of Ill, and how
Ill comes, and how Ill may be overpassed,
E'en by the Ariyan, the Eightfold Path,
That leads to the abating of all Ill.[4] (1259)
Such were the doctrines uttered thus, and I,
I saw them e'en as they were shown to me;
And now salvation have I surely won,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (1260)

Buddha, sitting, suppressing the pain arising from a splinter in his foot, Māra inquires why he sits apart with drooping head: Is he feeling 'blithered' or worried, *kāveyyamatto*, or only sleepy? The Commentary has 'as he were thinking of what he had to say, crazy by reason of what he had to do.' Both Commentaries here have *kāveyyana-kabba-*(ours :*-kavyā-*) *kārakena mattā, mānitā, sambhāvitā, garukodayaŋ āpannā.* Vangīsa's story explains the choice of the term.

[1] *Khandhe āyatanāni ca dhātuyo ca.* *Cf. Sisters*, Ps. XXX., XXXVIII.; also my *Buddhism*, p. 70; and for *n.* 2, p. 119 *f.*; 241.

[2] Lit., seers of what is included in the order—*i.e.*, of the world, physical and moral. The Commentary emphasizes only the latter—*sampattiniyāmaŋ*, the order by which to achieve (saintly) success.

[3] See XXVI., *n.*

[4] *Cf. Sisters*, verse 186.

O welcome tidings! welcome time to me
To live and study near the Master's feet;
'Mong divers doctrines mooted among men
Of all 'twas sure the best I sought and found.[1] (1261)
To heights of intuition have I won,[2]
From sense of hearing is the dulness swept;
The triple lore have I and magic power;
In knowing others' thought am I adept. (1262)

XIII.

When inquiring as to whether his tutor[3] had passed wholly away at death:

I ask the Master—boundless is his wisdom—
Who as to this life severs every doubt:[4]—
Here at Aggāḷava[5] hath died a Brother,
Well-known and famous, cool and calm [his
heart]; (1263)
Nigrodha-Kappa, so thyself didst call him,
Such was this good man's name, Exalted One.[6]
Revering thee he lived, his gaze on Freedom,
And, Seer of what is stable,[7] well he strove. (1264)
Of this disciple, Sākyan, all desirous
Are we to know the fate, thou Seer of all;
Attent the ear of everyone to hear it:—
Thou art our Master and thou art supreme. (1265)

[1] *Cf.* IX.

[2] To mastery of the six forms of *abhiññā*. *Cf.* p. 14, *n.* 3, with p. 32, *n.* 2.

[3] Nigrodha-Kappa Thera. This episode is also given in the *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 342 *ff.* (*SBE*, x., p. 57 *ff.*).

[4] For *chetvā* read *chettā*, as Oldenberg suggests. The Commentary paraphrases by *chedako*: 'cutter-off of doubts.'

[5] A Vihāra at the chetiya (pre-Buddhistic shrine), so called, at Āḷavī, a town on the Ganges, 12 yojanas from Benares, 30 from Sāvatthī.

[6] Because he habitually sat in the shade of a banyan (*nigrodha*), and there, too, became arahant (Commentary).

[7] *I.e.*, Nibbāna, as that which does not crumble He is addressing the Buddha by this title (Commentary).

Do thou but sever from us all our doubting,
Tell thou me, amplest Wisdom, make it known:
Hath he indeed his life's long round completed?
Speak to us in our midst, O Seer of all,
As Sakka thousand-eyed in heavenly hall.[1] (1266)
Bonds that here bind us, pathways of illusion,
Factors of ignorance, stations of doubt:—
Whate'er they be, confronted by the Master,
By Him-who-Thus-hath-Come, they cease to be,
For among men the Eye Supreme is he. (1267)
For if, i' faith, some Man the world's corruptions
Sweep not away, as wind the lowering clouds,
The world were shrouded[2] wholly in thick darkness,
And e'en the brighter minds would lose their light. (1268)
Light-bringers [to us all] are men of wisdom;
And thou, O Sage, methinks art even such.
We have drawn nigh to one who seeth, knoweth;[3]
Reveal to us assembled Kappa['s fate]! (1269)
Swiftly send forth thy voice in all its beauty,
O thou most beauteous; even as the swan,
With rich and mellow tones well modulated,
Lifts up its neck in measured trumpeting,
And we will hearken all, our hearts sincere. (1270)
Gone from his ways all future birth and dying;[4]
And him who shook them off without remainder,
Him now constraining will I cause to speak.
For[5] average folk fail to fulfil their wishes,
But saints perform whatever they devise. (1271)

[1] Lit., to the devas.

[2] For *nibbuto* understand *nivuto* (Commentary).

[3] *Jānaŋ* for *jānantaŋ*. Buddhist and Jain suttas constantly link these two verbs.

[4] *Dhonaŋ*, agent-noun of *dhunāti*, which occurs in II. *Cf. Sutta-Nipāta*, ver. 813.

[5] Our Comy. reads also *hi* and *va*.

Well have we learnt how thou canst answer,
Whose insight straight to heart of things dost go,
Not vainly do we stand, once more saluting.
O baffle not, thou infinite in wisdom,
Who [Kappa's destiny] dost surely know. (1272)
The Ariyan Norm thou know'st in all its bearings,[1]
Knowing and strong to work, O baffle not!
As for cool waters when by heat we suffer,
Thy word we wait for: — rain that we may hear![2] (1273)
That holy life which, for the goal desirous,
He of the Kappas led, was't not in vain?
Passed he away fraught with the seed of rebirth,[3]
Or as one wholly free?—that would we hear. (1274)

THE EXALTED ONE.

All craving as to life of mind and body
He severed here below, and crossed the stream
Of craving flowing long deep-bedded in him,
Passed utterly beyond both birth and death. (1275)

(*Thus spake the Exalted One, best in the Five.*)[4]

[1] *Paroparaŋ*. *Cf. Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 59, *n.* 2, with p. 193, *n.* Our Commentary condenses the paraphrase of that Commentary: [*lokuttara-*] *lokiyavasena sundaraŋ* [*asundaraŋ*] *dūre santikaŋ vā ariyadhamman ti.*

[2] Lit., 'rain the heard thing'—*i.e.*, speech.

[3] Our Commentary, unlike the text, has *nibbāyi so anupādiseso.*

[4] The interpolated references to the Buddha *loquitur* are by the Compilers, says the Commentary. I do not understand *pañcaseṭṭho* here any more than did the Commentators. The allusion in the *Sutta-Nipāta Commentary* is obviously inaccurate. The Buddha was not one of the five, nor a brahmin in the social sense. Our Commentary suggests the Five Indriyas or the Five Precepts, both inapposite here. Dr. Neumann's five divisions of Middle Country and four quarters of barbarians has a more plausible sweep of world-laudation but is, I think, without precedent. Conceivably, the original reading was simply some such compound as *pumaseṭṭho*, chief of men. The metre now turns to ślokas.

VANGÎSA.

Pleased is my heart to hear thy word,
O seventh of mighty Rishis thou![1]
Not vain, in sooth, was my request,
Thou'st not deceived me, Holy One![2] (1276)
As Kappa spoke, so Kappa wrought,
Disciple of the Buddha he,[3]
For he hath cut the netted snare
By crafty Death outstretched and strong. (1277)
He of the Kappas saw the source
Of grasping, O Exalted One!
Ah! truly he hath passed beyond
The realm of Death so hard to cross. (1278)

Thee greater than the gods I greet,
With thee thy son, O best of men,[4]
A mighty hero like thee grown,
Of wondrous Being,[5] very son. (1279)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Vangīsa utter his psalm.

[1] *I.e.*, seventh Buddha. *Cf.* p. 403, *n.* 5..

[2] Lit., Brahmin, but used in its original sense : holy, excellent.

[3] Consistency between word and deed is expressly named as a quality of a Tathāgata. *Iti-vuttaka*, § 112.

[4] Nigrodha-Kappa is, of course, the 'son.' 'Men' is lit. bipeds. The last verse is not in the *Sutta-Nipāta*. The term *devadevaŋ* suggests a later source.

[5] *Nāga*.

Envoi.

Singing the pæan of their 'lion's' roar,
These children of the Buddha, sane, immune,
Winning the safe sure haven of their quest,
Dwelt in blest cool like flame of fire extinct.

APPENDIX

I

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 8: On Kankhā-Revata subduing doubt, see *Udāna*, v. 7.

Page 9, *l.* 9: This is virtually a quotation from the Vinaya (*Vinaya Texts*, ii., 351): "Now it is the custom for the Blessed Buddhas to exchange words of greeting with incoming Bhikkhus." The same courteous inquiries follow. On Puṇṇa see Appendix III.

Page 16, *n.* 2: Add *Vin. Texts*, ii., 312.

Page 18, *n.* 1: *Cf.* also Max Müller's 'cochineal,' *Bṛhad. Up.* ii. 3, 6. Deussen leaves untranslated.

Page 21: *Read* Dāsaka. The verse=*Dhp.*, 325, and is there said to have been addressed to King Pasenadi.

Page 25, ver. 20: *Cf.* ver. 1002.

Page 54: *Read* Pāvā. *n.* 4: This is too sweeping a statement. See the discussion in Rhys Davids's *Buddhist India*, p. 22.

Page 63 (LXII.): *Cf. Dhammapada Commentary*, iii., 460*f*, giving a slightly different version of the legend.

Page 63, *l.* 5: *Cf. S.* i. 201 *f.*

Page 64, ver.: *Cf. Pss. of the Sisters*, ver. 490, and *A.* iii. 97.

Page 65, *n.* 3: On banner *cf.* also *S.* i. 41 and 219.

Page 67: "Five things conduce . . ." *cf. Anguttara*, iii., 84, or 85, or 173. I am not sure whether the Commentary is referring to any of these.

Page 76 (77):=*Dhammapada*, ver. 326.

Page 77 (78): First half *Dhammapada*, ver. 153.

Page 82: *For* line 4 (86), *read* Instructs as one what is in palm o' th' hand revealing. In *n.* 2 *delete* last sentence and *read* : *Cf.* "the closed fist" of a teacher, *Dialogues*, ii., 107

Page 92, *n.* 2: "lucid thought" is preferable, for *sati.*

Page 110, *n.* 4: It should have here been stated that *piṇḍola* is Pāli for beggar, almsman. Childers's Dictionary does not know the word. Not recognizing it as a purely common name, the translator and even the editor of

the *Iti-vuttaka* (§ 91), have yielded to the obstructive association created by the well-known soubriquet. Yet both Dhammapāla's Commentary (on *Iti-vuttaka*) and that on the parallel *Saŋyutta*, iii. 93, are clear:—piṇḍāya uḷatīti *piṇḍolo:* piṇḍolassa kammaŋ *piṇḍolyaŋ*. The soubriquet of Beggar-Bhāradvāja may have been given by contemptuous kinsfolk. On the abuse bestowed on the beggar (specimens are given in the latter Commentary) see Tālapuṭa's verse (1118). It appears that Piṇḍola is the name of a "Wandering Jew" bhikkhu in Chinese Buddhist legends. But it is clear from both the translated and the excised legends in Dhammapāla's Commentary, that he knew nothing about that. *Cf.* A. J. Edmunds, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, ii. 264.

Page 116 (133-4): =*Dhp.*, ver. 13, 14.

Page 116, *n.* 1: *Cf. Dhp.* 13, 14.

Page 117 (137): *Cf. Jātaka*, i., No. 62, p. 155 (text, 295).

Page 119 (141)=*Saŋyutta*, i. 154.

Page 121, ver. 146: *Cf. Dhp.* ver. 136.

Page 121, *n.* 1: *Cf.* p. 189, *n.* 3.

Page 122 (147: *Add :—after* apart. =*Saŋy.*, ii. 158.

Page 124 (152): =*Sutta-Nipāta*, ver. 728, 1051.

Page 138, *n.* 1: *Add : Cf.* the correcter form, *Udāna*, vi. 3.

Page 140, *n.* 1, *l.* 3: To references add *Dhammapada Commentary*, iii., 127.

Page 141, ver. 187: *Cf. Dhp.* 345, *Sn.* ver. 38, and *Jāt.* ii. 140.

Page 141, *n.* 2: The verse occurs also in *S.* i. 275.

Page 143 (191): =*Udāna*, iv. 4.

Page 144 (194): Last two lines=*Sutta-Nip.*, ver. 440.

Page 171, *l.* 1: *Delete* he. In *n.* 2, *for* The former is *read* They are; *and for* ii. 3, *read* ii. 5.

Page 174, *n.* 1: Conceivably a confusion has arisen in this legend and in that of Somamitta, cxxxiv. Amitta Thera is very possibly Somamitta, and the rôles of teacher and learner may have got inverted. It is curious that Dhammapāla, after his concluding comment on p. 122, makes no subsequent allusion to it.

Page 182: Niyasa; in the Vinaya account, Yasa. I do not yet know whether the Singhalese (Copnnhagen) MS. supports this alteration in the Thera's name.

Page 185: I can give no explanation of the curious term "tree-talk." It is unmistakably *rukkha-kathā* in the Br. MS. The first verse occurs *Jāt.*, i. 31; iv. 496 (text), and is quoted in *Dhammapada Commentary*, i. 99. *Cf.* p. 416.

Page 189, *n.* 3: *Add:* See *S.* i. 79: *ocarakā:* Com.: 'men of the plains or valleys.'

Page 192: "The weather-gods . . ." So Commentary: *devatā vassaŋ varesuŋ*, the plural number being most unusual. (The noun is singular, or plural; the verb is certainly plural.)

Page 196 (344): "Quenched" were more congruous than "crushed," but the latter is nearer the meaning of *padālitā*, shattered, burst.

Page 198, *n.* 1: *Add:* It is noteworthy that neither of these versions of Vakkali's legend coincides entirely with that of the *Saŋyutta-Nikāya* (iii., 119 *f.*), in which Vakkali is admonished when mortally ill, and ultimately commits suicide without forfeiting arahantship. *Cf. Iti-vuttaka*, § 92; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 49; *Bud. Psy.*, 258, *n.* 4.

Page 203: Omitted footnote: The "sixteen Aṭṭhakas" make up the Aṭṭhaka-vagga, or Book IV. of the *Sutta-Nipāta* (ver. 766 *ff.*). But the verse quoted—

> "*Seeing the evil of a worldly life*
> *And knowing what is taught by holy Norm,*
> *Exempt from all the substrate for re-birth,*
> *The Ariyan findeth no delight in sin;*
> *Sin doth afford no pleasure to the pure.*"

is the "Udana," or solemn utterance of the Buddha, pronounced upon Soṇa's sincerity and finished recital, in *Udāna*, v., 6.

Page 203, *n.* 2: *For* ten *read* eight. It is perhaps a little premature to call Sela a "believer" in verses 823, 825. (Non-believers usually spoke to or of the Master as *bho*, or *samaṇa Gotama.*) If Sela's case be omitted, only six instances remain.

Page 223: ver. 441: *Cf. S.* i. 162.

Page 231: Verses 469-72 occur *Anguttara*, ii. 71.

Page 237, *n.* 3: *Read Dhammabhūtā*=Norm-become, *dhammakāyā*, paraphrases, etc.

Page 237, *n.* 5: *Add:* See also *Mahāvastu* (Senart), iii., 365 *f.*

Page 240 (498): =*Dhammapada*, ver. 6.

Page 243, *l.* 5: "Abstract"—*i..e*, arūpa-jhānas: see p. 258, *n.* 1, and Compendium, 64, 90.

Page 250, ver. 531 *f.*: *Cf. S.* i. 174 which has four more stanzas; with ver. 529 *cf. Jāt.* v. 401.

Page 251, *n.* 1, *l.* 6: *Add:* And also, fully, but in slightly different phraseology, in *Mahāvastu*, iii., p. 93.

Page 251, *n.* 3; *For* not elsewhere called Greek, *read* called the Yona in *Mahāvaṃsa* (Geiger's translation, P.T.S., 1912), pp. 82, 85, where see *n.* 5.

Page 266: The story of Sankicca may be a doubly bifurcated legend: *cf.* his birth and ordination with that of Sopāka (XXXIII.) and Sīvali (LX.); and his self-sacrificing courage with that of his nephew Adhimutta (CCXLVIII.).

Page 277 (635, 636): =*Dhammapada*, ver. 292, 293.

Page 278, ver. 642*f.*: *Cf. A.* iii. 378.

Page 280 (653): =*Dhammapada*, ver. 315.

Page 283 (672): *Parinibbanti* need not necessarily refer to the *death* of the righteous; *cf.* p. 202, *n.* 1; *Majjhima*, i., 45, 446. The Commentary takes it apparently to mean the rounding off of perfect life: *idāni . . . anupādisesa-nibbāna-dhātuyā desanāya kuṭaŋ gaṇhanto bhavāyitvānāti osānagātham āha.*

Page 284: *Read* Annā-Kondañña. It is interesting to note that the Burmese MS. of the Commentary, when commencing his legend, retains the original form Aññāsi-Kondañña. The Buddha, namely, when he had convinced this, his first disciple, is said to have exclaimed, *Aññasi vato bho Kondañño!* (Truly Kondañña has perceived !), and the latter became known as Aññāta-Kondañña (" Kondañña who has that which is perceived ") (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 98). In subsequent allusions the Commentary calls him simply Kondañña, or Kondañña-māṇava. In *Milinda*, ii., 44, where the eight brahmins' names are given, he is called Yañña. *Cf. Buddhist Birth Stories* (*Nidāna-Kathā*), p. 72 *f.*, 113, where hs is called Yañña, and Aññā-Kondañña respectively.

Page 286, *n.* 1: *Add:* These three verses are quoted in the *Kathāvatthu*, p. 531, as spoken by the Exalted One.

Page 288, *n.* 2: *Add:* In *Jāt.* i. 123 he is called Laḷ'udāyin.

Page 293: Verses 720, 721, 624, 725 are ascribed to the official editors or "chanters." Commentary (the first two, *sangītikārena*, the second two, *sangītikārehi*, *vuttagāthā*, In elucidating verse 722, the *Iti-vuttaka Commentary* is referred to.

Page 295, *n.* 1: In the *Iti-vuttaka*, Suttas 1 and 2 of the Duka-Nipāta give in briefest outline the substance of Pārāpariya's Gāthā, and would be well known to Dhammapāla, but his Commentary on them does not refer to the Thera.

Page 322, ver. 873: *See* ver. 203, and *Dhp.* 382.

Page 324, ver. 884: *Cf. S.* i. 25.

Page 328, ver. 902: *For* "To me," etc., *read:*

"When will arose in me, further than that he taught."

I cannot, to give this precious line true rendering, avoid the extra foot:

yadā me ahu sankappo, tato uttariṃ desayi,

but the progress to a further, a beyond, is too much of the genuine teaching to be given anyway save literally.

Page 342, *n.* 1: It is clear that, in Dhammapāla's authorities Dīghanakha and Mahā-Koṭṭhita were different persons. *Cf. Avadāna,* ii., 187, 188; Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, on p. 328, *n.* 4.

Page 345, ver. 994: *Cf. Dhp.* 77; and ver. 996: *cf. K.V.* iii. 9.

Page 345, *n.* 3: *Add:* These six lines are quoted *as Sāriputta s* in the *Kathāvatthu,* p. 257.

Page 346, ver. 1002 *f.*: *Cf.* Milton's

"Nor love thy life nor hate, but what thou liv'st,
Live well! . . . how long or short permit to heav'n."

Page 354 (1026): The metaphor anticipates by centuries that kindred one of Dante, who (*Purg.*, xxii.) makes Statius say to Virgil:

"... *As one*
Who, journeying through the darkness, bears a light
Behind, that profits not himself, but makes
His followers wise. . . ."

Page 361, ver. 1051: *Cf. S.* ii. 198.

Page 362, *n.* 1: On Kassapa *Cf. Ud.* i. 6; also *S.* ii. 194 *f.*

Page 367, ver. 1087: *Cf S.* ii. 155 *f.*

Page 369: Tālapuṭa is a name that suggests a soubriquet, *tāla* meaning palm or palm-leaf, and *puṭa* a bundle or leaf-basket. *Cf. puṭabhattaŋ,* p. 270, *n.* 6.

Page 373 (1104): 'Hell-flung' is perhaps more rhetorical than closely accurate; *pātālakhittaŋ balavāmukhañ ca . . . vibhaŋsanaŋ* is literally: [when shall I, etc.] "and o'er the awful mighty abyss-discharged mouth. . . ." *Pātāla,* meaning (vaguely) abyss, is conceived in the Epics and Purāṇas as a bottomless pit on land; in Buddhist literature it is conceived as a whirlpool in the ocean concealing submarine regions. Thus in *Saŋyutta Nikāya,* iv., 206: ". . . who says, there is a pātāla in the ocean . . ." where, as in i., 32: "*Pātālam atarī isi,*" *pātāla* is taken metaphorically as any circumstance in which one is carried off one's feet, loses balance (*Commentary*) *Cf. Milinda,* ii., 138 for a different application.

Page 378, *n.* 2: *V* and *c* are often confused not only in Singhalese, but also in Burmese, on palm-leaf. In Sutta-Nipāta, verse 162*f.*, between -cāraṇo and -vāraṇo Fausböll chose the former. What, then, is a *cāraṇikaŋ*? The Commentary itself is obscure: abhinhako carakārahaŋ viya mano-dassento carakārahaŋ purisaŋ vañcetvā caragopakānaŋ nibbādento viya punappunaŋ tantaŋ-bhavaŋ dassento. I should be glad to have light thrown on carakārahaŋ and tantaŋ-bhavaŋ. In Sanskrit cāraṇo is a strolling player, hence my rendering. If correct, it is a very likely simile for one with Tālapuṭa's traditional antecedents to gave used.

Page 384 (1156). With "mā pāpacitte āhari" *cf.* (1173), p. 387, *n.* 3. *Āhari*, as there, means, more probably, accost, assail. And a juster rendering would be:

> Wherefore have thou no truck with thoughts of vice,
> As bird that flies bewildered into flame.

The Commentary has: *Kāmesu niggatāya lāmakacitte nihinacittamādise āsādesi.*

Page 390, ver. 1182: *Cf. S.* i. 34.

Page 392, ver. 1198: Improved in my translation of *S.* i. 145, which gives the episode.

Page 397, ver. 1211: *For* "Firmly," etc., *read*:

> "On dhamma verily I firmly stand."

reading for *dhammesu*, *dhamme su*, with *su* as particle of emphasis. I do not deny that monk-edited versions could come to read *dhammesv-amhi patiṭṭhito*, as in Oldenberg's text (note, some MSS. have a *v.l.*), but Vangīsa appears to have been a genuine disciple of the Founder, and, for these, *dhamma* in the plural meant simply 'things,' not 'truths.'

Page 415, last art.: *rukkhakathā* should certainly read *rakkhakathā*. *Cf.* art. *rukkha*, Pāli Dictionary, P.T.S., which quotes a 'by-form' of the latter for the former in *Jā.* iii. 144.

Page 419: On *tantaṃ bhāvaṃ* Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy wrote, 9, 3, 1933: "explained in my 'Early Passage in Indian Painting,' *Eastern Art*, iii. 219, *n.* 1." See also *S.* i. 8: *santānaka*.

Page 419, art. 2: *Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha*, iii. 15, *n.*

Page 446: *Add* art. *Svadhiṭṭhita*, 258, *n.* 2; *cf. S.* v. 278.

II[1]

ASPECTS OF THE GOAL OR GOOD (*ATTHA*) IN THE BRETHREN'S VERSES, VIEWED UNDER—

A. A Negative Aspect.

(*As a release, a getting rid of.*)

(*a*) Nibbāna (or going-out—viz., of the fire or fever, of greed, ill-will, illusion)	lxxi., lxxix., cxix., cxxix., cxli., clxv., clxxii., clxxxiv., cc. cciii., ccxii., ccxxxviii., ccxlv., cclii., cclix., cclx., cclxii., cclxiv.
(*b*) Freedom :	
(i.) Release from social or economic bonds ..	xliii., lxxii., lxxxii., lxxxix., cxxxi.
(ii.) Release from spiritual bonds	lx., lxxxix., xciii., c., cxxxi., cxlviii., cli., clxxxvi.-clxxxvii., clxxxix., cxci., cxciv., cxcviii., ccx., ccxv., ccxxiv., ccxxvi., ccxxxix., ccliv.
(*c*) Release from Ill, sorrow ..	lxviii., lxxviii., lxxxi., lxxxiv., cxx., clviii., clxxxii., clxxxiv., ccii., ccxx., ccxxviii., ccxxxviii., ccxlviii., cclix.
(*d*) Release from Living and Dying (rebirth, or Saŋsāra)	xvii., xliv., lvii., lxvii., lxxx., lxxxiii., lxxxvii., xc., xcviii.-xcix., ci., cxxi., cxxv., cxxviii., cxxxvi., cxxxix., cxxv., cxlv., cxlix., clii., clxviii., clxxxi.-clxxxii., ccii., cciv., ccxx., ccxxviii., ccxxxvii., ccxl., ccxliv.-ccxlv., ccli.

[1] This table, a companion picture to that drawn up for the Sisters, may be of some positive and comparative utility. I have endeavoured to select only the dominant note of attainment or aspiration in each psalm. At times this is difficult ; the Commentary, *e.g.*, in introducing the brief poem of Sīvaka (xiv.) states a fourfold burden to the one sloka. There I have selected the joy in that retreat from the world into the peace and charm of nature, which is so characteristic a note of those poet-anchorites. Besides this new group, I have had to add others, for this volume contains nearly thrice as many poems, and among the men, as is natural, there is a greater range of outlook. Where, in a complex goal, no one aspect predominates, I have enrolled the poem under more than one head, as, *e.g.*, in cxxv. Poems not hymning any aspect (*e.g.*, cxxx.) have not been included.

(*e*) Release from Craving and Sensuality (one aspect of Nibbāna)	xviii., xxviii., lvi., lxxiii., lxxiv., xciii., cxxvii., cxxxiv., cxli., clxxi., clxxxi., cxciii., cciii., ccxiv., ccxxxi., ccxxxix., ccxlviii., ccli., cclxii., cclxiv. (iv.).
(*f*) Release from Fear	vi.-viii., xxi., clv., ccxvi., ccxxxii., ccxlviii., ccliii., ccliv., cclxii.
(*g*) Release from Illusions of Self (soul), ***māna***	lxiv., lxxxix., clxiii., ccxviii.-ccxx., ccl., cclxi.
(*h*) Release from the (four) Āsavas (intoxicants, which include (*e*))	v., xlvii., xcii., cxvi., cxxv., cxli., cxlix., cxcviii., clxiii., clxix., ccxxxviii.-ccxxxix., ccli., ccxlvii., cclvi., cclxi.
(*i*) Release from scepticism ..	ccl.

B. A Positive Aspect.

1. *Subjectively Considered.*

(*a*) Mental Enlightenment conceived as—	
(i.) Light	iii., xxv., cxxiv., cxlv., ccxlii., cclxiv.
(ii.) Knowledge, understanding, insight, wisdom, vision	x., xlv., lxi., cxlii., cxlvi., cxlvii., clxii., clxxxviii., ccxiii., ccxxvi., ccxxx., cclxii.
(iii.) Intuition, insight, "triple lore"	lv., cxxv., c., cxliii., clxx., clxxi., cxc., cxcvii., cxcviii., ccxxxi., ccxxxvi., ccxlii., ccxliii., cclvi., cclxiv.
(iv.) Clarity, lucidity (*sati*) ..	xxx., xli., lix., ccxxv., cclxii.
(v.) Concentration	xxxvii., xlvi., cxii., clxxiii.
(*b*) State of Feeling:	
(i.) Happiness	xvi., xxxv., lxiii., lxxxv., clxii., clxxv., cxcii., cxcv., ccv., ccxi., ccxxx., ccliv.
(ii.) "Cool," calm, content, serenity, resignation	i., ii., xii., xx., li.-liv., lviii., cvi., cxi., cxviii., clxiv., clxxiii., cxciii., ccv., ccxvi., ccxl., ccxliv., ccxlvi., ccxlviii., ccliv., ccvi., cclix., cclxi.
(iii.) Peace, safety	xv., xxxii., xlix., lxix, xcvi., clxxxiii., cc., ccvii.-ccviii., ccxvii., ccxxix., ccxxiii., ccxlv., cclvii.
(*c*) State of Will:	
(i.) Self-mastery	vi., xix., xxix., l., lxxvii., cix., cxxiii., cxl., clxiii., clxvii., ccvi., ccxxv., ccxlii., cclv., cclxii.
(ii.) Power	xxxviii., lxx., civ., cclxiii.
(iii.) Steadfastness, balance ..	clvi., ccxi.
(*d*) Complexes of (*a*), (*b*), (*c*):	
(i.) Confidence	cxxvi., ccli., ccliii.
(ii.) Victory	vi.-viii., xi., clvii., clxxv., ccli.

(iii.) Alertness, awakeness, health	xxii., xxxix., xl., clxvi.
(iv.) Detachment (with or without nature-love)	xiii., xiv., xxiii., xxvii., xxxi., xxxiv., xli., lxiii., cv., cxiii., cxxxi., clxxiv., clxxv., clxxviii., cxcvi., ccxxxii., ccxxxiv., ccxxxix.-ccxl., cclxi.-cclxii.

2. *Objectively considered as*—

(*a*) Truth	xxvi., lxxxviii.
(*b*) Good news, doctrine, guidance	ix., lxxxvi., xci., xciv., ciii., cxvii., cxxxviii., cclv., cclx.
(*c*) A supreme conjuncture ..	clxxii., clxxiv., clxxxiv., ccxiv., ccxxii., ccxliv., cclix.
(*d*) Order (*dhammatā, niyāmatā*) ..	xxiv., clxi., clxx., clxxxvi.-clxxxvii., cxc., cxciv., cxcviii., cciv., ccxv., ccxxiv., ccxxvi.-ccxxvii., ccxlix.
(*e*) Regulated life	xxxvi.
(*f*) Communion with the Best ..	iv., lxvi., lxxv., clxxxv., ccix., ccxxxiii., cclx., cclxii.
(*g*) Service, fraternal goodwill ..	xxxiii., xlviii., lxv., lxxvi.-lxxvii., ccxl., ccxliv.
(*h*) Perfection (*sādhutā*)	cxiv.
(*i*) Otherness of life (from worldly life and standards)	lxxvi., xcvii., cii., cvii.-cviii., cx., cxxii., cxxxvii., cliv., ccxxiii., ccli.
(*j*) Refuge, haven	clxxii., clxxxiv., cxc., ccxvii., ccl., cclix.
(*k*) The "Ambrosial"	cxliv., cci., cclvii.-cclviii., cclxii., cclxiv.
(*l*) The Good Supreme, salvation (*attha, sadattha*)	cci., cciv., ccxix., ccxxix., ccxliii., cclxiv.

III

THERA-VERSES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS ANTHOLOGY NOR IN THE PIṬAKAS

WE know that the Theragāthā does not exhaust the verses ascribed to Theras which survive in Buddhist literature. There are several which have not even found a place in the Pali Canon. Among these are twenty ślokas attributed to Punna, son of the Maitreyas (Pūrna Maitrāyaṇīputra) in the *Mahāvastu* (Senart ed., iii., 382). He is said to have been a brahmin's son of Donavatthu in Kosala, and may possibly be identifiable with Puṇṇa Mantāniputta, No. IV. in our Anthology, the birthplace being identical and the legends very similar. The contents of the verses would scarcely repay the difficulties of a metrical English rendering. They are a hymn of praise to the Buddha, who for thirteen gāthās is addressed by a sun-title, different from that in our collection, in a refrain, as *e.g.*:

"*That thou, being in the Realm of Bliss, didst become an elephant like to a snowy crest, and enter on thy last birth:—this, O thou, kin to the thousand-rayed! is sweet to me!*"

—a verse which suggests that the hymn is of a relatively late date, the white elephant legend appearing first, I believe, in the Nidānakathā Jātaka Commentary.

After hymning thus the Birth, Renunciation, and Enlightenment, the author continues by exulting in the "great Hero's" Dhamma, this time prefixing a refrain of the one word *dishṭyā*: "by good luck!" *e.g.*:

"*O happy fate, the Norm-Wheel by the Norm! O happy fate, that this of twelve parts composed should be rolled on!*"

Here again is the identification of the twelve links of the "Wheel of Causation" with the "Wheel of the Norm," which Buddhaghosa evidently found in vogue, but which I have not met with in the Pitakas. The *Divyāvadāna*, using the same phrase: *dvādas'aṅgaḥ* (*pratītyasamutpādo*) relates how

this doctrine was explained by the graphic aid of a wheel-picture (p. 300 *f*.). *Cf*. the modern version of the tradition in *Compendium*, p. 262 *f*.[1]

In the *Divyāvadāna*, again, are other verses—*e.g.*, by Puṇṇa (Pūrṇa) of Sunāparanta (Sroṇāparānta), whither he went, or returned, as a missionary. This is the author of No. LXX. in this collection (*p*. 40 *f*. in *Divyāvadāna*). More available to English readers are the extra-canonical Thera-verses in the *Milinda*, comprising fourteen by Sāriputta, two by Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja, two by Subhūti, one by Moggallāna the Great, three by Anuruddha, one by Upāli, three by Rāhula, one by Vangīsa, one by Cūla-Panthaka, one by Mogharājan, and five by Upasena-Vanganta-putta. *All* of these occur in the last book (VII.) of the *Milinda*, and may be consulted in the translated edition. They are all quoted by the author, as bearing precisely as much, or as little, authority as those other verses, which he quotes, on five occasions, from the *Theragāthā*. Reference to such citations is given in my footnotes. But the source or sources from which they are drawn remains one of the many problems obscuring the history of Pali literature.

[1] *Cf*. Dr. Oldenberg's comparative analysis of the diction in the Pūrṇa episode with that of *Majjh. Nik.*, "Rathavinīta-Sutta." "Studien zur Geschichte des buddhistischen Kanon." *Nachrichten G. W. Göttingen*, 1912.

IV

WORKS QUOTED OR REFERRED TO BY DHAMMAPĀLA'S COMMENTARY

Page 21 : *Vinaya* (Vin. Texts, i., 134), sermon on Burning (*sic*).
Page 207 : *Vinaya* (Vin. Texts, i., 134), sermon on Burning (*sic*).
Page 225 : *Vinaya* (Vin. Texts, i., 1 *f*.).
Page 285 : *Vinaya* (Vin. Texts, i., 100 *f*.), sermon on No-sign-[of-any-soul] (*sic*).
Page 9 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Rathavinīta-Sutta" (*sic*).
Page 30 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Bālapaṇḍita-Sutta," parable of the hole in the yoke. (Also cited in CLXXXIII.)
Page 31 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Bhaddekaratta-Sutta," in "Lomasakangiya-Sutta" (*sic*).
Page 71 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Puṇṇovāda-Sutta."
Page 82 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Maḍhupiṇḍika-Sutta" (*sic*).
Page 161 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, "[Dhātu]vibhanga-Sutta" (*sic*).
Page 224 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Kakacūpama-Sutta," the parable quoted by name.
Page 280 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, ("Ariyapariyesana-Sutta") on "*ariyatuṇhībhāva*."
Page 295 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Indriyabhāvanā-Sutta" (*sic*); see below p. 418, on p. 295, *n*. 1.
Page 342 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Dīghanakha-Sutta," called "Vedanā-pariggaha-Suttanta."
Page 386 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, "Māratajjaniya-Sutta," called "Pāsādakamma-Suttanta."
Page 30 : *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, v., 455, "Chiggala-Sutta" (see above, Majjhima "Bāla-paṇḍita-sutta").
Page 44 : *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, iii., 106, "Thera-Tissa-Sutta" (*sic*).
Page 48 : *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, i., 208, "Sānu-Sutta" (*sic*).
Page 49 : *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, ii., 271, "Maranañ h'etaṃ" . . . hīnāyāvattati."
Page 224 : *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, ii., 98, parable referred to.

Page 224 : *Saŋyutta-Nikāya*, iv., 196, § 5, parable referred to.
Page 397 *f.* : *Saŋyutta-Nikāya*, i., 185 *f.*, Vangīsa-Saŋyutta.
Page 5 : *Anguttara Nikāya*, i., 24, Etad-agga-vagga. (The other forty 'agga' or top (ἄκρος) assignments are mentioned (see footnotes), but not with quotation.
Page 288 : *Anguttara Nikāya*, iii., 345 *f.*, "Nāgopama-suttanta" (*sic*).
Page 234 : *Khuddaka-pātha*, "Kumārapañha" (*sic*).
Page 166 : *Udāna*, iii., 3. The rebuke to Yasoja referred to.
Page 345 : *Udāna*, iv., 4. Incident there is referred to, but work not mentioned.
Page 177 : *Sutta-Nipāta*, "Sabhiya-Sutta" (*sic*).
Page 201 : *Sutta-Nipāta*, "Sabhiya-Sutta" (*sic*).
Page 203 : *Sutta-Nipāta*, the "Sixteen Atthakas" (*sic*).
Page 126 : *Jātaka*, vi., No. 547, "Vessantara-jātaka" (*sic*).
Page 77 : *Jātaka*, v., No. 536, "Kunāla-jātaka" (*sic*).
Page 258 : *Jātaka*, i., No. 4, "Cūlasetthi-jātaka" (*sic*, not Cullaka-). Dhammapāla quotes it not as Vannanā, but as stated ; so that in his day a "Jātaka" meant Commentary as well as Ākhyāna, all taken together. Another interesting feature is his free citation of that Commentary. I give both version as an instance of how fluid was the form of prose narratives, even of canonical matter :

Jātaka.	*Dhammapāla.*
Bhikkhave, Cullapanthako maŋ nissāya idāni tāva dhammesu dhammamahantataŋ patto ; pubbe pana maŋ nissāya bhogesu pi bhogamahantataŋ pāpunīti.	*Bhikkhave, Cūlapanthakena idāni mayhaŋ ovāde thatvā lokuttaradāyajjaŋ laddhaŋ ; pubbe pana lokiyadāyajjan ti.*

Apadāna : quoted regularly, as for the Sisters' legends, for most, but not for all the Theras—*e.g.*, not for Tālaputa. Hence one of Dhammapāla's dichotomies of them is that thy were either *s'āpadānā* or *an-apadānā*. Only they who under former Buddhas had had *puññakriyāvasena sāvakapāramitā-sankhātaŋ pavattitaŋ* are in the *Apadāna*.

Other Commentaries.

Page 398, *n.* 9 : *Sāratthapakāsinī* (*sic*).
Page 20 : *Anguttara Commentary*. Never referred to as *Manoratha-pūranī*, but the phrase quoted (p. 199) agrees textually with it.
Page 198 : *Anguttara Commentary*.
Page 199 : *Anguttara Commentary*.

Page 203 : *Anguttara Commentary.*
Page 56 : *Khuddaka-pāṭha* or *Saŋyutta Commentary,* "Ratana-Sutta" (*sic*).
Page 180 : *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 70.
Page 199 : *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 331.
Page 266 : *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 110.
Page 8 : *Udāna Commentary* on "Tathāgata."
Page 203 : *Udāna Commentary* on v. 6.
Page 8 : *Iti-vuttaka Commentary* on "Tathāgata."
Page 293 : *Iti-vuttaka Commentary* on "knowing all" and "seeing all" (?).
Page 30 : *Therīgāthā Commentary* on Abhaya's Mother, *Sisters*, page 30, referred to as to follow.
} Dhammapāla's own commentaries.
Page 237 (492) : *Visuddhi-Magga,* probably the "Indriya-Sacca-Niddesa," as dealing in detail with the Truths.
Page 317 : *Visuddhi-Magga,* the "Dhutanga-Niddesa."

In his opening remarks Dhammapāla enumerates the five Nikāyas, and affirms the inclusion of the *Thera-therīgāthā* in the poetical books of the Fifth (Khuddaka-) Nikāya. The gāthās "were all brought into unity (*ekajjaŋ katvā*) at the Recitation-time (council), and were as such chanted by those who made the recension of the Dhamma" (*dhammasangāhakehi*).

It is noteworthy that Dhammapāla only once refers to any of the three last named Commentaries *as parts* of the Paramatthadīpanī, nor does he call it his own work. Nor does he even name Buddhaghosa as author or editor of any of the other Commentaries mentioned, or of the *Visuddhi Magga.* Nor does he refer to the Commentary on the *Sutta-Nipāta as such*, nor to that on the *Majjhima,* nor to that on the *Dīgha*, nor indeed does he ever quote any portion of the *Dīgha* itself, although the *Theragāthā* includes gāthās taken from that work. See CCLVI., CCLX.

INDEX

*References in brackets are to verses: without brackets, to pages. An * is prefixed to names of 'Psalm'-authors.*

*Abhaya, 30
*Abhaya, (2), 92
Abhibhu, 170 *n.* 3
Abhibhūta, 170
Abhidhamma, 66, 133
Abhidhammikas, 131 *n.* 1
Abhirādana, 12
Action, (422). See Kamma
Actors, 369, (1129)
Adept, (334), (415)
*Adhimutta, xxvii, xlvii, 102, 291
Affection, (241), (370), (875)
Age, decay, (73), (118) (133), (450)
Aged Theras, xxix, (108), 115
Aggālava, (1263)
Aggidatta, 35
Aims (*sankappā*), (60); (quest, *attha*), (105), (380), (539)
Ajātasattu, 269
*Ajina, 114
*Ajita, 25
*Ajjuna, 83
Alertness of mind. See Mindfulness
Alms, (82), 92, (123), (248), (268), (531), (579), (934), (1054 *f.*), (1146 *f.*), (1172)
Altar (*simile*), (566)
Amatā, kumārā, 43
Ambapālī, 353; her son, 65
Ambrosial, the (*cf.* ἄμβροτον), 272; simile for Nibbāna, 26 *n.* 1, (21), 34, (69), 83 *n.* 2, (168), (179), (199), (296), (330), (336), (749), (947), (980), (1103), (1110), (1115), (1229), (1243)
Amitodana, 325, 349
Amitta (? Amita), 173
Amity, love, *mettā*, xlvii *n.* 4, 38, 48, (48), 55, (648)
Analytic attention, (269), (273) (301), (318), (409), (464)
Ānanda, CCL., introduction ascribed to him, 3, *n.*; soubriquet, 21, 182; his tutor, 21; becomes arahant, 163, 352; ordains, 163, 232; is admonished, 106; converts, 182; permanent attendant, 350
Anāthapiṇḍika, his Grove, 4 *n.* 1; his daughter, 20; his nephew, 4; his slaves, 21; invites the Buddha, 264
Anga, (484), (632)
*Angaṇika-Bhāradvāja, 157
Angīrasa, (536), (1252)
*Angulimāla, 318
*Añjana-vaniya, Añjanāvaniya, 56
Anguttarāpa, 310
Aññā, xxxiii, 6 *n.* 1, *passim*
*Anointing, (97), 110, (862)
Aññā-Kondañña, 8, 284, 405
Anomadassi Buddha, 340
Anotatta Lake, 220 *f.*
*Anūpama, 154
Anupiyā, 10, 105, 143 *n.* 3, 168, 315, 326
*Anuruddha, 29, 31, 126, 220, 325
Apadāna, xxiv, 426
Āpana, 310
Ape, (113), (601), (1070); (*simile*) (125), (399), (454), (1080), (1111)
Application (will, *chanda*), (305)
Apprentice, (334)
Arahant, of 'ten powers,' 7 *n.* 1, 138; (Buddha), 185; banner of, (961), and *passim*
Arahantship, *passim*
Arahants, 991

Archery, (1160), (1210). See Hair-splitting
Ari-ya, -yan, (48), 62, 75, 128, (507), 248, 262, 265 *n.* 1, (595), (645 *f.*), (282), 312 *n.* 3; lineage of, 326; *cf.* 312 *n.* 3
Armour (*simile*), (543), (614), 318, (1110)
Arnold, E., 1
Asceticism, 179, 191, 196, (683), (1120)
Asita, 62
Asoka, Dhammāsoka, King, xxi *f.*, 133, 251
Asuras, (1128)
Assaji, 341
Assaji-Punabbasu bhikkhus, 344
Aṭṭhaka's (of the *Sutta Nipāta*), 203, 415
Astray, (1174)
*Ātuma, 72
Austerities, 113 *n.* 1, 120, 157, 166, 180, 189, 208, 262, (721), 844 *f.*), (1087)
Avadāna, 328 *n.* 4
Avanti, 107, 149, 202
Avenue of insight, 199, 200
Awe, (376), (1046), (1158)

Bag (*simile*), (1134), (1151)
*Bākula, 159
Bālakalona, 176
Balance, mental, 24, (102), (662)
Bamboo (*simile*), (72)
*Bandhura, 95
Bane and bale, (1117)
Banner (*four similes*), (64), (961)
Baptizing, 181
Barber, 133, 168
Bases, the Three, 208
Bathing, (540)
Bath-rite, 222 *n.* 1, (345 *f.*)
Bāvari, -riya, 25, 151
Beasts, (524); bears, buffaloes, hyenas, 142; boar, (1135); dog, 190; frogs, (310); jackals, 190, 233; panthers, (1113); tigers, (1113); mouse, (229); gazelle, (1135). See also Deer, Elephant, Lion, Horse, Ox, etc.
Beauty, (1105), (1125); of the Buddha, (818 *f.*)
Becoming, 369, (574 *f.*), (661), (767), (1089), (1091), (1142). And see Life, birth of
*Belaṭṭhakāni, 94
*Belaṭṭhasīsa, 21
Benares, 13, 104, 114, 121, 160, 173, 208
Bergson, xlvi *n.* 4, 205 *n.* 2
Best, (9), (1261)
Beyond, xlvi,' (748), (763), (771 *f.*), (1144)
*Bhadda, 231
*Bhaddaji, 129
Bhaddā Kapilānī, 359 *f.*
Bhaddiya, 129
*Bhaddiya-Kāligodhāya, 315
*Bhaddiya, Lakuṇṭaka-, 230
Bhaggava, 318
*Bhagu, 176
*Bhalliya, 12
*Bharata, 135
*Bhāradvāja, 136
*Bhāradvāja, Piṇḍola, 110, 415
Bhāradvājas, the gotta, 157
Bhārukaccha, 194
Bhikkhus, seditious, 16, 344 *f.*; touring, 42; intemperate, 41; degenerate, 331 *f.*; 336 *f.*
Bhūmija, 12
Bhikkhunīs. See Sisters
*Bhūta, 245
Bimbisāra, King of Magadha, forgetfulness, 5, 55, 192; sons of, 30, 65, 269; receives Buddha, 45, 51, 72, 101; his friend, 90; sends for Soṇa-Koḷivisa, 275
Bindusāra, King, 209
Birds, (522), (1065), (1108), (1135); kite, 64; heron, (1113); cuckoo, 231 *n.* 2; crow, (599); crane, (307 *f.*); peacock, (22), 27 *n.* 2, 153, (211), (1065), (1113), (1136); *similes*, (1156); path of, (92), (522); decoy, (139); myna, (1232); nesting, (1036); swan, (1270)
Blind, 88, (342), (1026)
Boat (*simile*), (556), (766). See Ship (also *nāvā*)
Bode, Mrs. M. H., xx
Bodhisat, 62, 129, 248, (534), 284, 338 *n.* 3, 349

Bodyservant to the Buddha, 350 *f.* (1021), (1041 *f.*)
Body (*kāya*), (52), (104), (114), (169), (172), (279 *f.*), (312), (736 *f.*), (395 *f.*), (1020 *f.*), (1150 *f.*), *passim*; (*samussaya*), 80 *n.* 2, (124), (351), (394), (436); (*sarīra*), (381 *f.*); (*sandeha*), (599); (*dipādaka*), (453) (*samussitaṃ*), (769 *f.*)
Bog (*similes*), (89), (124), 127, (495), (1053)
Bonds, (142), (176), (182), (282), (413), (417), (521), (699), (750), (768), (793), (1022), (1143), (1152), (1234). See Fetter
Bones, meditation on, 22, 123 *f.*
Books (*ganthā*), 168, 206; (*sātthā*), 177
Boon, (468), 351
Border city (*simile*), (653), (1005)
Border country, 97
Bourne (*gati*), (216)
Bow (*simile*), (753)
Boy Theras, 37 *f.*, 60, 73, 220, 231, 233
*Brahmadatta, 223
Brahma-gods, 148, 177, (1082), (1168), (1178 *f.*)
*Brahmāli, 150
Brahmāyu, 52
Brahmins, xxviii, and *passim*; lore, 180, 198; communion, 158; descent, (889), (1170); 'graduates,' 52, (221), 222; (holy, excellent), (182); saint, 322, (948), (1264), (1276); enmity of, 387
Brandis, D., on trees, 363 *n.* 2
Breathing exercise, (548), (696)
Breed, noble, thorough, (173), (476), (659)
Buddha, xxxi, xlix, (203), (340), (417), (467 *f.*); earlier Buddhas (*a*) the seven, 28, 31, 54, 90, (201), 156, 159, 166, 170 *n.* 3, (490), (533 *f.*), 254, 284, (768), 310, (728), (1087 *f.*), (1240); (*b*) others, 4 *n.* 1, 340; silent, 58, 242 *n.* 1, 275, 329 *n.* 3; Buddha-rays, 255, 361. See also Angīrasa, Gotama, Master, Sun
Bunyan, 353 *n.* 3.
Burden, *simile*, (708), (1021). And see Life
Burning, 21, (39 *f.*), 207, (1162 *f.*)

*Cakkhupāla, 88
Cālikā, 67
Calm; *subs.* (*samatha*), (94), 96, (112), 101 *n.* 2, (584), (639), (988), (1099), (*vūpasama*), (239), 419; *adj.* (*upasanta*), (2), (68), (1006 *f.*), (1226)
Campā, 32 *n.* 2, 134, 275, 406
Candagutta, 208
*Candana, 183
Candana, a deva, 31
Caṇḍa-pajjota, King, 238
Caravan, 12, 70, (132), 135; drivers, 12, 107, 151, 189, 281
Casket (*simile*), (736)
Catskin (*simile*), (1138)
Causation, (422), (716)
Cause, efficient, 154
Causeway (*simile*), (615)
Caves, (524 *f.*), (1091), (1135 *f.*):
Bheravāyanā, 142
Kapotakandarā, 345
Lonagiri, 186, (309), 245
Sabbasoṇḍika, 91
Sattapaṇṇi, 163
Sukara-Khata, 341
Verambhā, (597)
Cemetery, charnelfield, 36, 37, 123 *f.*, 134, 184, 189, 211, 226, 233, (578), (599)
Cenobite, xl, (688)
Cesspool (*simile*), (1153)
Chaddanta Lake, 287 *n.* 3
Champion. See Hero
*Channa, 70
Chaplains (*purohitā*), 110, 214, 218, 238, 318
Chapter of the Order, (942)
Charm, spell, 14
Child, son, of the Buddha, (45), (174), (295), (348), (536), (889), (1237). See also Boy
Children, in Buddhism, xxx *f.*
Chinese pilgrim chroniclers, 97 *n.* 3.
Citta, gahapati, 107
*Cittaka, 26
Clansmen (*kulaputtā*), 8, 51, 178, 182. *For* clan *read* gens, family

Clarity of thought, (1008). See also Mindfulness
Clear-visioned, (472)
Clothes, 146, 151, (578), 304, (896 *f.*), (959 *f.*), 346, 361, (1092); (*simile*), (170)
Clouds, (1063 *f.*), (1102), (1135 *f.*), (1144), (1240), (1252), (1268); (*simile*), (760), (1001)
Coals, charcoal (*simile*), (420)
Cold, (385 *f.*)
Collyrium-pot (*simile*), (773)
Compassion, 110, (176), 141, (238), (241), 181, (334), 260, (888), (1045)
Commentary, the ' Old,' xxiv *f.*
Commoners (gahapatikula), 190
Composure, (696 *f.*), (916)
Communion with the Good,
Concentration (*jhāna*, *samādhi*), (12), (37), 69, 80, (102), (560 *f.*), (1011), (1051), 421
Conclave, (965 *f.*)
Concord, (353)
Conditioned Genesis, 90, (260),
Conditions, maturity of, xlv, 52, 87, 98, 105, 109, 150, 167, 179, 198, 222, 233, 236; 271, 321; favourable, (82), (105), (110), 154; good (929)
Confession, (447)
' Connatal Ones,' seven, 248
Conqueror, (135), (288), (360), (377), (475), (626), (722), (789), (929), (1131)
Consciousness, conscience (*citta*), 112 *n.* 2, (184), (420), (1221); (*saññā*), (1039 *f.*); self-conscious (*sampajāno*), (20)
Contemplation, (41), (85), (148), (199), (266), (415), (438), (1105), (1176)
Content, (230), (364), (580 *f.*), 421 (*b*)
Cool, (=Nibbāna), xlix; (*sītibhūti*, *nibbuti*), (32), (79), (298), (416), (1015), (1022), (1060), (1090), 412; (*abhinibbutatto*), (1263)
Corruptions, defilements (*kilesa's*), 73, 77, 88, 135, (932)
Cotton-down (*simile*), (104), (1137)
Councils, xxi *f.*, 352, 353 *n.* 4
Councillor (*seṭṭhi*), 39, *passim*
Courtesan, 117, 189, 228 *f.*, 230, (939), 383
Craving (*taṇhā*), 109, (161), 140 *n.* 1, *passim*; (*āsā*), (1092); *unmated with*, (1091), (1275), 421 (*e*), (’41)
Creeper (*simile*), (399), (416), (761), (1094)
' Crossed over,' (839), *cf.* (15)
Crowd, (992), (1051), (1069), (1144)
*Cūḷaka, 153
*Cūḷa-Panthaka, 258
*Cunda the Great, 118, 350

*Dabba of the Mallas, 10
Dancer, (267), 326
Darkness, spiritual, (128), (170), (1268)
Dark Wood. See Woods
Dart, spear (*simile*), (313), (404), (448), (495), (514), (526), (755 *f.*), (986), (1053)
*Dāsaka, 21
Data (*dhātuyo*), (1255)
Datta, 112
Dead, (44), (73)
Death, (129), (133), (196), (448 *f.*), (575), (778 *f.*), (1004), (1277 *f.*); (*final*), xlviii, 138
Death king. See Māra
Debt, (1106); free from, (789), (882)
Deer, 98 *f.*, (113), 114, 122, (601), (1070); (*simile*), (109), (454), (774 *f.*), (989), (1144)
Deliverer, (1242)
Design, no personal, (713)
Desire (sense), (73), (74), (93), (181), (252 *f.*), (297), (406), (448), (458), (581), (669 *f.*), (787 *f.*), (992), (1112), (1119 *f.*); (heart's) *rati*, (142); (craving), (1091), (1094)
Detachment, xlvi; ([*pa*-] *viveka*), 16, (23), (27), (110), 101, (233), (598), (640), (726), 361, (1246), (925), (930); (*nissaṭa*), (122); (*pavivitto*), (581); as goal, 422 (iv)
Deva (spirit, angel, god), 15, 23, 37, 58, 63, 141, 148, 163

Devadaha, 64, 77
Devadatta, 147, 177, 347, 352
Devahita, 140
*Devasabha, 83
*Devasabha, (2), 93
Dhamma, faith, 3; Norm, 4, *passim*; truth, (69), (179); Suttanta, 182
*Dhammapāla, 149
Dhammapāla, xx, xxiv *f.*, xxxvi
*Dhammasava, 98
*Dhammasava's Father, 98
*Dhammika, 185
Dhāna. See Kuṇḍa
Dhanapāla, 241
*Dhaniya, 161
Dhūtangas. See Austerities
Dialectic, 71
Dice (*simile*), (321)
Dīghanakha, 342, 345, 417
Diligence. See Earnestness
Disciples, (305), (368), (631), (826), (999), (1240), (1249), (1265), (1277)
Discipline, (228), (257)
Discretion (281), (500 *f.*), (556), (582), (682), (1079)
Disease, (73); illness of Theras, etc., 35, 46; *vātaroga*: cramp, (?) rheumatism, or 'wind'-illness, 64, 140, 199, 222; leprosy, 78; ophthalmia, 88; pimples, 151
Divining art, (1253). *Cf.* Skull-spell
Distinction (*vises-i,-a*), (370 *f*).
Distrait, (1080 *f.*)
Doctrine, (1024), (1027)
Donavatthu, Brahmin village near Kapilavatthu, 8, 284
Doubt, 7 *f.*, (74), (75), (131), (752 *f.*), (829), (1266 *f.*)
Dream, 145, (500 *f.*)
Driver, (205), (358); of men, (132), (376), (426)
Dulness, (281), (704), (784). And see Illusion
Dust (*simile*), (404), (675)
Duties, (740 *f.*); (*anudhammā*), 47
Dyke (*simile*), (762)

Earnestness, diligence, (53), (59), (68), (83), (156), (230), (249), (257), (333), (347), (404), (413), (626), (658), (741), (883), (980), (981), (1011), (1017), (1245)
Earth (*simile*), (1013 *f.*)
Earthquakes, 360
Ease (*sukha*, etc.), (137), (208), (526), (600), (864), (1246); (*phāsutā*), (1033)
Ecstasy (*samāhitatta*), 12; (*jhāyati*), (41), (112), (518 *f.*), (680), (1167); (*samādhi*), (916), (1184)
Edmunds, A. J., 415
Egoism, (765)
*Ekadhamma-savanīya, 67
*Ekavihāriya, 251
*Eku[d]dāniya, 68
Elders, xxix *n.* 3
Elements, 382
Elephant, 106, 145, 147, 153, 200, 241, 248, 269, 288, (1062); *simile*, (31), (77), (194), (244), (256), (355 *f.*), (539), (684), (842), (968), (1105), (1130), (1139 *f.*), (1147 *f.*)
Eliot, Sir C., 18 *n.* 1
Ellis, Havelock, xxxvii *n.* 1
Emancipation, xlix, 12, 17, (60), 67, 101, (181 *f.*), 157, (365), (441), (658), 298, (1172), (1176), 420 (*b*)
Emotion, 155, 166, 182, (510), (795 *f.*)
Empty. See Void; places, xxxviii, 187
End. See Goal, Ill
Endeavour, 150, (353)
Endurance, (371)
Energy, etc., (148), (156), (167), (224), (311), (353), (515), (585), (739), (861), (900), (1246), (1253)
Enlightened One (Sambuddha), (622), (650), (1046), (1239)
Enlightenment, 12, (335), (352), (672), (750), (900), (1257); (factors of), (725)
Enthusiasm, (*pītipamojja*, lit. zest and joy), 16, 143, *passim*
Epicures, 85
Equanimity, (694), (719), 346, (1002), (1100)
*Eraka, 86
Error, (329), (343), (348)

Ethics, 27, 52, 53, (727 *f.*)
Exercises, 116 *n*, 1, and *passim*
Experiences, compared with Sisters', xxxii *f.*, xxxix
Eye Celestial. See Supernormal
Eye of the world, (1031), (1047); supreme, (1267)

Factors (of the self, *khandhas*), (87), (90), (120), (121), (161), (202), (369), (440), (1101)
Faculties. See Powers
Faith, confidence, trust, (59), (195), (203), (246 *f.*), (249 *f.*), (311), (1090), (1254), 421 (*d*)
Father, encouraging, 33, 136 *f.*; follows son, 98, 136; sons named after, 143, 162, 261; named after sons, 22, 108
Fastness of the Crag. See Giribbaja
Fear, cast out by Nibbāna, xlvii 3 *n.*, (5)-(8), (21), (189 *f*), (289), (367), (413), (510), (525), (705 *f.*), (764), (831), (840), (864), (912), (1193), (1238), 421
Feeling, 79, (794 *f.*), (986), 421
Festivals, 63, 181, 341
Field (*simile*), (1087), (1177)
Fetters (*simile*), (89), (380), (521), (605), (657), (707), (865), (1165)
Fire, sacred, (219), (341), 222, 229; *simile*, 8, (39), (40), 49, (79), (343), (450), (702), (1014), 412; 'on fire,' (1099). See Burning
Firmament, (278), 189, (1013), (1034), (1078)
Fish, 159, 166 (*simile*), (297), (362), (387 *f.*), (454), (749)
Fishermen, xxviii, 166
Five, sets of, (15), (633), (745)
Flag. See Banner
Flame (*simile*), (415)
Flood (*simile*), (7), (15), (88), (89), (285), (572), (633), (680 *f.*), (880), (894), (1243); saṃsāra, (1131)
Flowers, (100), (523), (545); flax, (1068); jasmine, 90; lotus, 54, (401), (700), (1089), (1180); lily, (701); (*simile*), (323 *f.*)
Flower-scavenger, 271
Folk, (149 *f.*); average, many-, (215), (1271). See Worldling
Flux (of life), (202); of things, (10)
Forces, (1114)
Foresight, (547)
Forest, life in, xxxvii *f.*, 4, 168, and *passim*; hardships of, (27), (31), 63, (233), (684), (244); love of, 17, 19, (537 *f.*), 267, (601), (992), (1092), (1102), (1120), (1135); *simile*, 50; (logs in), 63; sounds of, (49), 63; underwood, (717)
Forest dwellers, (155), (1146 *f.*)
Foul objects, 189, 211, 226, 260, (594)
Fortitude, xlvii, (1049)
Franke, R. O., ix *n.* 2
'Fragrant Chamber,' cell, lodge, 9, 28, 232, 234, 350 *f.*, 360
Free, freed, (596), (642), (680)
Freedom, (1264), as goal, 420. See also Emancipation, Liberty
Friends, friendship, 112, (264 *f.*), 292 *f.*), (588), (681 *f.*)
Fruit, fruition, xxxiv, 21, (25), (471), 291, 315; (result), (422), (1121 *f.*); (*simile*), (788)

Games, (1109)
Gaggarā, 406
*Gahvaratīriya, 35
*Gangātīriya, 112
Ganges. See Rivers
*Gavaccha the Less, 16
*Gavaccha Major, 17
*Gavampati, 42
Gayā, (287), (345)
Gayā Head, 207. See also Kassapa
Geiger, W., on Yona-ka, 417
Gentleness, (48), (583), (602 *f.*), (645 *f.*), (645 *f.*), (875), (926), (978), (1019)
Giribbaja, 253 *n.* 3, (1097), (1108)
Giridatta Thera, 133
*Girimānanda, 192
Goad (*simile*), 33, 63, 145, 147, 176, (335).
Goal, (335), (725), (784), (1134)
*Godatta, 279
*Godhika, 54

Gods, fairies, spirits, angels, 53*f*., 57, (205), (242), (497), 272, (908), 352, 364 ; (god of gods), (533) ; rain-god, 5, 55, (1137)
'Going out' (*nibbānaŋ*), (138), (1017)
Good(*attha*),xxxiv,(4),(176),(338), (340), (347), (443), (494), (501), (605), (742), (926), (942), (995), (1066), (1073); Norm and Good, (347); (*sadattha*), (332), (*paramattha*), (748); (*uttamattha*), (639); (*kalyatā*), 110. See also Aim
Good (persons), (264), (994), (1012), (1019), *passim*
*Gosāla, 27
Gotamas, Gotamids, 106, (1021*f*.)
Gotama (Buddha), so-called by believers, (91), (367), (375), (488), (1089), (1251) ; so-called by non-believers, 15, 30, 138, 201, 218, 311, 321
*Gotama of Rājagaha, 117
*Gotama of Kapilavatthu, 171
*Gotama of Sāvatthī, 264
Grandfather, 243, (536)
Grandmother, 10
Grasping, (420), (640), (673), (1012), (1278)
Guide, (288), (426)

Hack (*simile*), (976)
Hair, oiled, (960) ; (*simile*) tip of, (26), (43), (652), (1001) ; hair-splitting, (40), (1085), (1160)
Hallucinations, (1143)
Happiness, bliss (*sukha*), xlv*f*., (11), (16), (35), (63), 72, (85), 100, (141), (228 *f*.), (232), (236), (242), (264), (293), (303 *f*.), (351), (386), (494), (518 *f*.), 252, (551), (599), (613), 275, (746), 315, (1052), (1072), (1092); threefold, (609) ; supreme, (884 *f*.) ; as goal, 419
Hardship (*lūkha*), 350 *f*., 435*f*. ; (*āpāda*), (371)
*Hārita of Sāvatthī, 33
*Hārita of Sāvatthī, 172
Hate, enmity (*dosa*, etc.), (79), (281), (328), (378), (704), (795*f*.)
*Hatthārohaputta, 76
Haven, (227), (263), (422), (990), 412
Health, 160, (212), (276)
Heart (*hadaya*), (119) ; heart or mind (*citta*), (46) *passim* ; as the impulsive self, (214), (355*f*.), (1107*f*.)
Heat (*simile*), (1273)
Heavens, (62), (96), (280), (360), (532), (609), (618) ; (the Pure Abodes), 148 ; (Tusita), (534), (349)
Heir, 361,, spiritual, (18), (1058), (1142), (1168), (1248)
Hell. See Purgatory
*Heraññakāni, 121
Hero, 13 *n*. 6, (47), (66), (131), (177), (289), (527 *f*.), (622), (665), (841), (1154), (1241), (1279)
Hills, xxxviii. See Mountains
Hill-top fair, 341
Hindrances, (74), (171), (573), (902), (1010)
Hireling, (606), (654), (685)
Hog (*simile*), (17), (101)
Holiness, (631)
Home, xxxix. See also House
Hope, (530)
Horses, (205), (1140)
Hot iron (*simile*), (714)
House, (1107) ; (*simile*), (36), (183 *f*.), (712) ; houseless, (36), (46), (107), *passim*
Humility, (71), (209), (579)
Hunt, Miss M., xx
Huts, associated with brethren, (51-58) ; associated with the body, 5 *n*. 3, 236 *f*.
Hypocrisy, (1124)

I, mine, (717), (1072*f*.), (1092)
I-Tsing, xlii
Iddhi, 32 *n*. 2, 150, 162, 220 *f*., 234, 250, (595), 314, (909), (1104), 382, (1181 *f*.), (1262)
Ideal, (742) ; ideal order, xlv. See Order
Ignorance (*avijjā*), (29), (282), (419), (544), (572), (627), (1125), (1267)
Ill, pain, sorrow, (57), (78), (81), (84), (120), (152), (183), (195),

(227), (255 *f.*), (258), (263), (291), (339), (421), (440), (491), (518 *f.*), (585), (661 *f.*), (676 *f.*), (682), (707), (730 *f.*), (790), 307, (795 *f.*), (1008), (1115 *f.*), (1124), (1230), (1249 *f.*), (1254 *f.*)
Ill-will. See Hate
Illusion (*moha, sammoha*), (79), (344), (378), (573), (641), (651), (1000), (1267)
Immune. See Sane
Immunity, xliv, 421 (*h*)
Impermanence, (23), 68, (111), 106, (118), (121), (187 *f.*), 156, 175, (592), (676), (715), (1091 *f.*), (1117), (1121), (1133), (1159); (and ill-will), (275)
Incessant change, (118). See Flux, Impermanence
Indagopaka, 18 *n.* 1, 161 *n.* 2, (1063)
India, 251, 360
Indra, (416), 272, (628), (749), (1108)
Inertia, (987). See also Sloth
Infirmary, 78
Influctuate, (191 *f.*), (364), (434)
Insane, (931), (1129)
Insight (*vipassanā*), xlv, 16, 105, *passim*; (*aññā*), (441); (*paññā*), (46), (141), (520), (865), (929), (1090), (1094), (1098), (1142), (1231), (1272); (*dassana*), (45), 81, (174), (372); (*passati*), (61); (*ñāṇa*), (69), (419); (*ñāṇadassana*), (172); (as goal), 419
Intellect (*buddhi*), (1015)
Intentness of mind, (12), (46), (272), (354), (406), (518 *f.*), (1098)
Intercourse, (75), (84), (119), (149)
Intoxicants (Four Āsavas), poisons, venom, (47), (791), *passim*. See also Sane
Introspection, (981)
Intuition (*vipassanā*), xxxiii, (584), (1012); (*abhiññā*), (1262)
*Isidatta, 107
*Isidinna, 141
Isipatana, 62, 104, 114, 284
Isle (*simile*), (412)

Jains, 30, 83
*Jambugāmika's son, 32
*Jambuka, 179
Jambudīpa, (822), (914)
*Jenta, 100
*Jenta Purohita-putta, 218
Jeta-Vana Vihāra, 4 *n.* 1, 22
Jhāna, 4, 38, (41), 48, (112)
Jungle, (95), (350 *f.*), (435 *f.*), *passim*; (*simile*), (338)
Jewels, (187), 202
*Jotidāsa, 119
Joy, (307 *f.*), (1135 *f.*), (1144)

*Kaccāna, or Kaccāyana, the Great, 107, 137, 202, 238
Kaccāna. See Sambula-Kaccāna
Kālī, 123
Kālī Godhā, 315
Kalinga country, 253 *n.* 3
Kallavāḷa, 341, 382
*Kāḷudāyin, 248
Kanhamitta. See Valliya, (3)
*Kanhadinna, 137
*Kankhā Revata, 7
Kapila, brahmin, 359
*Kappa, 259
*Kappaṭa-Kura, 146
*Kappina the Great, 254, 367
Karma, Kamma, 21, (80), 109, (144), (128), (419), (421), (496), (574), 329; effect of (*vipākā*), (146), 322, (422)
*Kassapa, 79
Kassapa. See Kumāra-
*Kassapa of the River, 195
*Kassapa of Gayā, 197
*Kassapa of Uruvelā, 21, 72, 180, 195, 206
*Kassapa the Great, Pipphalimānava, 119, 122, 359, 387
*Kātiyāna, 40, 215
*Khaṇḍa-sumana, 90
*Khadiravaniya-Revata, 45
*Khitaka, Sāvatthī, 96
*Khitaka, Kosala, 143
*Khujja-Sobhita, 163
*Kimbila, 105, 125
Kindness (to animals as well), (237 *f.*), (602 *f.*), (645 *f.*), (1258). See also Service
King, (777 *f.*); (*simile*), (1235)
Knowledge, 419

Kolita, 341. See Moggallāna
Koḷiyans, 77, 93, 144, (529)
Kondañña. See Aññā-
*Kosalavihārin 59
Kosambī, 16, 110 159, 177 *n.* 1, 262
*Kosiya, 204
Kosiya's, 204, 215, 359
Koṭigāma, 129 *n.* 5 130
*Koṭṭhita (Koṭṭhika) the Great, 6
Kukkuṭa, 254
*Kuḷa, 24
*Kulla, 211
Kumā, 41
*Kumāra-Kassapa, 147
*Kumā's son, 41
*Kumā's son's friend, Sudanta, 42
*Kuṇḍa-Dhāna, 19
Kuṇḍiya, 157
Kurukaccha, 96, 169
Kurus, 157, 302
**Kuṭivihārin, 1 and 2, 57, 58

Laity, 59, 71, 84, 95, 111, 123, (187 *f.*), (556)
Lakuṇṭaka. See Bhaddiya
Lamp (*simile*), 179, (1026),
Land, owner of, xxviii, 134, 143, 202, 241
Leaf (*simile*), (2), (754), (1006 *f.*)
Learning, (141), (373), (593), (1026 *f.*)
Leper (1054)
Liberty, (89), (92), (100), (142), (270), (274), (290), (302), (319), (410), (465), (477), (545), (641). See Emancipation, Release
Licchavi rājas, 44, 75, 106, 118
Life, xlv *f.*, li, (10), (98), (121); attitude towards this, (12), (20), (23), (152), (196), (416), (606), *f.* (654 *f.*), (685 *f.*), (1002 *f.*), (1141); as pain, (255 *f.*), (791); (as a burden), (604), (708); rebirth of, (258 *f.*), (399), (446), (575), (1126 *f.*), (1079); ebb of, (114), (145), (275), (451), (498), (553); lust of, (378); term of, attained, (67); (78), (80), (83), (87), (90), (170), *passim*; holy, (236), (587), (679), (709), (836), (1027), (1274); 'going out' of, (416), (704); former life. See Supernormal (memory)
Light (*simile*) (*pabhā*), (288); (*āloka*), (422); (*pajjotakara*), (416), (1244); (as goal), 419
Lions (*simile*), (3), (367), (840), (1081); lion's roar, or confession, 25, 71, 111, 115, (175), (177), 170, 207, 243, (832), 316, 367, 412
Lip-knowledge, (1074)
*Lomasa-kangiya, 31
Longing, (752); (cultivated), (32), (514), (1091 *f.*); (ejected), (10), (57)
Lore (*vijjā*), (404), (1184), (1231), (1236), (1248). See Threefold Wisdom, (647)
Love, 224, 322, (1228); higher love, (742)
Luck, (214), (295), (310), (320 *f.*), (356 *n.* 4), (511), 387
Lucky, (421), (466), (520)
Lupton, Mr. W., 302 *n.* 2
Lust (*kāma*), (138), 260; (*raja*), (191 *f.*), (734); (*rāga*), (282), (469); (*kāmarāga*), (1162)
Lute, 276, (638)

Macchikāsaṇḍa, 107
Madda, 359
Madhuvāseṭṭha, 210
Magadha fields, xxxviii, 151 *f.*, 153; (country), *passim*
Magic. See Iddhi
Magician, 289
*Mahākāḷa, 123
*Mahānāga, 210
Mahānāma, 325
Mahā Pajāpatī, 126
Mahā-Panthaka. See Panthaka
Mahā-Sela. See Sela
Mahāsuvaṇṇa, 88
Mahātittha, 359
*Malitavambha, 96
Mallas, the republic of, 10, 80, 90
Mālunkyā, 212
*Mālunkyā's son, 212, 307
Mantāni brahmins, 8, 320
*Māṇava, xxiii, 73
Mantras, Vedic hymns, runes, spells, 7 *n.* 2, 1255
Māra, (1095); as fear, 13, 30, 51, 53; as death, (7), (253), (256),

(402), (411 *f.*), (571), (1166); as evil, (177), 163, 167, (268), (279 *f.*), (300), (381 *f.*), (463), (831 *f.*), (893), (1145), (1146 *f.*), (1242)
Marks, 284, 310
Master, the (*satthā*), 510 *f.*; passing wise, (67), (901); passing kind, 559 *f.*, (623), (722), (870), (1037 *f.*), (1045); teacher, (86); devotion to, (604), (656), (687), (792), (891), (918), (1016), (1050), (1088), (1185), (1241); of the caravan (*simile*), (1236)
*Mātanga's son, 162
Māyā, (534)
Meaning (*attha*), (36), (106); grasp of, (373); inward, (188)
Meditation (*jhāna* etc.), (37), 45 *n.* (43) (864), (1059 *f.*), (1066). See also Contemplation, Jhāna
*Meghiya, 67
*Melajina, 114
Memory, 374, (1024), (1032). See also Supernormal
*Meṇḍasira, 76
Merchants. See Traders
Merciful (1143)
Merit, (238), 245, (566)
*Mettaji, 87
Metteyya, 25
Middle Country, 107, 281 *n.* 1
Middle Way, (663)
*Migajāla, 216
*Migāra's Mother, (1164)
Migasira, 138, 395 *n.* 1
Mind (*citta*). See Consciousness, Heart; (*mānasa*), (102), (1119); (*mano*), (752), (762), (1117)
Mindfulness, 12, (30), (46), (59), (68), (85), (98), (99), (100), (165), (317), (352), (446), 230, (607), (694), (765), (806), (865), (899), (946), (1035), (1090), (1098), (1141), (1225), 419
Mine (*simile*), (1049)
'Mine.' See 'I,' Self-conceit, Illusion
Miracle, the Twin, 36, 40, 55, 128, 141, 155, 165, 170, 200
Mirror, 133; (*simile*), (171), (395)
Modesty, (1079)
Moggalī, 341
*Moggallāna the Great, 96, 191, 269, 340, 382, 389, 405
Moggallāna, stockherd, 354
*Mogharājan, 151; other verse, 424
Moment, the, xlvi, (231), (403), (653), (1004 *f.*),
Monachism, xxxvii. See also Detachment, Solitude
Moon (*simile*), (182), (306), (361), 234, (292), (546), (548), (871 *f.*), (1119), (1252)
Moral code, (973); base, (988)
Morals, (608 *f.*), (865). See Ethics, Virtue
Mother, dying at birth, 10, 37, 266; forest-lover, xxxix, 17; encouraging son, 18, 27, 79; hindering, 72, 228; fragrant, 28; solicitous, 31, (33), 48 *f.*, 234; rebuking, 195; brethren named after:
Bhaddiya Kāḷī-Godhāya.
Kātiyāna.
Kumā's son.
Mālunkyā's son.
Moggallāna.
Puṇṇa Mantāniputta, 423
Visākha-Pañcālī's son.
Sāriputta.
Vimala-Kondañña (? *illeg.*).
Mountains, hills, (524 *f.*); *simile*, (652), (680), (1000), (1013); love of, xxxviii, (13), (544), (601), (1058), (1144)
Frontier hills, 41, 42
Himālaya, 142, 157, (692), 363 *n.* 2
Isigili, (405)
Kiṭa, 345
Nesādaka, (115)
Sineru, 360
Vebhāra, Paṇḍava, (41)
Vulture's Peak, 198, 276
Mourning, (44), (544 *f.*)
*Mudita, 187
Müller, Ed., xxiv *n.* 1, li
Music, (267), (398), (467), (1071)

Nāga, 206, 210 *n.* 1, (692 *f.*), (1240), (1279)
*Nāgasamāla, 175
*Nāgita, 82

Naked ascetic, 179
Nail (*simile*), (743 *f.*)
Nālaka, Magadha, home of Gavaccha Major, 17; of 'Susārada,' 74; of Sunāga, 81; of Vanganta and Rūpasārī, 45, 118, 261; and their sons Sāriputta, Cunda, Upasena, Revata
Nālandā, 361
Namuci, (336)
*Nanda, 126
*Nandaka of Campā, 134
*Nandaka of Sāvatthī, 178
*Nandiya, 29
Nāṭaputta, 30
Natural law, (552)
Nature, feeling for, xxxvii, (113), (887)
Net, of insight, xxxi, 37; of bias, 572; of craving, (297), (355), (1277); of error, (135)
Neumann, K. E., xix *f.*, xxix *n.* 3, 96 *n.* 4, 99 *n.*, 120 *n.* 5, 124 *n.*, 147 *n.*, 179 *n.* 2, 204 *n.* 5, 211 *n.* 1, 216 *n.* 2, 218 *n.* 2, 229 *n.* 1, 237 *n.* 5, 257 *n.* 2, 259 *n.* 4, 292 *n.* 3, 296 *n.* 2, 297 *n.* 2, 319 *n.* 1, 323 *n.* 1, 329 *n.* 2, 332 *n.* 2, 343 *n.* 4
*Nhatakamuni, 222
Nibbāna, xlvi *f.*, (71), (86), 85, 93 *n.* 5, (119), (138), 127, (210), (227), 172, (263), (389 *f.*), 216, 247 *n.* 3, (543), (691), (795 *f.*), (989 *f.*), (1023), (1122), (1165), (1230), (1238), 420; for *parinibbāna*, 139, (906); for *khaya*, (723)
*Nigrodha, 26
Nigrodha-Kappa, 396, (1264 *f.*)
*Nisabha, 144
*Nīta, 81
Niyasa (Yasa) Thera, 182
Not-needing, 59
Novice, (249 *f.*), 291
Norm, the, xliv, 4, *passim*; Norms, (201); Wheel of the, 64, *passim*; Norm and Buddha, 198, (389); King of, (824 *f.*), (889); body of, (491); preacher of, 152; General of, 46, 61, 137, 204, 230, 326, 342, 356; Treasurer of, 69, 226; vision of, (204), (395), (509), (1243); understanding of, (276) (1027 *f.*); practised, (303 *f.*); perverted, 331, (954 *f.*); order of, 29 *n.* 2, 189 *f.*, (220), (270), (274), (286), (319), (410), (465), (479), (486)

Oath, (461)
Obsessions (*vitakkā*), (50), (573); (*papañca*), (519), (989)
Ocean, (147); (*simile*), (372), (412), (660), (1013)
Œdipus, Indian, 113 *n.* 1
Oil (*simile*), (927)
Oldenberg, xix, xxvi *f.*, xli, 191 *n.* 2, 209 *n.* 3, 218 *n.* 2, 328 *n.* 4, 343 *n.* 3, 424 *n.* 1
Oneness of aim, (49)
Opportunity, xlvi, 162 *n.* 3, 422 (c). See also Moment
Order of Brethren (Sangha), 82 *f.*, (249 *f.*), (789), *passim*; of the Norm. See Norm; ideal, xlv, (712), (1257)
Ordinance. See Rule
Ordination, 4, *passim*; full, 291; by the Master, 104, (478), (485), 238, 248, 255, 272, (625), 314, (870)
Orphan, 233
Over-strain, (638), (759)
Ox, bull, steer (*simile*), (16), 50, (173), (822), (1025), (1154)

*Paccaya, 158
Pacchabhu Thera, 96
Pādiyattha country, 119
Paganism, xxxvii *f.*, 187 *n.* 2
Pain. See Ill
Pajjunna, Parjunya, 5 *n.* 3
*Pakkha, 64
Panāda, 130
Pañcālas, 152
Paṇḍarasagotta, 335
Paṇḍava, (41), (1167)
*Panthaka Major, 242, 258
*Panthaka Minor, Cūḷa, 69 *n.* 3, 258
Pārāparas, the, 103
*Pārāpariya of Rājagaha, 103
Pārāpariya of Sāvatthī, 294, 331
Pariah, xxviii, 233
Parinibbāna, 182
*Paripuṇṇaka, 85

Parivāra, 79
Parks, gardens :
Ambāṭaka, 230
Antelope, 303
Banyan, 55, 93
Deer, 97
Kāḷaka, 128
Kapiṭṭha, 25
Tapoda, 51
Pasenadi, King of Kosala, 13, 20, 47, 166, 279
*Passika, 165
Passion (*rāga*), (18), (39 *f.*), (79), (133 *f.*), (188), (316), (327), (378), 211, (416), (674). (734), (806 *f.*), (992), (1162 *f.*); quenched, (12), (56), (704)
Pāṭaliputta, Patna, 163, 339 *n.* 2
Path (*addhāna*), (1244); (*pada*). See Way
Path (Ariyan Eightfold), 26 *n.* 1, (35), (69), (132), (166), (179), (349), (369), (421), (520), (595), (637), (709), (767), (980), (1115)
Paths, Four (Stream-winning, Once-return, No-return, Arahantship), 10, (25), 52, 61, 106, 126. 133, 141, 150, 184, 222, 230, 234
Paṭisambhidāmagga, 5 *n.* 1
Patience, (1029)
Pātimokkha, 169, 224, 241
Patna, Council of, xxi, 339 *n.* 2
Pavāraṇā, 402
Pāvā, 90
*Paviṭṭha, 82
Peace (*padaŋ santaŋ*, *santi*), (11), (32), (260), (364), (369), (405), (422), (434), (521), (642) (671 *f.*), (876), (905); at peace (*samito*) (10); (*vūpasanto*), (326); (*yogakkhema*), 171; (*sama*), (748); as goal, 419
Peacemaker, (441 *f.*)
Peasants, 47
Perfection, (114), 420
Perseverance, (83), (585)
Peta's, (258), (1128)
*Phussa, 335
Physician, surgeon, healer, 109, 208, (444), (722), (756), (830 *f.*), (939), (1111)
Pippali-māṇava; Kassapa the Great, *q.v.*
*Pilinda-Vaccha, 14
Pit (*simile*), (759), 417
Piṭakas, 66, 97, 120, 133
*Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja, 110, 415
Pith, *i.e.* truth, 101, 102, (764)
*Piyañjaha, 75
Pleasure, bodily (*sarīra-sukha*), (1033)
Plough (*simile*), (16), (101); a measure, 24 *n.* 2
Poets among the Brethren, xxxv
Poetic qualities in the Psalms, xxxv *f.*
Poison (*visa*), (103), (710), (758 *f.*). See Intoxicants
Pokkharavatī, 122
Pokkharasāti, 521
Pool (*simile*), (759)
Poor, in Buddhism, xxix
*Posiya, 39
Potter, 161
Poṭṭhila, 388
Poṭiriya, 143
Powers, He of the Ten, 7 *n.* 1, 9, 61, 147, 198, 249, 351; (faculties, forces), (109), (352), (358), (437), (595), (672), (725), (728 *f.*), (948), (1114)
Prayers, (473)
Preachers, xxxii, (234 *f.*), 194
Precepts, the, 157, 167, 184, 186
Principle, (219), (291)
Procrastination, (225 *f.*), (231 *f.*), (261 *f.*)
Prophecy, (951 *f.*)
Pukkusāti, 91, 161
*Puṇṇa of Sunāparanta, 70
*Puṇṇa of the Mantānis, 8, 349, 423
*Puṇṇamāsa, 15
*Puṇṇamāsa, (2), 134
Puppet-shape, (769 *f.*), (1020 *f.*)
Purgatory, (62), (89), 322, 364, 369, (790), (1128)
Purification (*visuddhi*), (415), (676 *f.*)
'Purity' (religion, *suddhi*), (219 *f.*), (331), (341 *f.*), (348), (893); (holiness), (586)
Purposes, (546), (674 *f.*), (769), (1020)

Quarters, four, (555), (1057)
Quest. See Aim

*Rādha, 115, 344
*Rāhula, 183
Rain, and rain-god, 5 *n.* 3, (24), (50), 55, 56 *f.*, 99, (128), (189), (325 *f.*), (524), (531), (597 *f.*), (985); (*simile*), (133 *f.*), (447), (675), (1135), (1273)
*Rājadatta, 189
Rājagaha, 5, *passim*
*Rakkhita, 77
*Rāmaṇeyyaka, 53
*Rāmaṇiyakuṭika, 59
*Rāmaṇiyavihārin, 49
Rapture, 198, (351), (382 *f.*), (518 *f.*)
*Raṭṭhapāla, 302
Razor (*simile*), (737)
Realization, (331), (434)
Reason (*paññā*), (126)
Rebirth. See Life
Recluse, (228 *f.*), 165, (587), 276
Reed, rush, (402), (487 *f.*), (634)
Refrain verses, xxi:
1. The Threefold wisdom . . . (24), etc.
2. And the great Quest . . . (136), etc.
3. With thought of death . . . (196), etc.
4. I will not eat . . . (223), etc.
5. Thereat arose in me . . . (269), etc.
6. The Master hath . . . (604), etc.
7. O see the seemly . . . (220), etc.
Refuges, the (3), 157, 167, (286), 184, (305), 186
Refuge (*simile*), (412), (449), (764), (780), (838), (881),
Release, from drudgery, (43); from rebirth, (516 *f.*). See also Life; of spirit, 106, (750), (865), (906), (1021); as goal, 418 *f.*
Religion (*dhamma*), 254; (*sāmañña*), (788)
Remorse, (225), 360
Renunciation, 171, (458), (512), 248, (640), (691), 304
Reputation, (291-294)
Resolve, (222 *f.*), (312 *f.*), (514)
*Revata, 45, 279
Reverence, (387 *f.*), 219, (423 *f.*), (589), (1078), (1096)
Rice, 146, (317), (381), 222
Righteousness (*sīla*), (203), (740), (1077)
Rishis, 206, (1065); (Buddhas), (1276)
Rivers, (523):
Aciravatī, 166
Ajakaraṇī, (307 *f.*), 245
Candabhāgā, 255
Ganges, 113, 130, (168), 254, (1904)
Kimikālā, 67
Nerañjarā (Phaggū), 181, (340)
Rohinī, 144 *n.* 2, (529)
Sarabhū, 43
Sarasvatī, (1104)
Vaggumudā, 166
Yamunā, 159, (1904)
Rock, crag (*simile*), (191 *f.*), (643), (651), (680), (1000)
Roguva, 90
Rohi, 158
Rudiments (*ādi*), 35
Rule (*Sāsana*), system, church, 108, (132), *passim*; decay of, (952 *f.*)
Runes, (2), (1006 *f*).
Rūpasārī, xxxiv, 261, 341

Saṃmoda. See Pakkha
Saṃsāra, 14 *n.* 1, (87), (99), 135, 150, 172, (493), (785), 420 (*d*); (traveller in), (215), (258)
*Sabbaka, Sappaka, 186
*Sabbakāma, 226
*Sabbamitta, 122
*Sabhiya, 177
Sacrifice, (341), (378); human, (705); self, (1089)
Saddhammasangaha, xxv
Safety, (32), (69), (171), (415), 421 (*b*)
Sāgalā, 359
Sāgata, 350
Sage (*muni*), (68), (176), (185), (592), (896), (907), (946), (1169); (*isi*—*i.e.*, *rishi*), (713), (724), (868), (900), (1015)
Saint (*santo*), (57); (*sumano* [*yogāvacaro*]), (212); *yogī*, (946)

Sāketa, 33, 43 *n.* 1, 56, 76, 128, 210, 245
Sākiyan, Sākyan, a clan of rājas, at Kapilavatthu, 22, (94), (529 *f.*), *passim*; followers of the Buddha, 40, 47, 81, 162, 320; ancestors of. See Sun; the Buddha, (1265)
Sakka, deva, 89, 118, 272, 285, (1266)
Sāli, 74
Sallyport, (355)
*Sāmaññakāni, 40
*Sambhūta, 182
*Sambula-Kaccāna, 142
Salvation (*sadattha*), (112), (1260); (*amata*), 83
*Sāmidatta, 84
Samiddhi, a brahmin of Sāvatthī, father of Puṇṇamāsa, 15
Samiddhi, a brahmin of Nālaka, father of Gavaccha Major, 17
*Samiddhi, 51
*Samitigutta, 78
Sandalwood pavilion, 141
*Sandhita, 156
Sane, immune (*anāsava*), (47), (100), (162), (178), (289), (336), (364), (365), (369), (576), (672), (704), (711), (896), (919), (996), (1061), 412
Sangāmaji-Thera, 39
*Sangharakkhita, 98
*Sañjaya, 52
Sañjaya, paribbājaka, 341
Sankassa, 97
*Sankicca, 266, 291
*Sānu, 48
Sappaka. See Sabbaka
*Sappadāsa, 214
*Sarabhanga, 236
Sāratthapakasinī, 398 *n.* 9, 424
*Sāriputta, 340; his influence, 17, 41, 46, 61, 81, 109, 191; teacher, 66, 75, 204, 266, 279; visits sick, 46, 78; falls sick, 109; commended, 69, 312, 366 *f.*, 388, 390, 402, 431; other verses, 422; death, 356
Sāsana. See Order, (1), Rule
*Sāṭimattiya, 167
Sāvakā, 1; agga°, xxxvi
Sāvatthī, capital of Kosala, 7, *passim*
Sceptic, (760)
Scruples, (652)
Sea. See Ocean
Season, spring, 181, (345); autumn, 249; winter, 151; residences, 104
Seed (*simile*), (363), (388 *f.*), (530 *f.*)
Seer (*passo*, *cf. Chānd. Up.*, vii, 26, 2). (61); (*muni*), (168), (533), (839), (1143), (1168); (*-dassano*), (288); (*cakkhumā*), (295), (905), (995), (1038); (*isi*), (948), (1098), (1118), (1234), (1240); (*-dassī*), (1264); (*-cakkhu*), (1266 *f.*)
*Sela, 28, 191, 310
Self-conceits, pride, (60), 65 *n.* 3, (89), (102), (205), (280), 219 *n.* 1, (765), (1074 *f.*), (1226)
Self-denial, 166, (1089). See also Austerities
Self-dependence, (412), (542)
Self-mastery, (50), 176, (468), (631), (636), (697), (1146 *f.*), 421 (*c*)
Self-subdued (*yatatto*), (10)
Sena, 200
*Senaka, 180
Sense, (195), *passim*; gates of, (116), (125), 241 *n.* 5, (579); desires of. See Desire
Serene (*santusito*), (8), (899), (*samāhito*), (207), (1077); (*upasanto*), (68), (441), (689), (1226)
Sermon-poems, xxxii
Serpent, snake, (229); (*simile*), (457), (576)
Service, 97, 101, (178), (185 *f.*), (240 *f.*), 420; mutual, 101 *f.*
Seta, 288
Setavyā, 67, 123
*Setuccha, 94
Shadow (*simile*), (1041 *f.*)
Ship (*simile*), (766)
Shipwrecked (*simile*), (147), (265)
Sign, threefold, (1226)
*Sīha, 80
*Sīlavat, 269
Sīlāvatī, 95
Silence, (650), (999), 382; of women, xxxii, xxxix
Simple life, 9
Sineru, Mt., 14, 360

*Singālapitar, 22
Sirigutta, 241
*Sirimaṇḍa, 224
*Sirimat, 127
*Sirimitta, 241
*Sirivaḍḍha, 45
Sirivaḍḍha, 127
Sisters (Bhikkhunīs, Therīs), xxxii, xxxix, 14, 69 *n.* 3, 147, 194, (1257)
Sisūpacāla, 46
Sīta-Vana. See Woods
*Sīta-Vaniya, 11
Sivaka, 139
*Sīvaka, 18
*Sīvali, 60
Skull, (bowls like), 113 *n.* 1, (1118); (spell), 138, 395.
Sky, (1155 *f.*)
Slackness (*sithila*), (1165)
Slaughterhouse (*simile*), (712)
Slaves, servants, xxviii *f.*, 21, 70
Sleep, (17), (22), (84), (193), 145, (200)
Sloth, (17), 44, (74), (101), 121, 162, (265), 176, (987), (1010), (1033)
Smile, by the Master, (630); by Kappina, (1086)
*Sobhita, 131
Sobhita. See Khujja-Sobhita
Solitude, xxxvii, (54), (142), (189 *f.*), (239), (245), 245 *f.*, (537 *f.*), (577 *f.*), (592), (597 *f.*), (626)
*Somamitta, 121
Son, 136 *f.*; (spiritual). See Child
*Soṇa-Koḷivisa, 135, 275
*Soṇa-Kuṭikaṇṇa, 27, 202
*Soṇa-Poṭiriyaputta, 143
*Sopāka, 37
*Sopāka, (2), 233
Soul, self, non-existence of permanent, 68, (594), 285, (678), (715), (766), (1160)
South Hill, 98
Speculation on life, (715), (753)
Speech, (101), (1227 *f.*), (1233)
Stairway (*simile*), (764)
Stars, 138, (193), 318
Status, social, of Brethren,
Steadfastness, (1049), (1081)
Study (*yoga*), (1142); (*sikkhā*), (1247). See also Training
Storm, 45, 54, 55, 142, 153, (307 *f.*), (522)
Streams (*simile*), (761)
Strand (*simile*), (613)
Stumbling-stone (*simile*), (680)
Suṇsumāragira, 22, 224
*Subāhu, 54
Subhaddā, lay-sister, 20
*Subhūta, 190
*Subhūti, 4; other verses, 422,
Subjects, the Ten, 9
Sublime moods, or sentiments, 208, (386), 279, (649)
Sudassana, vihāra at Sīlāvatī, 95
Sudhammā, (1198)
Suddhodana, 70, 126, 214, 248 *f.*
*Sugandha, 28
*Suhemanta, 97
Suicides, intending, 103, 198, 214
Sujā, (140)
Sumana, 4
*Sumana, 193
*Sumana, pupil of Anuruddha, 220
Sumangala, 47
Sun, ancestor of Sākiyans, 30, (158), (417), (1023), (1237), (1258)
*Sunāga, 81
Sunāparanta, 70, 141
*Sundara-samudda, 228
*Sunīta, 271
Supernormal powers, 96, 326; emitting light, 11, 211; arresting flood 43; vision, 32 *n.* 2, (332), (379), (516), (562), (627), 326, (916), (996); hearing, 32 *n.* 2, (379), (997), (1262); thought (*abhiññā*), 26, (1262); memory, 32 *n.* 2, 131, (627), (913); movement, 96, (104), (901); thought-reading, (379), (1248 *f.*); power, or iddhi, (379), (563). See also Iddhi
Suppavāsā, Kumārā, 60
Suppāraka, 70
*Suppiya, 36
*Surādha, 116
*Susārada, 74
*Suyāmana, 74
Sword (*simile*), (39), (40), (449), (1094 *f.*), (1163)

Takkasilā, 136, 149, 201, 319
*Tālapuṭa, xxxv *f.*, xli, 369, 418

Talisman, (616)
Taming (spiritual), (5), (8), 24, (354), (359), (441), (689), (877), (1111)
Tapussa, 12
Tathāgata, 8, (507). See Thus-hath-Come
Teacher and pupil, 18 *f.*, (66), (330 *f.*), 203, 319, (408 *f.*), (433)
*Tekicchakāri (-kāni), 208
*Telakāni, 298
Temperance, (12), 111, (583), (982 *f.*)
Theatre, 369
Theras of the Cave, l, cx, clv, clxvi, cxcvi, ccxxxii; of the Field, clxiv, ccxi: of the Hills, xxiii, xxxvi, cxv, clvi, ccxliii, cclxiii; of the Hut, xlv, lv-lix, xcv, ccxxviii; of the Rain, i, li-liv, cc; of the River, cxxiv, cxlii, cxci, cxcvi, cciii, ccxxxii, ccxliv; of the Woods, vi, xiii, xiv, xviii, xxii, xxvii, xxxi, xlii, xlix, lxii, lxiii, lxviii, xcii, cix, cx, cxiii, cxxxv, clv, clxiii, clxvii, ccv, ccxx, ccxxv, ccxxxiv, ccxl, ccxlii, cclvii, cclxii; and Māra, vii, xxv, xlvi, xlix
Thieves, 109, 123, 279, 291 *f.*; (*simile*), (449), (786), 318 *f.*
Thought (*citta*), (25); (*mata*), (501) (*saññā*), (217 *f.*); *sati*, (794 *f.*); thoughts of a great man, eight, 326
Thullakotthita, 302
Thunder (*simile*). (760)
Thunderbolt (*simile*), (419)
Threefold lore, or wisdom (*tevijjā*), 14, 29 *n.* 1, (55), *passim*
Thus has- or have- Come, He, They, xxii, 8, (280), (343), (483), (827), (1256), (1267)
Tibet, 112 *n.* 2
Tie (*bandhana*), (414); (*gantha*) 572; (*sanga*) (38); (*sandāna*), 290
Time, as precious, (30), (661). See also Moment
*Tissa the Sākiyan, 43, 385
*Tissa of Roguva, 90
*Tissa of Rājagaha, 125
*Tissa-Kumāra, 251
Touch (of death), (783)
Traders, 123, (530), 254
Training (*sikkhā*), 5 *n.* 3, (68), 116 *n.* 1, (239), (333), (407), (433), (513), (588), (608 *f.*), (634), (1245), (1247); as moulding nature, 24, 34, (433)
Trapper, (774)
Trees: banyan, 408, 12; kareri, 363 *n.* 2; mango, (64); jasmine, 90; sāl, (114), (948); rose-apple, 32 *n.* 3, (309); acacia, 46, 344; 'Bodhi,' (217), 248; 'Bahuputtaka,' 361; 'Kingstead,' 12
'Tree-talk,' 185, 415; -spirits, 12
Truths, the Four Ariyan, 15, 39, (88), 195, (215), (492), (592), 285, (1098), (1258)
Truth (*sacca*), 184, (1229); (*attha*), (71), (210); *dhamma*. See Norm; *dhammā*, (708); (*yathāva*), (422), (1096); (*tathāvāda*), (1077); master of the, (758); asseveration of, 254; as goal, 420

*Udāyin, 287
Udena, 110, 110 *n.* 4
Udicca, 263
*Ugga, 78
Ugga, 78
Uggāyāma, 158
*Ujjaya, 52
Ujjenī, 238
Ujjuhāna, (597)
Ukkaṭṭha, 157
*Ukkhepa[-kata]-Vaccha, 66
Upacāla, 46
*Upāli, 50, 147, 168; other verse, 422
*Upasena Vanganta's son, 261; other verses, 422
*Upavāna, 140
Uruvelā, 21, 72, 180, 206, 284
Upatissa, 341, (998)
*Usabha of Kosala, 99
*Usabha of Kapilavatthu, 145
Usīra-root, (402)
*Uttara of Rājagaha, 109
*Uttara of Sāketa, 128
*Uttarapāla, 170
Uttarā, 353

*Uttiya of Sāvatthī, 34
*Uttiya of Pāvā, 54
*Uttiya of Kapilavatthu, 92

Vaccha. See Pilinda°
*Vaccha, Vana-, 17
*Vaccha, Vana-, 101
*Vacchagotta, 101
Vacchagottas, the, 101
*Vacchapāla, 72
Vagrant bhikkhus, 50, 146
*Vaḍḍha, 194
*Vaḍḍhamāna, 44, 385
Vajjians, 56, 59, 63, 106, 182, (919), 347
*Vajji-putta, 63
*Vajji-putta, (2), 106
*Vajjita, 155
*Vakkali, xxxiv, 197
*Valliya of Pāvā, 54
*Valliya of Sāvatthī, 112
*' Valliya ' Kanhamitta of Vesālī, 131
Valuer, assessor, court, 25, 212
*Vangīsa, ^95
*Vappa, 62
*Vāraṇa, 164
*Vasabha, 118
Vasulokī, 42
Vebhāra, (41)
Vedas, the Three, 6, 52, 74 *n.* 2, 157, 197
Velugāma, 107
Velukaṇḍā, 41, 42
Veḷuva, (919)
Veṇudatta Thera, 132
Vepacitti, (749)
Vesālī, 44, 56, 63, 65, 75, 106, 118, 131, 182, 226
Vessavaṇa, 159, 189, 245
Veṭṭhapura, 170
Viaticum (*simile*), (616)
Views, (340 *f.*)
Vigil, (203), (411)
Vigilance, (59), (193); (*sati*), (12), (1049)
Vihāra's, xl, 59, 95, 102, 119, 136, 185, 208; the Loṇagiri, 186; the Bhojakagiri, 253 *n.* 3; the Jeta Grove, 4 *n.* 1, 22, 285, 294; the Doves' Cave, 345
*Vijaya, 85
*Vijitasena, 200
*Vimala of Rājagaha, 54
*Vimala of Benares, 173
*Vimala-Koṇḍañña, 65
Vimalā, 382, *n.* 2
Vinaya, 66, 169, 182; rules, 4
*Vīra, 13
Virtue (*sīla*), (12), (70), 502 *f.*), 590 *f.*), (608 *f.*), (1008); odour of, (28), (615)
Visākha Pañcālī's son, 152
Visākhā, 147, 216
Vision, 3, (422). And see Norm
*Vītasoka, 133
Voice, 230 *f.*, (1233), (1270)
' Void,' the, (92), (1117)

Waif, 37
Wake, Awake, (47), (71), 84, (167), (175), (227), (263), (354), (368), (679), (689), (828), (902), (907), (914), (1168), (1246)
Wanderers (*paribbājakā*), 34, 40, 82, 138, 139, 177, 201, 212, 289
War-similes, (31), (177), 144 *n.* 1, (236)
Ward, (1031), (1047)
Way ('*pada*'), 3, (212), 198; (*magga*), (1243); (*saṃsāra*), (216)
Wealth, worldly, (550), (776 *f.*); spiritual, (508), (632)
Welfare, (538)
Well-Come, the, 185, (305), (725), (869), (889), (1238)
Wheel. See Norm
White, (549), (972); robes, (965), (973)
Wife, trying to recall husband, 14, 15, 39, 134, 184, (299), 226; loss of, 34; (refused), (72); accompanies husband, 360
Will, (1029), (1114)
Wind, (22), (50), (235), (544); wind-god, (2), 7 *n.* 4, (1006 *f.*); *simile*, (416), (754) (1268); wind-illness. See Disease
Winternitz, M., xxi, xxxi *f.*, xxxvii *n.* 1
Wisdom (paññā), (3), (12), *passim*; (*vijjā*), (60); (*buddhi*), (75); *cf.* (1015), *intellect*; 'wisdom-being.' See Bodhisat; arms, branches, chords, etc., of, (68), (161), (166), (595), *passim*
Woman, spurned, (58), 109, 137, 155; (vision of), 105; rebuked,

(279 *f.*); dead, (393); power after death, (315 *f.*); charm of, (738 *f.*)
Woods or forests:
Acacia, 46, 279
Añjana (Sāketa), 33, 43, 56 *f.*, 76, 210, 245
Bamboo, Rājagaha, 9, 26, 52, 136, 177, 189, 248, 360, 363
Bhesakaḷā, 23, 224
Cool Wood, (6), (540), 275
Dark Wood, 9, 148
Eastern Bamboo, 30, 177, 326
Jālini, 319
Jeta Wood, 26, 46, 53, 68, 79
Kāraṇḍviya, (22)
Mango, 67, 90, (563), 315; at Anupiyā, 326
Sāla, 331
Siṃsapa, 67
World, 'lower things,' 49, (154), (494), 276, (1072 *f.*); worldly views, (129 *f.*), (187 *f.*), (458), 282, (1175); not of the, (76), (209), (600)
Worldling, philistine, many-folk, (215), (341), (456), (518), (575), 285
Worm (*simile*), (1175)
Writing, letters, 33, 90 *n.* 5, 107
Written doctrine, tradition of, 90, 107

Yakkha, 48, 245, 345
*Yasa, xxiii, 42, 104
*Yasadatta, 201
Yasodharā, 183
*Yasoja, 166

Zeal, (983 *f.*), (1030), (1066 *f.*). See also Earnestness
Zest, (539)

II

PALI WORDS DISCUSSED IN FOOTNOTES

Akuppatā, 202 *n.* 1
Akālika, 314 *n.* 1
Ajjhattarato, 342 *n.* 3
Atthantara, 205 *n.* 2
Adhiṭṭhāhi, 378 *n.* 5
Anudhammā, 46, 84
Anupādāya, 285 *n.* 2
Anujāta, 312 *n.* 3
Anuvatteti, 312 *n.* 3
Anodissaka, 5 *n.* 1
Abyositattha, 305 *n.* 3
Abhiññā, 13, 14 *n.* 3, 33 *n.* 2
Abhisāpa, 376 *n.* 1
Ariyavatā, (334)
Ariyā, 242 *n.* 1, 265 *n.* 1
Avacārakamanussā, 189 *n.* 3
Asita, 404 *n.* 2
Āyatanāni (sense-organ and object), 407 *n.* 1
Āhari, 387 *n.* 3, 419

Indāgopakā, 18 *n.* 1, 161 *n.* 2, (1063)

Udicca-brāhmaṇā, 79
Upadhi, 398 *n.* 7, 406 *n.* 1

Ekagga, 397 *n.* 1
Ekatiya, 347 *n.* 5

Kathāvatthus, Ten, 9 *n.* 1
Kapiṭṭha, 333, *n.* 2; *cf.* 25
Kāveyyamatto, 406, *n.* 4
Kilesā, 73 *n.* 1
Kumina, 183 *n.* 3
Kura, 146 *n.* 2
Khandhā, 11 *n.* 3, 407 *n.* 1

Gadhitā, 398 *n.* 8
Gāmaṇḍala, 381 *n.* 3

Cāraṇika, 378 *n.* 3, 419
Coravosāsaka, 121 *n.* 1
Chandikato, 355 *n.* 2

Tathāgata, 179 *n.* 1
Tasa-thāvara, 323 *n.* 1

Dabba, 399 *n.* 4
Dubhato, ubhato, 379 *n.* 4
Dhammabhūta, 237 *n.* 3
Dhammā, doctrines, truths, (9), (11), (201), (340), (370 *f.*), 264
Dhona, 409 *n.* 4

Nānārajja, 300 *n.* 4
Nibbut-a-i, 90 *n.* 4, 183 *n.* 4, 217 *n.* 4, (586)
Niyama, 407 *n.* 2
Nivuta, 409 *n.* 2

Padullagāhī, 399 *n.* 3
Papañca, 246 *n.* 2, 343 *n.* 4, 328 *n.* 2
Pabhāvita, 302 *n.* 1
Para-to, 383 *n.* 3, 385 *n.* 2
Parābhavissasi, 381 *n.* 4
Paraŋ, 379 *n.* 3, 383 *n.* 3
Pariggaha, 217 *n.* 6
Parinibbāna, 11 *n.* 3
Parinibbuto, 'perfected,' 11 *n.* 3, 202 *n.* 1; reaching the goal, (7), (8), 417
Pātāla, 418

Bhattimā, (370) *n.* 4
Bhadda, bhadra, bhaddiya, 19 *n.* 1, 21 *n.* 4
Bhavābhavā, 305 *n.* 4
Bhāvehi, 375 *n.* 3
Bhojaka, 143 *n.* 3

Maṇḍal[ik]a-rājā, 83 *n.* 5, 94, 100, 152

Māmaka, 300 *n.* 3
Milakkhurajana, 338 *n.* 1
Muni, 132 *n.* 3

Yathācārī, 342 *n.* 2
Yojana, 250, 255 *n.* 1
Yugāni, 339 *n.* 2

Ruppato, 338 *n.* 2

Vaṭṭa, 217 *n.* 2
Vatthu, 337 *n.* 1
Viññāṇa, 355 *n.* 4
Vitapi, 380 *n.* 2
Vitakka, 346 *n.* 1
Virāye, 375 *n.* 2
Visattikā, 213 *n.* 3
Visesa, 24 *n.* 1, 110
Vedagū, 'hath beta'en himself to truth,' (10)

Sankhārā, 'varied things of sense' life's 'experience,' 385 *n.* 1 (1175)
world, (1180)
Sandiṭṭhika, 314 *n.* 1
Sati, 308 *n.* 1, 318 *n.* 1, (1141)
Samussaya, 149 *n.* 2
Sarasankappā, 300 *n.* 1
Sārambha, 300 *n.* 6
Sirisayana, 243 *n.* 1
Sīla, 269 *n.* 1
Sujāta, 311 *n.* 3
Seṭṭhi, xxviii, *n.* 4

Hurāhura, 213 *n.* 2